CHIRICAHUA AND MESCALERO APACHE TEXTS

* HARRY HOIJER

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CHIRICAHUA AND MESCALERO APACHE TEXTS

By HARRY HOIJER

WITH ETHNOLOGICAL NOTES

BY

MORRIS EDWARD OPLER

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION 1

KEY TO THE PHONETIC SYMBOLS EMPLOYED 3

I. CHIRICAHUA APACHE TEXTS 5
1. The Child of the Water 5
2. The Killing of the Giant 6
3. The Killing of the Bull 9
4. The Killing of the Eagles 10
5. The Killing of the Prairie Dogs 12
6. The Creation 13
7. The Gambling Game For Night and Day 14
8. The Quarrel Between Thunder and Wind 16
9. The Sun 17
10. Coyote Obtains Fire 17
11. Coyote and the Money Tree 18
12. Coyote and the Rock Rabbit 19
13. Coyote Misses Real Rabbit 19
14. Coyote and the Rolling Rock 20
15. Coyote and Beetle 21
16. Coyote Holds Up the Sky 21
17. Coyote Dances With the Prairie Dogs 22
18. Coyote Marries His Own Daughter 25
19. The First Mountain Spirit Ceremony 27
20. The Visit of the Mountain Spirits 30
21. The Mountain Spirits and the Old Woman 33
22. A Visit to the Mountain Spirits 34
23. The Mountain Spirits and the Cripples 35
24. The Foolish People and the Missing Pack 35
25. The Foolish People Imitate the Crow 36
26. The Foolish People and the Horse 37
27. The Foolish People and the White Men 37
28. The Foolish People Acquire Coffee 37
29. The Foolish People Go to War 38
30. The Foolish People Run Away 38
31. Stories of the Foolish People 39
32. The Apache and the Comanche 39
33. The False Shaman 40
34. The Woman Shaman 40
35. The Woman Who Had Horse Power 41

36. A Girl is Lost 42
37. The Girl and the Water Spirit 42
38. The Old Woman's Grandson 43
39. Old Apache Customs 45
40. Songs of the Girl's Puberty Ceremony 48
41. Prayer When Building the Ceremonial Tipi 52
42. Songs of the Mountain Spirit Ceremony 53
43. Prayer Before Singing Mountain Spirit Songs 65
44. Prayer Recited While Preparing the gąhé 65
45. Prayer Recited After Singing gąhé Songs 69
46. A Prayer Addressed to the Mountain Spirits 70

II. Linguistic Analysis 71
A. Introduction 71
B. Notes to the Texts 81

III. Ethnological Notes 141

IV. Mescalero Apache Texts 157
1. Coyote and Blue Bunting 157
2. Coyote and Owl 158
3. Coyote and Beaver 161
4. Coyote and Turtle 166
5. Coyote and the Creation 170
6. Coyote and Quail 182
7. Coyote Marries His Own Daughter 182
8. The Killing of the Monsters 183
9. The Mescaleros' Prophecy 188

V. Linguistic Analysis 190

VI. Ethnological Notes 214

INTRODUCTION

The Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache are two tribes, closely related in both language and culture, who formerly lived in adjacent areas of southern New Mexico and Arizona. The Chiricahua territory lay west of the Rio Grande, and the Chiricahua bands ranged through southwestern New Mexico, southeastern Arizona, and the northern parts of Sonora and Chihuahua.[1] The Mescalero country was east of the Rio Grande and extended approximately from the Mexican border to the region south of Santa Fé, New Mexico.

The Mescalero are now living on the Mescalero Reservation in southern New Mexico which was set apart for them in 1873. The Chiricahua, after the surrender of Geronimo, were taken to a prison camp in Florida. After being shifted to similar camps in Alabama and Fort Sill, Oklahoma, they were released by the government in 1913 and given their choice of living in Oklahoma or on the Mescalero Reservation. The majority moved to New Mexico but a small group remained and were given land allotments near Apache, Oklahoma.[2]

The Chiricahua and Mescalero, together with the Western Apache,[3] Navaho, Jicarilla, Lipan, and Kiowa-Apache, form the southern branch of the Athapaskan linguistic stock. Chiricahua and Mescalero differ very little; they are in fact, mutually intelligible. Their closest affiliates within the Southern Athapaskan family are Western Apache and Navaho. These four--which I have called the Western Group--may sharply be distinguished from the Jicarilla, Lipan, and Kiowa Apache which constitute the Eastern Group of the Southern Athapaskan stock.[4]

Not a great deal of material has been published on the Southern Athapaskan languages. Navaho has been described in the grammars and dictionaries of the Franciscan Fathers,[5] and a volume of Navaho texts has been published by Goddard.[6] Goddard has also collected texts from the San Carlos, White Mountain, and Jicarilla Apache.[7] As far as I know, no linguistic data on Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache has ever been published.

The texts presented in this volume were collected in the summers of 1930 and 1931, and in the spring of 1934. My principal informants for the Chiricahua were Sam Kenoi and Duncan Belacho of Mescalero, New Mexico, and Lawrence Mithlo of Apache, Oklahoma. Texts 11 to 21, 24 to 30, and

[1] M. E. Opler, "An Outline of Chiricahua Apache Social Organization" in F. Eggan (ed.), Social Anthropology of North American Tribes (Chicago, 1937), p. 174.

[2] Ibid., p. 175.

[3] "Western Apache" is a collective name given to five distinct ethnic groups living in east central Arizona. I have linguistic data on only one of these groups—the San Carlos—but it seems certain that the other four (i. e., the White Mountain, Cibecue, Northern Tonto, and Southern Tonto) do not differ radically from San Carlos. For an account of the distribution and range of the Western Apache see Grenville Goodwin, "The Social Divisions and Economic Life of the Western Apache," American Anthropologist, Vol XXXVII (1935), No. 1, pp. 55-64.

[4] H. Hoijer, "The Southern Athapaskan Languages," American Anthropologist, Vol. XL (1938), No. 1.

[5] Franciscan Fathers, A Vocabulary of the Navaho Language (2 vols.; St. Michaels, Arizona, 1912); An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language (St. Michaels, Arizona, 1910); and Fr. Berard Haile, A Manual of Navaho Grammar (St. Michaels, Arizona, 1926).

[6] P. E. Goddard, Navaho Texts, "Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXXIV (New York, 1933), No. 1.

[7] P. E. Goddard, Jicarilla Apache Texts, "Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History," Vol. VIII (New York, 1911); San Carlos Apache Texts, Ibid., Vol. XXIV (New York, 1919), Part III; White Mountain Apache Texts, Ibid., Vol. XXIV (New York, 1920), Part IV.

32 to 34 were told by Sam Kenoi; 22, 23, 31, and 35 to 38 by Duncan Belacho; and 1 to 10, and 39 by Lawrence Mithlo. The song texts (nos. 40 to 46) were collected originally by Dr. Jules Henry from David Fatty, an old Chiricahua shaman. This material was later checked by Dr. M. E. Opler who also supplied additional material.

My principal informant for the Mescalero was Charles Smith from whom texts 1 to 5 were obtained. The rest of the Mescalero texts were told by Horace Torres (nos. 6 to 8), and Fred Pelman (no. 9).

The texts and translations have been printed in parallel columns--each paragraph of text adjacent to its translation and numbered the same. The translations have been made as close as is consistent with idiomatic English. Where it has been necessary to add words to the translation not specifically contained in the text, these have been placed within brackets. Words in parentheses are translations of forms in the text but not necessary to the English version.

The linguistic analysis of the texts (see sections II and V) has been made with two objectives in mind. The first purpose of these notes is to enable the reader to isolate the Apache words from their context and to associate them with their English counterparts. Secondly, I have attempted to provide a brief analysis of each form--dividing it into its constituent morphemes and indicating its function in the total context. To facilitate the latter purpose, I have included a brief sketch of Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache grammar in the introduction to section II. Since a form is only analyzed completely on its first appearance in the text, the analytical notes will be found much more complete for the first few texts of each language.

Dr. M. E. Opler of Reed College, who prepared the ethnological notes (sections IIb and IVb), has worked for several years on the cultures of the Southern Athapaskan tribes. His notes to this volume are from his unpublished data on Chiricahua and Mescalero folklore and are intended to supply the ethnological background necessary to a thorough comprehension of the texts. Comparative materials on Southern Athapaskan folklore may be found in Dr. Opler's recent publication Myths and Tales of the Jicarilla Apache[1] and in the publications of Goddard previously cited.

The funds for my first two field trips (in 1930 and 1931) were supplied by the Committee on Research in American Native Languages and I am indebted to that group for their support and cooperation. The Department of Anthropology at the University of Chicago has supported the remainder of the work and has borne the cost of preparing and publishing the resultant data. My sincere thanks are due to Dr. Fay-Cooper Cole of the University of Chicago for his active furtherance of my researches.

Finally, I must express here my deep appreciation of the assistance given me by the many Apache who served as my informants and interpreters. I am especially grateful to Sam Kenoi and Dan Nicholas of the Chiricahua Apache, and to Charles Smith of the Mescalero for their patient and unremitting efforts in my behalf.

[1] Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society, Vol XXXI (New York, 1938).

KEY TO THE PHONETIC SYSTEM EMPLOYED

The orthography employed is strictly phonemic. The symbols used are those recommended in the Report of the Committee of the American Anthropological Association published in the Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Volume 66, No. 6. The modifications on this system suggested by George Herzog, et al. in the American Anthropologist, Volume 36 (1934), pages 629-631 have been accepted.

Vowels

a as in German mann.

a· as in English father.

e as in English bet.

e· as in English bed.

i varies from the sound of English bid to that of English beat.

i· as in English bead.

o varies from the sound of German so to that of English boot.

o· varies from the sound of German Sohn to that of English sooth.

All the vowels may be nasalized. Nasalization is indicated by a subscript hook; ą, ę, ị, and ǫ.

Both Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache employ pitch accent as a syllable phoneme. The pitch of the syllable is carried by its vowel or by a syllabic n. Two pitch registers are distinguished together with two inflected tones. These are indicated as follows: an acute accent (á, é, í, ó) denotes the high tone, a grave accent (à, è, ì, ò) the low tone, a circumflex (â·, ê·, î·, ô·,) the falling tone, and an inverted circumflex (ǎ·, ě·, ǐ·, ǒ·) the rising tone. Falling and rising tones occur only in syllables with long vowels.

Consonants

b intermediate unaspirated bilabial stop.

m voiced bilabial nasal continuant. In one word, mà?yè 'coyote', this is pronounced as a combination of m and b.

t unvoiced aspirated alveolar stop. The aspiration is velar before the vowels a and o, and front palatal before the vowels e and i.

d intermediate unaspirated alveolar stop.

t̓ glottalized alveolar stop.

n voiced alveolar nasal continuant.

ⁿd pronounced as a combination of n and d. In Chiricahua, the n-sound is predominant but in Mescalero the two sounds have approximately equal value.

s unvoiced alveolar sibilant. When this sound occurs in a prefix to a stem containing the phonemes š, ž, ʒ, č, or č̓, it assimilates to š.

z voiced alveolar sibilant.

ʒ intermediate unaspirated alveolar affricative.

c unvoiced aspirated alveolar affricative. The aspiration tends to be velar before a and o and front palatal before e and i. In many cases, however, the aspiration is no heavier than that of German Zeit.

c̓ glottalized alveolar affricative.

ł voiceless spirantal alveolar lateral--roughly similar to the ll of Welsh.

l voiced alveolar lateral. In the final position, it takes on syllabic quality.

λ intermediate lateral affricative (dl in the older orthography.

λ̓ voiceless lateral affricative (tł in the older orthography.

λ̓ glottalized lateral affricative (t́ł in the older orthography.

y voiced front palatal spirant--roughly as

in English young.

š unvoiced blade alveolar spirant. When it occurs in a prefix to a stem containing the phonemes s, z, ʒ, c, or ċ, it assimilates to s.

ž voiced blade alveolar spirant.

ǯ intermediate unaspirated blade alveolar affricative. When it occurs in a prefix to a stem containing the phonemes s, z, ʒ, c, or ċ, it assimilates to ʒ.

č unvoiced aspirated blade alveolar affricative. The aspiration varies in quality as in the case of c, q. v.

č̀ glottalized blade alveolar affricative.

k unvoiced aspirated back palatal stop. Before the vowels a and o, the aspiration is velar and before e and i, it is front palatal.

g intermediate unaspirated palatal stop. Before the vowels a and o, it is back palatal and before e and i, it is front palatal.

k̀ glottalized back palatal stop.

x unvoiced palatal spirant. Before the vowels a and o, it is back palatal and before e and i, it is front palatal.

γ voiced palatal spirant. Before a it is back palatal, before o, back palatal and labialized, and before e and i, front palatal.

h voiceless faucal spirant--as in English home.

ʔ the glottal stop.

I. CHIRICAHUA APACHE TEXTS

1. The Child of the Water

(1) ʔíłcéšį́ bìkèhgòʔì·ⁿdáń gólı̨́náʔà. dáží-kèh bédà·gòžísı̨́. ʔákò· ʔìsʒ́ánálè·šé ʔìłdǫ́ gólı̨́-náʔà.

(2) bìkéšı̨́gò tóbážì·ščìnéń gò·slı̨́náʔà. nà·-γé·ʔnè·syáné ʔìłdǫ́ gò·slı̨́náʔà.

(3) ʔákò· dı̨́·ʔ žìłťégò gòžílı̨́náʔà dáʔíłcé-gòdè·yášı̨́.

(4) ʔákò· ʔìsʒ́ánálè·šéń tóbážì·ščìnéń bì-žà·náʔà. ʔákò· nà·γé·ʔnè·syánéń ⁿdé dò·ǹžǫ́dàšégò ⁿdé ʔáťı̨́náʔà.

(5) γé·ʔyè hò·γéń ʔìłdǫ́ gólı̨́náʔà. ⁿdéí dò·-báńgólà·dànáʔà. ʔìsʒ́ánálè·šéń bìžà· gòyàlè·ł-náʔà. ʔìsʒ́ánálè·šéń bìžà·ń ʔìťà bìzą́·yégò, γé·ʔ-yè hò·γéń kà·yìńłⁿdénáʔà.

(6) ʔákò· ʔìsʒ́ánálè·šéń čà·łnà·γáná?à. "xàʔyágònáxé góžǫ́gò nì·gòsʒ́aní bìkážı̨́ ⁿdé gólà·-ná!" ⁿdínáʔà.

(7) ʔákò· ʔìsʒ́ánálè·šéń dàʔò·ką́·náʔà. nágò nà·gòłtı̨́náʔà. tóí yádàʔnè·stı̨́náʔà. nágò tóí yá-bìžà·gò·slı̨́náʔà.

(8) ʔákò·: "ʔádíń bìzą́·yéń tóbážì·ščìné hò·γédà·ł," ⁿdínáʔà ʔìsʒ́ánálè·šéń. nágò ʔìsʒ́aná-lè·šéń bìžà· gò·slı̨́ yà·ʔìłéńzı̨́náʔà.

(9) "díń šìškèʔń xàʔyágòxé ʔášłágò ǹsánáʔ" žìⁿdínáʔà.

(10) dáʔàłcò žı̨́dà γé·ʔyè hò·γéń kà·nádá-náʔà. ʔáłčìné káháyìńtágò dò·xàʔìyâ·dàí góžǫ́gò bìłkégòyà·zı̨́·łgò, ʔáńdè·dà gòčą́ʔìnáhàdá·łnáʔà.

(11) ʔákò· ʔádíń bìzą́·yéń kǫ́·dàsìkąí bìǩáh-yá báʔgòžó·čìnáʔà. ʔákà· ʔìnážìłtè·náʔà. ʔákà· žìńsánáʔà.

(12) dáxà·è· tà·nážìgìsgòná hànážìłtè·náʔà. ʔášı̨́, tà·nážìyàgìsgò bìʔžìyàsı̨́·łgò, dásí ʔákà· ʔìná·žìyàłté·łgò γé·ʔyè hò·γéń kà·ná·hàdá·łnáʔà.

1. The Child of the Water

(1) At the beginning the Creator[1] existed. Everyone knows about him. And White Painted Woman[2] also existed.

(2) Afterwards Child of the Water was born. Killer of Enemies also was born.

(3) So there were four existing at the very beginning [of time].

(4) And Child of the Water was the child of White Painted Woman. And Killer of Enemies was one of the evil people.[3]

(5) He who is called Giant[4] also existed. He did not permit people to live. White Painted Woman's children were being born. While White Painted Woman's children were still small, he who is called Giant ate them.

(6) Then White Painted Woman went about weeping. "How can people be created on the surface of the earth!" she said.

(7) Then White Painted Woman prayed. And it rained. She lay face upward for the water. And her child was born of the water.[5]

(8) Then: "This little one will be called Child of the Water," said White Painted Woman. And White Painted Woman was happy over the birth of her child.

(9) "What shall I do that this baby of mine is [safely] reared?" she said.

(10) Every day he who is called Giant customarily came to her. He was looking for a baby and after making certain that none was there, he went away from her again.

(11) Then she dug a hole for the little one under the fire that lay there. There she customarily put him away. There she reared him.

(12) She only took him out when she washed him. Then, after washing and feeding him, she put him back in [the hole] just as he who is

(13) k̀ádí tóbáʒ̨ł·ščłnéń nà·yá sìłı̨ná?à.

(14) ?ákò· hàná·ǯó·łtı̨ná?à. ?áń bìzą́·yéń bìłgóǯǫ́gò cíbą̀·è· nà·yáná?à. ?ákà· hìkéḱènná?à.

(15) dásí ?ákà· ?ìná·ǯó·łtı̨gò, yé·?yèń ką̀·-ná·nàʒáná?à. ?ákò· yé·?yèń ?ìsʒánáłè·šéń ?áłł-ⁿdínná?à: "?ádí·dí· ?ìyádí? bìčìyò·łką̀·nì kòyá bìkéḱè!" gò·łⁿdínná?à.

(16) ?ákò· ?ìsʒánáłè·šéń yé·?yèń ?áłłⁿdí-ná?à: "dí·dí·? ?áłčìné béńdà·ščà·gò kòyá bìkéḱè ?ánágòš?ı̨·," ⁿdínná?à.

(17) ?ákò· yé·?yèń ?ìsʒánáłè·šéń ?áłłⁿdí-ná?à: "hànšą̀! šìⁿdâ·ł ?áyálá! ?ákò·ná nò·šłą́!" gò·łⁿdínná?à.

(18) ?ákò· ?ìsʒánáłè·šéń, gòⁿdâ·ł, ?áłčìné bìkéḱè ká?ágólà·ná?à. nágò yé·?yèń ?áⁿdè· ?ò·łą́-ná?à.

(19) ?ášı̨ ?áłčìnéń bìčìdènáhí čą̀·ná?áťégò kà·ná·yì·łcą́ná?à. "?ìyâ·hè· dí·dí·? čìyò·łką̀·kòyá bìčą̀·nè!" gò·łⁿdínná?à.

(20) ?ákò· ?ìsʒánáłè·šéń yé·?yèń ?áłłⁿdí-ná?à: "dí·dí·?ą̀·? ?áłcìné béńdà·ščà·gò ?áłčìné bìčą̀·nè ?ánágòš?ı̨·," gò·łⁿdínná?à.

(21) nágò yé·?yèń ?áná·gòłdìhⁿdínná?à: "hàñ-šą̀! ?áyálášą̀!" ?ìsʒánáłè·šéń bìłǯìⁿdínná?à.

(22) nágò ?ìsʒánáłè·šéń ?áłčìné bìčìdèí nálìłcò·znná?à. ?ìnášłìžèí yélsǯò·lná?à. nágò dásí ?áyáťéná?à. nágò yé·?yèń ?áńdè·dà ?ò·słą̀·-ná?à.

2. The Killing of the Giant

(1) tóbáʒ̨ł·ščłnéń ?ìťàgò ńłʒ̨ìl hìlà·dàdą́, nà·yé·?nè·syánéń ?áná·ⁿdéná?à. ?ìnážànná?à. bı̨·nàłłcè·ná?à. dásígóǯǫ́gò bı̨· yìyàłxé·łgò, yé·?yèń bà·hàgá·łná?à. bà·hàyàłté·łná?à. dò·yâ·dàgò, nà·yé·?nè·syánéń ńnáhàdá·łná?à. yé·?yèń bìgè-čà·łnà·ǯìyáná?à.

(2) ?ákò· k̀ádí tóbáʒ̨ł·ščłnéń dáxà?yá ńłʒ̨ìl sìłı̨ná?à. bìmáń ?ìsʒánáłè·šéń ?áyì·łⁿdínná?à: "šìmá, k̀à· šá?ágòlá. šìkìsę́ bìłdéšžà·," bìmáń

called Giant customarily came to her.

(13) Soon Child of the Water became able to walk around.

(14) Then [one day] she had taken him out [of the hole]. The little one walked happily about at the fireside. There [were] his tracks.

(15) Just as she had put him back in [the hole], the Giant came to her again. And the Giant spoke thus to White Painted Woman: "What are these? Here [are] tracks of something good to eat!" he said to her.

(16) Then White Painted Woman spoke thus to the Giant: "These? I long so for a baby that I often make [such] tracks right here," she said.

(17) Then the Giant spoke thus to White Painted Woman: "Well then! Do it before my eyes! Only then will I believe you!" he said to her.

(18) Then White Painted Woman, before his eyes, made the tracks of a baby for him.[6] And the Giant now believed her.

(19) Just then he saw also those blankets of the baby that were [smeared] with excrement. "What are these? Here [is] the excrement of something good to eat!" he said to her.

(20) Then White Painted Woman spoke thus to the Giant: "These? I long so for a baby that I often make babys' excrement," she said to him.

(21) Then the Giant spoke thus to her again: "Well then! Make it!" he said to White Painted Woman.

(22) Then White Painted Woman picked up a baby blanket. She smeared wild honey[7] on it. And it was just exactly so. And the Giant now believed her.[8]

2. The Killing of the Giant

(1) When Child of the Water was still growing up, Killer of Enemies was already a man. He often hunted. He killed [many] deer. But just as he was killing the deer, the Giant would come to him. He would take it away from him. [Having] nothing, Killer of Enemies would [then] come back home. He went about weeping because of the Giant.

(2) And now Child of the Water had become stronger. He spoke thus to his mother, White Painted Woman: "My mother, make arrows for me.

yì·łⁿdínáʔà.

(3) nágò ʔìsʒánálè·šéń bìžà·ń ʔáyì·łⁿdínáʔà: "šìškèʔé, dò·dà·gò·ʒà·dàgò ʔáńⁿdí. ʔáń yé·ʔyè hò·yéń nì·łxé. ʔáń nà·gòłcè·," gò·łⁿdínáʔà.

(4) dáʔáyáťéńdàh, tóbážì·ščìnéń bìmáń ʔáyì·łⁿdínáʔà: "ʔáxąh! dáʔáyáťéńdàh šìkìsń bìłdéšžà·," ⁿdínáʔà. "ʔìyą·, xąh! ǩà· šáʔágòlá," bìmáń yì·łⁿdínáʔà.

(5) ʔákò·, ʔáyážìⁿdíìbą·, gòmáń, ʔáí hìgè·, hìčànáʔà.

(6) nágò, gòmáń dádò·káháťìdàgò dákábìłgóyégò, nà·yé·ʔnè·syánéńbìł žìdè·žà·náʔà.

(7) kòyá čéžíńʔá·žnáʔà. ⁿdáséyá, žàžà. bì·žìyè·sxìnáʔà. níʔžìłʔàhnáʔà. níʔžì·sʔàhnáʔà. kò·dèʔšdó·łžénáʔà. ʔìcì· cížó·ʔąnáʔà. ʔìcì· žì·sťénáʔà. ǩòh žó·žìžnáʔà. kòyá ńžíńžà·náʔà. bìkáyá, ʔìcì·í ńžíńʔąnáʔà. nà·yé·ʔnè·syánébìł bìčì·žìnè·skénáʔà.

(8) dásígóžǫgò ʔèʔžìnì·łyàłgò, yé·ʔyèń kàńyánáʔà. ʔákò· nà·yé·ʔnè·syánéń, yé·ʔyèń dáyì·łcáè·, hàóčànáʔà. hìčàgò, sìdánáʔà.

(9) ʔákò· tóbážì·ščìnéń nà·yé·ʔnè·syánéń ʔáyì·łⁿdínáʔà: "šìkìsę, ʔìyâ·bą· ńčàʔ bínìʔ, dò·ńčàdà," yì·łⁿdínáʔà.

(10) ʔákò· nà·yé·ʔnè·syánéń tóbážì·ščìnéń ʔáyì·łⁿdínáʔà: "šìkìsę, ʔáń ⁿdé dò·ńžǫdàń nàhčì·hògá·łń hìgè· hìščà," gò·łⁿdínáʔà.

(11) nágò, ʔìcì· bèʔžìńyągò bìčì·žìnè·skéńí, kà·náyìńʔąnáʔà. "dò·sí·łí dà·hìłčìʔáłʔí," gò·łⁿdínáʔà ʔáń yé·ʔyè hò·yéń.

(12) nágò tóbážì·ščìnéń yé·ʔyèń ʔáyì·łⁿdínáʔà: "ńčą·nè ʔáná·dó·λí·łíʔą· ʔášʔì·," gò·łⁿdínáʔà.

(13) ʔákò· yé·ʔyèń ʔìcì·í kà·náyìńʔąnáʔà. ʔáyàžìgò nè·sdážì bìǩáhyá nìyíńʔąnáʔà. bà·nášńʔąnáʔà. kà·náyìńʔąnáʔà. bà·nášńʔąnáʔà. kà·náyìńʔąnáʔà. dásígóžǫgò, dì·ńnáń ʔìłdénánážó·ʔánáʔà.

I'll go hunting with my brother," he said to his mother.

(3) Then White Painted Woman spoke thus to her son: "My child, what you say cannot be done. That one who is called Giant will kill you. That one kills [everyone]," she said to him.

(4) In spite of this, Child of the Water spoke thus to his mother: "Hurry! In spite of that, I shall go hunting with my brother," he said. "So hurry! Make arrows for me," he said to his mother.

(5) Then, because he spoke in this way, his mother, because of that, wept.

(6) Then, [though] his mother did not want him [to go] and was very much afraid on his account, he started off to hunt with Killer of Enemies.

(7) The two went out yonder. At a place further on, they were hunting. They killed a deer. They [began] to butcher it. They [finished] butchering it. They had built a fire. They had put meat on the fire. They had cooked the meat. They had pulled up [some] grass. They had put it down right there. On it, they had put the meat. He and Killer of Enemies had sat down to it.

(8) Just as they had started to eat it, the Giant came up to them. Then Killer of Enemies, as soon as he saw the Giant, burst out crying. Weeping, he sat [there].

(9) Then Child of the Water spoke thus to Killer of Enemies: "My brother, why [do] you weep? Stop, do not cry," he said to him.

(10) Then Killer of Enemies spoke thus to Child of the Water: "My brother, I cry because of that evil person who is coming to us," he said.

(11) Then, as the two who had sat down to it began to eat the meat, he took it away from them. "You have that which I will eat," said he who is called Giant to them.

(12) Then Child of the Water spoke thus to the Giant: "I have prepared that which you will make your excrement," he said to him.

(13) Then the Giant took the meat away from him. He put it down under the place over there where he sat. [Child of the Water] took it away from him. [Giant] took it away from him. [Child of the Water] took it away from him. [Giant] took it away from him. In just this manner, they passed it between themselves exactly four times.

(14) nágò yé·ʔyèń tóbáʒ̨l·ščìnéń ʔáyì·łⁿdínáʔà: "xà·dí ńkàʔgò, hàšíńké?" gò·łⁿdínáʔà.

(15) ʔákò· tóbáʒ̨l·ščìnéń bìkà·ʔí náyìńʒ̨à·náʔà. "ʔádí·dí·ʔà—dí·dí· šìkàʔ," gò·łⁿdínáʔà.

(16) ʔákò· yé·ʔyèń tóbáʒ̨l·ščìnéń ʔáyì·łⁿdínáʔà: "hàńšą̀, ʔńʒ̨á·šą̀. náḱédìšxà·ł," gò·łⁿdínáʔà.

(17) ʔákò· bà·ʒ̨íńʒ̨à·náʔà. nágò yé·ʔyèń ḱà·ńí bìcìlè káyélšʒ̨à·náʔà. yáhá dádò·dè·sʔį́dàyá káyà·náyíńⁿdìlnáʔà.

(18) nágò ʔìłdǫ́ tóbáʒ̨l·ščìnéń yé·ʔyèń ʔáyì·łⁿdínáʔà: "ⁿdí·ʔà! xà·dí nìḱàʔʔ" gò·łⁿdínáʔà.

(19) béńčìyéńcà·zì bìyè·šxàhyá sìžò·ží yé·ʔyèń káyółčìnáʔà. "dí·dí·ʔà—dí· šìḱàʔ ʔáťé," tóbáʒ̨l·ščìnéń yì·łⁿdínáʔà.

(20) ʔákò· tóbáʒ̨l·ščìnéń nádì·ʒ̨áná?à. béńčìyéí šìḱàʔ bìłʒ̨lⁿdíńí káłḱìnà·hè·sʒ̨i̧·náʔà.

(21) nágò tóbáʒ̨l·ščìnéń yé·ʔyèńbìł ʔìłà·nà·gòťà·šnáʔà. nà·yé·ʔnè·syánéń ʔìłḱìdą ⁿdé sìlį́ ńdàh, bìłgóyégò hìčàgò, gòčį́·sìdánáʔà.

(22) ʔákò·, ḱàdì, yé·ʔyèń tóbáʒ̨l·ščìnéń ʔáyì·ⁿdínáʔà: "ʔáxą̀h, ḱàdì, ʔìłh·łťó. ťéhéńdì·dàí bégò·zį́·," tóbáʒ̨l·ščìnéń yì·łⁿdínáʔà.

(23) "ʔáxą̀h," tóbáʒ̨l·ščìnéń gò·łⁿdínáʔà.

(24) nágò yé·ʔyèń tóbáʒ̨l·ščìnéń ʔáyì·łⁿdínáʔà: "ⁿdí ʔìłcé—šánàńńⁿdá. ší ʔìłcé nìńšťó," gò·łⁿdínáʔà.

(25) ʔákò· tóbáʒ̨l·ščìnéń: "ʔáxą̀h," gò·łⁿdínáʔà.

(26) ʔákò· ʔańdè·dà kánàńńyáná?à. nágò yé·ʔyèń dį́·ń góńłťònáʔà. dí·ḱè·ń gòsì·náʔà.

(27) ʔákò· tóbáʒ̨l·ščìnéń yé·ʔyèń ʔáyì·łⁿdínáʔà: "ḱàdì ⁿdí·dà—šánàńńⁿdá," yì·łⁿdínáʔà

(28) yé·ʔyèń kánàńńyáná?à. yé·ʔyèń béšgàlʔé dį́·ʔgò ʔìłká·ʔsìʒ̨à·gò bìʔédènáʔà. dò·kàʔólídànáʔà.

(29) tóbáʒ̨l·ščìnéń góńłťònáʔà. ʔìkášį́gò béšgàlʔé gòʔédèńí gòyàhnà·ʒ́ó·łtè·lnáʔà. ná·bìḱèšį́gò, ná·góńłťònágò, ʔáíłìʔí gòyàhnà·ná·ʒ́ó·łtè·lnáʔà. tá·ń hìlà·è· ná·góńłťònáʔà. tá·ńè· gòʔédèńí gòyàhnà·ná·ʒ́ó·łtè·lnáʔà. nágò dágòńʔòšį́

(14) Then the Giant spoke thus to Child of the Water: "Where are your arrows, you [who] are fierce?" he said to him.

(15) Then Child of the Water picked up his arrows.[1] "These—these [are] my arrows," he said to him.

(16) Then the Giant spoke thus to Child of the Water: "Well then, hand them here. I'll look at them for you," he said to him.

(17) Then he gave them to him. Then the Giant rubbed the arrows on his anus. He threw them away without looking to see where [they went].

(18) Then Child of the Water spoke similarly to the Giant: "You! Where are your arrows?" he said to him.

(19) The Giant pointed out some big pine logs which were lying at his side. "These—these are my arrows," he said to Child of the Water.

(20) Then Child of the Water arose. He rubbed his anus on the pine logs [Giant] had told him [were] his arrows.

(21) Then Child of the Water and the Giant quarrelled with each other. Killer of Enemies had long ago become a man but, afraid and crying, he sat next to [Child of the Water].

(22) Then, finally, the Giant spoke thus to Child of the Water: "Well, then, let's shoot at each other. [That] will show if you are so brave," he said to Child of the Water.

(23) "All right," said Child of the Water to him.

(24) Then the Giant spoke thus to Child of the Water: "You first—stand [over there] for me. I'll shoot at you first," he said to him.

(25) Then Child of the Water: "All right," he said to him.

(26) And then he stood up for him. And the Giant shot at him four times. He missed him every time.[2]

(27) Then Child of the Water spoke thus to the Giant: "Now you—you stand up for me," he said to him.

(28) The Giant stood up for him. The Giant's coat [was] four layers of flint. He was not afraid of him.

(29) Child of the Water shot at him. The topmost [layer of] his flint coat slid off him. The next layer, as he shot at him again, (this one) slid off him also. He shot at him again for the third time. The third time, his coat again

gòʒéí nà·hłhⁿdáná?à. dı̨·ñè· ná·góńłt̀òná?à. gò-ʒéíí dásí?łⁿdíyá ?łʒó·slná?à.

(30) nágò yé·?yèń ?áⁿdínná?à: "lyâ·hè· dò·-t̨ı̨dàí ?áštł?ı̨·ná?" ⁿdínná?à.

(31) nágò tóbáʒł·šèlnéń nà·yé·?nè·syánéń ?áył·łⁿdínná?à: "náñłyè·! ńdè·skà·! k̀ádl, ñk̀è·-nł·kà·!" gò·łⁿdínná?à.

(32) nágò nà·yé·?nè·syánéń ?łłéńzı̨ná?à. nà·ná?àžlšná?à.

(33) bı̨· ʒłyè·sxı̨ñí ?lsʒánáłè·šéń bà·náʒí-gı̨ná?à. ?łłéńzı̨ná?à. nà·ná?àžlšná?à. "šlškè?é, ?lxéhè·!" gò·łⁿdínná?à ?lsʒánáłè·šéń. ?ákà· ?l-ʒó·?á·ždą, dò·hłⁿdákà·yólídà. ?áíñí bà·náʒíťá·ž. bánlʒíyı̨. nágò bínlxò·ná?à.

8. The Killing of the Bull

(1) k̀ádl nâ·?cílll blⁿdâ·yè·?łyą́·?í, ⁿdé dò·báńgólà·dànná?àí, gólı̨ná?à.

(2) ?ákò· tóbáʒł·šèlnéń blmáń ?áył·łⁿdí-ná?à: "šlmá, k̀ádl ?áyàhyá nâ·?cílll blⁿdâ·yè·?ł-yą́·?í nà·yáí blčı̨·dłyéšʒá," gò·łⁿdínná?à. ?ákò· hłčı̨·?łhà·ʒáná?à.

(3) ?áí nâ·?cílłí dò·xà?šı̨ bà·ʒóyà?lè?áťé-dàšı̨ sltı̨ná?à. dáʒłłgàšı̨ ?łłčągò dè·s?ı̨gò sltı̨-ná?à.

(4) hàná?àñšı̨ blčı̨·ñʒíńyáná?à. ?ášı̨ ʒł·sdá-ná?àgò ?à?á·łná?à. "xà?gòxè· ?à·í nâ·?cílłí slš-xéná?" ʒíńzı̨gò ʒłčągò ʒł·sdáná?à.

(5) nágò, dáhágò·hⁿdl·, łíyè?nà·?łⁿdllé kà·hílyònná?à. "?łyâ·bą· ñčągò síñdá?" gò·łⁿdí-ná?à.

(6) nágò tóbáʒł·šèlnéń ?áⁿdínná?à: "?à·í nâ·?cílłí blⁿdâ·yè·?łyą́·?í ⁿdé dò·báńgólà·dàí xà?yágòdà łà? hlšłá slšxé ńsı̨?í; dò·xà?yágò łà? hòšłá háťédàí blgè· hlščà," yl·łⁿdínná?à.

(7) nágò łíyè?nà·?łⁿdlléí tóbáʒł·šèlnéń ?áyl·łⁿdínná?à: "?íyą̀·ń, dı̨·ñ ?łłdągé ?ń?áńgò dásí blʒéí sl?ą́í ?ážı̨ náhà?lšⁿdí·ł. ?ákò· k̀ádl ñł-dó·ⁿdl·gò, ?ádí·dí· ?ldáhégò ?ń?áńí ?ñłyè·. ?á-

slid off him. Then his heart [could] clearly [be seen] beating. [Child of the Water] shot at him again for the fourth time. He shot [the arrow] right into the center of his heart.

(30) Then the Giant spoke thus: "What has that which cannot be seen done to me?" he said.

(31) Then Child of the Water spoke thus to Killer of Enemies: "Run away! He's starting to fall! Quickly, [or] he will fall on you!" he said to him.[3]

(32) Then Killer of Enemies was happy. He danced around and around.

(33) The deer which they had killed they carried back to White Painted Woman. She was happy. She danced around and around. "My son, that is good!" said White Painted Woman to him. When the two had gone out there, she had not expected them [to come back] alive. They had come back to her. They had brought [a deer] for her. So she was happy.

8. The Killing of the Bull

(1) Now the Bull who killed with his eyes, he who did not permit people to live, existed.

(2) Then Child of the Water spoke thus to his mother: "My mother, now I'm going over there where lives the Bull who kills with his eyes," he said to her. And then he went off to him.

(3) That Bull lay where one could not approach him [unseen] from any direction. He lay right in a plain looking in all directions.

(4) [Child of the Water] stopped, facing him from a hiding place. There he sat for some time. "How can I kill that Bull?" he thought as he sat weeping.

(5) Then, suddenly, a Gopher came to him. "Why do you sit there weeping?" he said to him.

(6) Then Child of the Water spoke thus: "I want in some way to kill that Bull who kills with his eyes [and] who will not permit people to live; I weep because there is no way in which I can do it," he said to him.

(7) Then the Gopher spoke thus to Child of the Water: "Well, I'll dig for you four tunnels above one another and leading directly to his heart. Then, just as I give you the word, you

kò·, ?à·è· ñ·łyògò, dázą·šį blžéí nà·hlhⁿdádà·ł. ?ákò·, blžéíí ?lłⁿdíyá ?lžóñslgò, dí·dí· dásí?lyàhégò ?ń?áńí ?hłyè·," gò·łⁿdíná?à. góžǫgò kàòhⁿdl·ná?à.

(8) ?ákògò: "ǩàdl, xą?ál?ı! kòyá ?ìłyè·! dá?áñłdlsⁿdíí dí·ǩèh dá?ákà·yá ?ⁿdá!" łíyè?nà·?lⁿdlléí gò·łⁿdíná?à.

(9) nágò tóbážl·ščlnéń: "?áxąh, dá?ákà·," gò·łⁿdíná?à.

(10) nágò ?ldáhégò ?ń?áńí ?ò·łyòná?à. nâ·?cíllìí sltı́í dásíblǩášı́ ñžíłyòná?à. nágò dázą·šı́ blžéíí nà·hlhⁿdáná?à. dásí?lłⁿdíyá ?lžó·slná?à. nágò blčąnášdl·łyòná?à. dásí?lyàhégò ?ń?áńí ?lžàłyòná?à.

(11) nâ·?cíllìí bldè·í ?ń?áńìí ?ákà· yè·nà·nágàzı́·sná?à. tá·ñ ?lłdàgé ?ń?áńìí dí·ǩèh nàlsⁿdllná?à. dásí?lkéyą, dı́·ñ ?ń?áńí hlǩéná·gòdè·sčínná?à. žl·stı́í dágòčı́· ?áxá·néyá cádè·sǩlžná?à.

(12) ?ákò· dí·dí· ?lłdǫ ⁿdé dò·báńgólà·dàí ná·žlyè·sxı́ná?à.

(13) ?ákò· tóbážl·ščlnéń blmáń yà·názáná?à. "nâ·?cíll blⁿdâ·yè·?lyą·?ńí ná·zéłxı́," yl·łⁿdíná?à.

(14) nágò ?lszánálè·šéń, ?lłéńzı́gò "?lxéhè·!" ⁿdígò, nà·ná?àžlšná?à.

4. The Killing of the Eagles

(1) ?ákò· ?ádí·dí· nâ·?cíll žlyè·sxı́ñí blčí·?í dí·ǩèh hàžó·ⁿdllná?à. ?ákò· dá?áí nâ·?cíllí bldlłèí dí·ǩèh blyè·žl ñtážl·sⁿdllná?à.

(2) nágò, gòmáń, ?lszánálè·šéńń, ?â·łžlⁿdíná?à: "šlmá, ǩàdl ?áń ?lcá blⁿdâ·yè·?lyą·?ń, ⁿdé dò·báńgólà·dàń, blčı́·ná·dlyè·szá," tóbážl·ščlnéń gò·łⁿdíná?à. ?ákò· blčı́·šdlyè·száná?à.

(3) ?ákò·, ?áńdè·dà, gòłgàžı́; ?lťàgò gòłgàžı́ čéžíⁿdádàdą, ?áí ?lčí·? ?ldlłè bè·hàdà·šdè·sbı́?ńí gòǩéšdè·sdlzná?à gòkášı́ dí·ǩè·ñ. ?ákò· ?áńdè·dà gòłgàžı́ báčéžíńyáná?à.

(4) ?ákò·, ?áyàšı́ céyáłťàhò·?ášı́ blžà· hlłrun into this topmost tunnel. Then, when you get over there, his heart will be beating right there.[1] Then, when you have shot [your arrow] right in the center of his heart, run into the lowest tunnel," he said to him. He advised him well.

(8) Then: "Now hurry up! Run in right here! Do everything I have told you in just that way!" said the Gopher to him.

(9) Then Child of the Water: "All right, [I'll do] just so," he said to him.

(10) Then he entered the topmost tunnel. He stopped right under where the Bull was lying. And right there his heart was beating. He shot [an arrow] right into the center of it. Then he ran away from him. He ran into the very lowest tunnel.

(11) The Bull was plowing the tunnels up with his horns. He tore the three top tunnels all up. Finally, he started to tear up the fourth tunnel also. He fell dead just as he [came] close to where [Child of the Water] lay.

(12) Then he had also killed this one who would not permit people to live.

(13) Then Child of the Water returned to his mother. "I have also killed the Bull who kills with his eyes," he said to her.

(14) Then White Painted Woman, feeling very happy [and] saying, "That is good!" danced around and around.

4. The Killing of the Eagles

(1) Then he removed all of the intestines of this Bull he had killed. And he poured all of the blood of that same Bull into them.

(2) Then, [to] his mother, the White Painted Woman, he spoke thus (to her): "My mother, now [to] that Eagle who kills with his eyes, he who will not permit people to live, I am going (to him) also," Child of the Water said to her. And he started off to him.

(3) Then, now, to the plain; [but] before he went out to the plain, he wound those intestines he had filled with blood all around him[self]. And then he went out to the plain for [the Eagle].[1]

(4) Then, [the Eagle], from over there at

dàsìʒéšı̨ ʔłłčą́gò dè·sʔı̨gò—ʔłyâ·dà xàʔyádà čé-ⁿdáı́ hı́kádè·sʔı̨gò dàsìdášı̨—gò·łcą́náʔà. dágô·ščį· góńgònáʔà. gòyádè·łčìnáʔà. dágô·ščį·, ʔášı̨, dìłı́ hàdà·slı̨ sìlı̨náʔà. nágòńłtı̨náʔà. ʔáyáı́ céyáłťáhŏ·ʔáyá bìžà· dàsìʒéńı́ yà·nágógı̨náʔà.

(5) ʔákò· bìžà·ı́ nà·hè·stą́žı̨ hìčı̨·ʔłyó·łťènáʔà. bìčèʔškénéı́ ʔádàìłⁿdínáʔà: "ʔà·ı́ xąh ḱàdì dà·hàłyàł!" yì·łⁿdínáʔà. ʔákò· bı́ ʔášı̨ cédè·sʔášı̨ dàhnáńdà·ńšı̨ dàhnánè·sdánáʔà.

(6) nágò bìčèʔškénéńı́ ʔè·dà·ʔnì·łyàłnáʔà. nágò bìčı̨·šdìdè·sⁿdì·náʔà. nágò: "sss—!" bìłʒìⁿdínáʔà. nágò bìłdà·góyénáʔà.

(7) yášı̨ bìtà·ń dàsìdáńń dá·yóžínáʔà: "šìtà·, ʔádíń 'sss—!' nàhì·łⁿdí!"

(8) nágò bìtà·ń ʔádà·bì·łⁿdínáʔà: "nó·yòyáxąh dà·hàłyàł! ʔà·ı́ ʔłłkìdą́ dà·scą́. ʔà·ı́ ḱà·dà·ḱèšı̨ ńàdà·sčìʔı́ ʔáìłčà," gòtà·ń dà·gòłⁿdínáʔà. nágò, dáʔáyádà·gòłdè·sⁿdì·dą́, kòʔyá xàʔyá ʔìná·nô·ťànáʔà.

(9) nágò tóbážì·ščìnéń céyèʔsìʔą́ı́ bìťàhá sìʔą́ı́ hàyó·ʔą́náʔà. ʔákò· yè·gòtà·ʒì·sⁿdìnáʔà. nà·gò·scè·náʔà. ʔáń dásıʔìkéyánà·yáń dáʔáná ʔìnáìsı̨·náʔà.

(10) nágò tóbážì·ščìnéń ʔáń ʔìkéʔnà·yáńń hìšdìłkìnáʔà: "ńtà·ń xá·ʔgò ńnáhàdá·łʔ" bìłʒìⁿdínáʔà.

(11) ʔákò· ʔáń bìzą́·yéń ʔágò·łⁿdínáʔà: "ńłcą́bìkąʔı́ dà·dìkágò tóbìžòlèı́ dà·sdìⁿdì·łgò, ńnáhàdá·ł," gò·łⁿdínáʔà.

(12) ʔákò·: "xàʔášı̨ dàhnáńdà·ʔ" bìłʒìⁿdínáʔà.

(13) "ʔà·šı̨, cédè·sʔášı̨, dàhnáńdà·," gò·łⁿdínáʔà.

(14) ʔákò· ʔáńdè·dà, ʔášı̨ dàhnáńdà· ʒìⁿdínšı̨ báńʒìyè·ʒánáʔà. nágò, ʔášı̨ nô·gòšı̨, dóšò·dó gòdìhⁿdínáʔà. ʔı̨·šı̨, dàhnáńdà·ńšı̨, dàhnè·sʒı̨náʔà. ʔìťàgò bìłkégòzı̨·dàgò, bínźàhá céyèʔsìʔą́ı́ bè·ʒì·sⁿdì·náʔà. ʔìsdàʔ ʔìbélʒó·łⁿdìnáʔà.

(15) nágò ʔáń bìzą́·yéń ná·hìšdìłkìnáʔà. "ḱàdì, ńmá xá·ʔgò ńnáhàdá·łʔ" bìłʒìⁿdínáʔà.

the rock that extends to the sky on which he lies with his children looking in every direction—where he sits searching for something to come out somewhere—saw him. Suddenly he swooped down. He grabbed him with his claws. Immediately, at that place, blood began to flow. He picked him up. He carried him back over there to the rock that extends to the sky on which his children lay.

(5) Then he threw him over to where his children were sitting. He spoke thus to his children: "Eat this up quickly!" he said to them. Then he sat down again on the place on the extended rock on which he usually sat.

(6) Then his children began to eat. And they reached out to [Child of the Water]. Then: "Sss—!" he said to them. Then they were afraid.

(7) They called over there to where their father was sitting: "My father, this one said 'Sss—!' to us!"

(8) Then their father spoke thus to them: Go right ahead [and] eat him! That one died long ago. That noise is the air coming out of his wounds," their father said to them. And, just as he had told them this, he flew away somewhere again.

(9) Then Child of the Water took out a stone axe which lay in his pocket. Then he began to knock them down with it. He killed them. Only that one which was born last he spared.

(10) Then Child of the Water asked that one who was born last: "When is your father returning?" he said to him.

(11) Then that little one spoke thus to him: "When the male rain[2] starts to come [and] the water dust starts to fall, he will return," he said to him.

(12) Then: "Where does he usually sit?" said [Child of the Water] to him.

(13) "Over there, at that point of rock, he usually sits," he said to him.

(14) Then now, he lay in wait for [Eagle] at the place where [the little one] had told him he usually sat. Then, as [Eagle] swooped back to that place, there was a great noise. There, at the place where he usually sat, he alighted. Before he noticed him, [Child of the Water] hit him on the side of the head with the stone axe. He knocked him off [the rock].

(15) Then he questioned the little one again. "Now, when is your mother returning?" he

(16) "ńłcąbłʔáí dà·dłkágò tóbłžòlèí dà·sdłⁿdí·łgò, ńnáhàdá·ł," gò·łⁿdíná?à.

(17) ʔákò·: "xàʔášį dàhnáńdà·?" ná·błłžłdłhⁿdíná?à.

(18) "?à·šį, cédè·sʔášį, dàhnáńdà·," gò·łⁿdíná?à.

(19) ʔákò· ʔášį bená·ʒłyè·ʒená?à. kòʔšį hògò hł·łćàná?à. dàhłłžįžł hògòná?à. ?łťàgò błłkégòzł·dàgò, bíńǩàhá ná·žł·sⁿdł·ná?à. ?łsdà? ?łbélʒó·łⁿdíná?à. žłyè·sxįná?à.

(20) ʔákò· ʔáń błzą·yéńń, ʔłnážł·sł·ńń, ʔâ·łžłⁿdíná?à: "ǩàdł, ʔłsdà? nášłgè·," błłžłⁿdíná?à.

(21) ʔákò· ʔáńdè·dà hàńyà· nágòdè·sgįná?à. ʔłsdà? nágàgįná?à. ʔákà· ʔłłdǫ́ błcł· žł·sⁿdł·ná?à. žłyè·sxįná?à.

(22) ʔákò· błťàí bà·hážłyàⁿdłšná?à. "dí·dí·ʔłžášè· ʔáyáťéí hólà·łàhà!" žłⁿdígò ʔłłčągò ʔłžłⁿdí·łná?à. ʔáí błǩèhgò ʔłžášè· ʔłłʔàńgò ʔádà·ťéí gò·slįná?à.

(23) ʔášį gòmáń bà·ná·žłʒená?à. "šłmá, ʔáń gòbó·yą́," błłžłⁿdíná?à.

(24) nágò gòmáńń kàʔłłéńzįná?à. "ʔłxéhè·, šłškèʔè!" gò·łⁿdíná?à.

5. The Killing of the Prairie Dogs[1]

(1) ǩàdł tóbážł·ščłnéń błmáń ʔáył·łⁿdíná?à: "dáʔł·è·ná ʔégòdł. ńʔà·yá λǫ́í błⁿdâ·yè·ʔłyą́·ʔí ⁿdé dò·báńgółà·dàí gółłí błčł·ná·dłyéšʒá," ⁿdíná?à. ʔákò· hłčł·ʔłná·hàʒená?à.

(2) λǫ́łí ʔáxá·nézł błⁿdâ·í dò·yè·ʔłyą́dàná?à. ńzà·žįná błⁿdâ· yè·ʔłyą́ná?à.

(3) báńʒłyè·ʒená?à. λǫʔyèí gòłgàyášį błgò·yąná?à. kǫ́·hézł bł·ʔáńyá ʔáná·hàłyòłgò, hàná·hàłyòłšį, błgò·yąʔí błkášį ʔłłčągò dè·sʔįgò slzįná?à. žłčàgò, błčł·žł·sdágò ʔàʔá·łná?à.

said to him.

(16) "When the female rain[2] starts to come [and] the water dust starts to fall, she will return," he said to him.

(17) Then: "Where does she usually sit?" he said to him also.

(18) "Over there, at that point of rock, she usually sits," he said to him.

(19) Then he lay in wait there for her also. From far away was heard the noise of her flying. She was swooping down to her perch. Before she noticed him, [Child of the Water] hit her also on the side of the head. He knocked her off [the rock]. He killed her.

(20) Then that little one, the one he had spared, he spoke thus to him: "Now, you carry me down," he said to him.

(21) So then he started to carry [Child of the Water] down again. He had carried him down. There [Child of the Water] hit his head also. He killed him.

(22) Then he was pulling out [the Eagles'] feathers. "Let these become all varieties of birds!" he said as he scattered them in all directions. By that [act] he created all of the different birds that exist.

(23) Then he returned to his mother again. "My mother, I have killed them," he said to her.

(24) And his mother was very happy about it. "That is good, my child!" she said to him.

5. The Killing of the Prairie Dogs

(1) Now Child of the Water spoke thus to his mother: "Just one more remains. I shall also go over there where live the Prairie Dogs who kill with their eyes [and] who will not permit people to live," he said. And he started off toward them.

(2) The Prairie Dogs cannot kill one close [to them] with their eyes. They only kill at a distance with their eyes.[2]

(3) [Child of the Water] lay hidden from him. The Prairies Dog's home [was] in a plain. For a moment he'd run into his hole, [then], running out again, he'd stand on the top of his house looking in all directions. Weeping, [Child of the Water] sat facing him a long time.

(4) nágò mà?ìšǫ́ílbáyé kà·hílyòná?à. ?ágò·ł-ⁿdínà?à: "?ìyâ·bą· ñčàgò sínda?" gò·łⁿdínà?à.

(5) ?ákò·: "ń?áń bìⁿdâ·yè·?ìyą́·?ń čídégòdà ?ášlá íbą· hìščà," bìlǯìⁿdínà?à mà?ìšǫ́ílbáyéí.

(6) ?ákò· mà?ìšǫ́ílbáyéí ?ágò·łⁿdínà?à: "?ì·yà·ń, ñǯò·šnè·," gò·łⁿdínà?à. "?áyàšì hànà·-násyògò ?ì·?áhná·nô·łyògò, xà·dí dásí?ìtìsgò bè·ñłtìí ?ìíàgò hànà·násyè·dàgò bè·nádìyó·łyòł. ?ákò·, nì·?á nó·łyàłgò, ñkáyá čí·yà· nò·šyàł," mà?ìšǫ́íí gò·łⁿdínà?à.

(7) ?ákò· dá?áyáǯílà·ná?à. nágò kòšì hànà·-násyònà?à. nágò dá?ì·šì bìčì·?áxá·néšì ǯì·stì-ná?à. nágò ?áhná·nô·łyònà?à. dábìkéyá yà?ǯìnó·-gònà?à.

(8) dè·kòšé ǯàǯìšná?à. nágò ?ì·?áńyá bìtà-ǯílyònà?à. kò·žì nàñńíìná?à. "?íìcé! ?ádí·dí·?áxá·nézì bìčì·dà·nál?ągò kédà·dàxà·ł," dà·bìł-ǯìⁿdígò; kò·í ?áxá·nézì hìčì·dà·nè·s?ągò dàìnéł-?ìgò, dè·kòšéí bìčì·céǯó·łkà·ná?à.

(9) bìčì·dà·dè·sčìłná?à. bìⁿdâ·í bìł?ìdà·-hè·stà?ná?à. ?ákò·, dò·dà·?à?ìdà dà·sìlìgò, dá-?ážì tàłǯì·sⁿdìná?à. nà·ǯì·scè·ná?à.

(10) ?ášì, ?égòǯì·sdì·gò, gòmáń bà·nážíǯá-ná?à. gòmáń kà·?ìłéńzìná?à. "?ìxéhè·!" gò·łⁿdígò nà·ná?àžìšná?à.

6. The Creation

(1) ḱàdì nì·?íkáè· ?ìł?àñgò bìⁿdâ·yè·dà·?ì-yą́·?í dí·kèh nà·ǯì·scè·ná?à. ḱàdì ⁿdé ?ágòǯìlá-ná?à.

(2) gòšíìš ⁿdé ḱèháíégò nà·kì ?ážílà·ná?à. ?ìsǯáń ?ìłdǫ́ nà·kì ḱèháíégò ?ážílà·ná?à. hàòǯígò ?ážìlà·ná?à dí·kèh.

(3) nágò, ⁿdéšì ?ìsǯáńdó: "nàhí ⁿdé hìnàxé-dà·ł," gòłǯìⁿdínà?à. "nàhí ?ìłdǫ́ nà·dìnàłíéí ?ì-ⁿdà· hìnàxédà·ł," gòłǯìⁿdínà?à.

(4) ?ákò· kánì?ǯíńłdé·lná?à. tóbáǯì·ščìnéń ⁿdénè yáná?dì·?ì·gò nà·yé·?nè·syánéń ?ìⁿdà· yá-

(4) Then a Gray Lizard came to him. He spoke thus to him: "Why do you sit there weeping?" he said to him.

(5) Then: "I weep because I've tried in vain [to catch] that one who kills with his eyes," he said to the Gray Lizard.

(6) Then the Gray Lizard spoke thus to him: "Well then, I'll help you," he said to him. "When he comes out again and goes in again over there, you run as fast as you can before he comes out again. Then, as you throw yourself down on the ground, I'll fall flat on top of you," the Lizard said to him.

(7) Then [Child of the Water] did just exactly so. And [the Prairie Dog] came out again. Then [Child of the Water] was lying right there close to him. Then [the Prairie Dog] went in again. [Child of the Water] dashed in right behind him.

(8) He was carrying [a bag of] salt. He went among them in the hole. They were seated around the fire. "Here! Put your heads close to this and look at it," he said to them; as they put their heads close to the fire and looked at it, he threw the salt toward them into the fire.

(9) [The salt] exploded toward them. It scattered into their eyes. Then, as they became blind, he knocked them down right away. He killed them.

(10) Then, when he had finished, he returned to his mother. His mother was very happy over it. "That is good!" she said as she danced around and around.

6. The Creation

(1) Now he had killed all of those different ones on earth who killed with their eyes. Now he was to create people.

(2) He made two mud [figures] just like men. He also made two just like women. He made all of them capable of speech.[1]

(3) Then, [to one] man and woman: "You two will be called Indians," he said (to them). "You others, you two will be called white men," he said to them.

(4) Then he set down [several things] for them. Child of the Water is to choose for the

ná?dì·?ı̨·gò; ?ìłtı̨· k̀à·bìł káñǯíń?ı̨·ná?à.

(5) nágò tóbáǯì·ščìnéń nà·yé·?nè·syánéń bìł?łłà·na·gòťà·šná?à. "ⁿdí ?íłcé ná?ñ?ı̨·," ?łǯìdìhⁿdíná?à.

(6) dá?ó·s?àgò tóbáǯì·ščìnéń k̀à·í ⁿdé yánáłhłǯè·ná?à. "?ádí·dí·ná bégózı̨ ?áǯílágò," ⁿdínná?à.

(7) ?ákò· nà·yé·?nè·syánéń ?łłtı̨· bìčąná?-šñ?ı̨·í dò·yáłtìdàhè nálìntąná?à.

(8) ?ákò· k̀àdì ǯłł nà·kì káñǯíńłdé·lná?à. łł?í bìkáè· gòńłčìlná?à. ⁿdé bìdáńí—dá?ákòdè·yá náñťı̨í, bı̨·í, ǯłłátà·žèí—dí·k̀èh bìká? gólı̨ná?à. yàšı̨gò ǯłłsì?ą́í dò·yâ·bìká?gólı̨dànná?à. dádìłkǫ̀·-dègò sì?ą́íbą̀·, tóbáǯì·ščìnéń hìčąná?ñ?ı̨·ná?à.

(9) nágò nà·yé·?nè·syánéń ?áí ǯłłí bìčąná?-šñ?ı̨·ñí ?ìⁿdà· yánálìñ?ı̨·ná?à. nágò ?áí ǯłł dò·-yâ·bà·gólı̨dàñí ?łłčą́?aǯa·ná?à. ?áí bìyè?šı̨, łínní, ǯà·ⁿdè·zí dásídàñžǫ́níná, nâ·?cílłí, dìbéhéí, gô·čłí, tà·žèí—dí·k̀èh čénádà·hè·sąná?à. káťégò ?ìⁿdà·í ⁿdéíbìł bà·?šdó·?ı̨·ná?à.

(10) ?áíbè· ⁿdéí ?ádí·dí· dá?ákòdè·yá nâdàñťı̨í dí·k̀èh yè·hìⁿdána?à. "bı̨·?ádà·ťéí, ǯłłátà·-žèí, dá?ákòdè·yá dà·gólı̨, yè·hìⁿdádà·ł," ǯìⁿdínná?à.

(11) "?ìⁿdà·í, nà·?ìzì·gò, ná?ñłťı̨í hìčąšı̨ hìⁿdádà·ł," ǯìⁿdínná?à.

(12) ?ákò· ?ìⁿdà·í ?â·łǯìⁿdínná?à: "?łłčą́-?à·ⁿdàhyá—dí·dí· tógònásgà?í hànàñyá—?łłčągò-nàłı̨dà·ł. dáxà·è· ?łłłyà·łcé·łè·, nà·gònàłǯò·-dà·ł—ⁿdéń ?ìⁿdà·ńbìł," gò·łǯìⁿdínná?à.

Indians [and] Killer of Enemies is to choose for the white men;[2] he put down a gun and a bow and arrow for them.

(5) Then Child of the Water [and] Killer of Enemies quarrelled with each other. "You choose first," they said to each other.

(6) A little later Child of the Water chose the bow and arrow for the Indians. "The making of these is understood," he said.

(7) Then Killer of Enemies picked up the gun that remained without saying anything.

(8) And then he put down two mountains for them. On one of them there was a heavy growth of vegetation. Indian food—wild growing things, deer, wild turkeys—all of these were on it. The other mountain that lay there had nothing on it. Because it lay absolutely barren, Child of the Water chose [the former mountain].

(9) Then Killer of Enemies chose for the white man that mountain which [Child of the Water] had left. And that mountain which had nothing on it spread apart. From inside it, horses, the very best mules, cattle, sheep, pigs, chickens—all of these came out. In that way he gave [things] to the white man and the Indian.

(10) So the Indian lives on those wild growing things, "All varieties of deer, turkeys, [and] the things that are wild will they live on," he said.[3]

(11) "The white men, working, will live on cultivated plants," he said.

(12) Then he spoke thus to the white man: "Very far apart—on the other side of this ocean—you will live from one another. Whenever you see one another, you will fight—Indian with the white man," he said to them.

7. The Gambling Game for Night and Day

(1) k̀àdì, ?łłdǫ́, dò·łłkà·dàná?à.

(2) ?áí—dí·dí· ?łžášè·?áťéí nà·dà·?ìⁿdì·-šégò dà·bìzą́·yéí dí·k̀èh dáčà·gòłxè·łná·nó·łťè·í dò·bìłdàñžǫ́dàná?à. ?ákò· łàšégòí dábè·négòzì?íná bìžádèdà·dı̨·?íná ?áťı̨ná?à. ?áí dí·k̀èh dí·dí·dá-čà·gòłxè·łgòná bìłñžǫ́ná?à.

(3) ?ákò·: "bíká ?łłà·žíkágò bà·yá?ìtì," dà·ǯìⁿdínná?à.

7. The Gambling Game for Night and Day

(1) Now, also, there was no day.

(2) That—these birds of the kind that fly [and] all the small [creatures] did not like (it that it was always dark). And those on the other side were only the predatory [creatures] that had four legs. All of these liked it that there was only darkness.

(3) Then: "There is to be a gathering to discuss it," they said.

(4) bà·yádà·ʒó·łtl. nágò: "ʔáxąh, hlkáí bà·dà·ʔdè·kà·," dà·ʒlⁿdínáʔà.

(5) ʔákò· kéhè· dà·ʔšdè·skà·náʔà. ʔákò· ʔáńdè·dà dà·ʔšdè·skà·náʔà. ʔákò· k̓ádl ʔánágàtl̨·ł ʔlłčąná·gònàhⁿdé·ł.

(6) k̓ádl ʔákò·, ʔáń céńłyé·sè· ʔáń hlłkà·háťl̨náʔà. ʔákò· łàšégò ⁿdédàńcà·í ʔáí dò·hádà·-ťl̨dànáʔà hlłkà·í. ʔákò· ⁿdéblzą·yéí ʔáí hlłkà·hádà·ťl̨náʔà.

(7) ʔákò· łlí ʔáná·dà·ⁿdíí, "dò·hlłkà·gólí-dà!" dà·ⁿdínáʔà.

(8) ʔákò· łlí: "hl·ską́ hàyó·łką́!" dà·ⁿdí-náʔà.

(9) ʔákò· k̓ádl ná·náłlí: "dò·hlłkà·gólį́dà!" dà·ⁿdínáʔà.

(10) ʔlyâ·xè· ńcà·í ʔá·ʔè· nà·ʔltànáʔà. "hàyó·łką́. ší, k̓ádl, dò·xąhnà·šádàí, nàhbàʔhò-šá·ł," ⁿdínáʔà. ʔákò· ʔŏ·yánáʔà.

(11) ʔákò·, ʒą́·è· blʔà·bą·yá, ʒą́·è· hl·ską́-náʔà. ʔákò· ʔlłè·dà·ʔʒlnl·gąnáʔà.

(12) ʔákò·, k̓ádl, ʔáń ⁿdéńcà-ń ʔá·ʔè· ʔltà-sltl̨náʔà. ʔáń dáʔáná, dà·ʒl·łxégò bà·tl̨·ǯàkà-náʔà. ʔáń ⁿdéńcà·ń blkéʔáyégòdà blǯéí slʔą́náʔà. dò·bédà·gòǯísl̨dànáʔà.

(13) ʔákò· màʔlšǫ́łłbáyé ʔádà·gò·łⁿdínáʔà: "ʔà·ń blkéʔáhyá blǯéí slʔą́. nàháńšťó. k̓à· šà·-nàhʔl̨·," dà·gò·łⁿdínáʔà.

(14) ʔákò· màʔlšǫ́łłbáyéń gòkéʔáyá ʔò·łyò-náʔà. gòkéʔáyá yíńłťònáʔà. gòyè·sxl̨náʔà. k̓ádl ʔáń dà·ǯlyè·sxl̨náʔà.

(15) nágò k̓ádl góídànáʔà. góí céglǯlyá bl-ⁿdâ·í káʔyó·łdé·l dò·xàʔyągòblčl̨·gózǫ́dàyá. ʔákò· kà·ʔlsdàdà·yánáʔà. ʔáíbè· gó gò·sl̨náʔà. dò·łàʔ-dà·ǯílà·dànáʔà.

(16) k̓ádl šàší ʔlłdǫ́ bà·tl̨·ná·ǯàkànáʔà· dà·ǯl·łxégò, dlcl̨ łą́í slkà·í blčl̨·kà·dà·híⁿdá-náʔà. dlcl̨slkà·í kà·γédà·yánáʔà. kà·ʔlsdàdà·yá-náʔà. dò·dà·ǯlyè·sxl̨dànáʔà.

(17) ʔákò· ʔáí cl̨łánî slkà·í kà·γéhó·yáí ʔá·ʔè· "cl̨skà·" gò·γé. dí·ǯl̨ ʔá·ʔè· šàš łą́.

(18) ʔádí·dí· łl̨nádà·ʔǯó·cè·lí dí·ǯl̨ ʔlťà ʔáⁿdè·dè náʔàí k̓èháťé. ʔlyâ·bą· ʔlťà ʔáⁿdè·dè náʔàí k̓èháťéí ʔádí·dí·bą· ʔáťé: ʔádą́ dáʔlłǯàgą́í

(4) They talked about it. Then: "Very well, let's gamble for day," they said.

(5) Then they began to play the moccasin game.[1] And then they began to gamble. And now it was happening [that] each side won and lost alternately.

(6) Now then, that Wren wanted the day. And the big fellows on the other side did not want the day. And the little fellows did want the day.

(7) Then the others, speaking thus again, "There is no day!" they said.

(8) And the others: "Morning has dawned!" they said.

(9) And now the former: "There is no day!" they said.

(10) Someone who was very big[2] was there among them. "Day has dawned. I, now, who cannot move about rapidly, I'll go on before you," he said. And he went away.

(11) Then, there at the borders of his back, there the day had come.[3] And they began to fight with one another.

(12) Then, now, that person who was big was [still] there among them. That one, only that one, they attacked in order to kill him. The heart of that person who was big lay under his foot. They did not know it.

(13) Then Gray Lizard spoke thus to them: "That one's heart lies under his foot. I'll shoot him for you. Give me arrows," he said to them.

(14) Then the Gray Lizard went in under his foot. He shot him under his foot. He killed him. Now they had killed that one.

(15) And now [for] the Snake also. The Snake threw his eyes in a crevice of the rock where it was impossible to get them. Then he got away from them. For that reason there are snakes [now]. None of them got him.

(16) Now they attacked the Bear also. As they were killing him, he dragged them toward a large grove of trees. He walked into the grove of trees. He got away from them. They did not kill him.

(17) And that large grove of trees into which he went is called "A Grove of Trees Lies." Today [there are] many bears there.

(18) This place where they played the moccasin game is today just like it was then. Why it is as it was then is for this reason: When

ʔégò·sdı̨·, nágò ʔákòyá łı̨́nádà·ʔǯó·cè·lı̨́yá łè·ʔé-ńnáǯı́kànáʔà. nágò ʔádà·ǯłⁿdínáʔà: "ı̨·šı̨́ⁿdásè, ʔádí·dí· dí·ḱèh dáʔáγáťé. dáʔáⁿdè·nánó·łťè·dà·ł. dò·yâ·nàłzì·dàdà·l. ʔłⁿdà·í ⁿdéídà łą́ hłlà·dè·-dà, dáxàǯı̨ dáʔáⁿdè·ná·nó·łťè·dà·ł," dà·ǯłⁿdí-náʔà.

(19) ʔáí dí·ǯı̨ ʔłťà dáʔáγáťé. ʔádí·dí· ʔá-gòťı̨náʔàí "ǯłłʔìnà·dàhà·sʔáí" hò·γéí błḱáhè· ʔá-gòťı̨náʔà New Mexico błyèʔšı̨.

8. The Quarrel Between Thunder and Wind

(1) ḱàdł dí·dí· łłgò ʔánágó·ťı̨·í ʔłłḱłdą́ ⁿdł· ʔágòǯlládą́.

(2) ńłčłʔí ʔł·hⁿdł·dèíbłł dáłèʔnà·ʔǯłzł·-náʔà. ʔáí dáhágò·hⁿdł· ʔłłčı̨·gòłgó·tò·náʔà. ʔá-kò· ʔłłḱáǯàłγònáʔà.

(3) ʔłyâ·bą· ʔłłḱáǯàłγòʔí ʔłłčı̨·gòłgó·tò·í ʔł·hⁿdł·dèí ńłčłʔí ʔáył·łⁿdí: "šínà šè·góžǫ́ ⁿdí dò·ǯòńⁿdè·dè·dà," ńłčłʔí błłǯłⁿdínáʔà.

(4) ʔákò· ńłčłʔí ʔágò·łⁿdínáʔà: "ⁿdínà nè·-góžǫ́ ńⁿdí hı̨́·yą·dà, ńzàʔyá ńčą́nádéšǯá," ńłčłʔí ʔł·hⁿdł·dèí ył·łⁿdínáʔà.

(5) ʔákò· ńłčłʔí ńzàʔyá nł·ʔgášbą·yá gòčą́-ʔìnó·ǯánáʔà. nágò dò·ńłčłʔdànáʔà. dágò·sdò ná·-nó·łťè·náʔà.

(6) ʔákò· ʔł·hⁿdł·dèń, 'šínà šè·góžǫ́,' ⁿdí-ńń, łą́gò nà·gòłtı̨gò ʔágósı̨ ńdàh dágò·sdò ná·-nó·łtè·náʔà. dò·ʔńtą́dànáʔà. dò·góžǫ́dànáʔà. ńł-čłʔń dò·xà·è·dà nágò ʔł·hⁿdł·dèń dò·błłgóžǫ́dá-náʔà.

(7) nágò ʔłċòs ʔìnáłcìnáʔà. ʔłċòsí błkážı̨ ńłčłʔí čédàháśdè·sʔı̨náʔà.

(8) nágò dò·gòłgóžǫ́dànáʔà. ńłčłʔí błčı̨·ʔł-ǯó·łʔàʔnáʔà. ʔá·łǯłⁿdínáʔà: "šłḱłsę́, ⁿdídò·xà·-è·dà nágò dò·góžǫ́dà. dò·ʔńtą́dà. dágò·sdòʔégò·s-dò. hı̨́·yą·dà, nò·šką· šà·náńⁿdá. ʔı̨·šı̨́ⁿdásè, dá-nàhłłḱèh ⁿdł·błkáè· nàhè·góžǫ́dà·ł. dáłèʔnà·ʔł·-ǯł·dà·ł. dáłèʔhò·ťàšdà·ł. nàhḱèhgò, náʔńťı̨dà·ł," ʔł·hⁿdł·dèí gò·łⁿdígò, gò·ską·náʔà.

they had finished fighting one another, then they returned together to that place where they had played the moccasin game. Then they spoke thus: "From now on, all of this [will] be just so. It will always be unchanged. No one will meddle with it. Though there come to be many white men and Indians, it will always remain unchanged," they said.

(19) That [place] today is still just so. These things that they say happened occurred [on the flats] below that which is called "The mountain [on] which mescal extends upward" in New Mexico.[4]

8. The Quarrel Between Thunder and Wind

(1) Now this [is] another of the things that happened long ago when they were creating the earth.

(2) The Wind and the Thunder were to work together. Suddenly they got angry at each other. And they separated.

(3) The reason that they separated [and] got angry at each other [was that] the Thunder spoke thus to the Wind: "I alone do good even if you do not help," he said to the Wind.

(4) Then the Wind spoke thus to him: "Because you say that you alone do good, I'll go far away from you," the Wind said to the Thunder.

(5) Then the Wind went far away from him to the end of the earth. And there was no wind. It was always very hot.

(6) Then the Thunder, he who had said: "I alone do good," caused much rain but it was always very hot. There were no crops. It was not good. The Wind was nowhere and the Thunder did not like it.

(7) Then he continually set up feathers. He looked in vain for the Wind on the feathers.

(8) Then he did not feel right about it. He sent for the Wind. He spoke thus to him: "My brother, you are nowhere and it is not good. There are no crops. It is very, very, hot. Because of that, I beg you [to] come back to me. From now on, both of us will do good on the surface of the earth. We will work together. We will travel together. Because of us, there will be good crops," the Thunder said to him, pleading with him.

(9) ʔákò· ńłčłʔí kà·náʒ́ánáʔà. gòǯò·ná·nás-ⁿdè·náʔà. ʔáíbè·, nà·gòłtı̨gò, dà·ʔdłhⁿdígò ńłčłʔíbłł. dáłèʔǯàʔàš ná·nó·łťè·.

(9) Then the Wind came back to him. He became his friend again. That is why, when it rains, there is thunder with the wind. They go along together always.

9. The Sun

(1) "ǯígònà·ʔáí bıyè·šı̨, ťì·s nà·kì ʔó·ʔá," ʔłłk̀ídánè dà·ⁿdígò yà·dà·gò·łⁿdí.

9. The Sun

(1) "Inside of the Sun, two cottonwood trees stand erect," say the old people [when] they tell about it.

10. Coyote Obtains Fire

(1) ʔłłk̀ídą́, kı̨̀· yáʔédı̨náʔà. ʔákò· ʎ́ížè hò·yéí dáʔáíná bıkı̨̀ʔ ʔólínáʔà.

(2) ʔákò· ʎ́ížèí gòtál yı·sʔą́náʔà. ʔákò· mài ʔáè· híłyònáʔà. gòtál ǯı·sʔą́í ʔáè·, mài cíbą̀·è·nà·náʔàžłšnáʔà. ʔákò· bıcè·í cínáłłgònáʔà.

(3) ʔákò· ʔâ·łǯłⁿdínáʔà: "šǫ́·dé, ńcè· dıłłʔ," błłǯłⁿdínáʔà.

(4) ʔákò·: "čê·k̀è dıłłʔ!" gò·łⁿdínáʔà. ʔákò· bıcè·í cíyó·łgè·. bıcè·í bıʎ́áši̇ı̨ kı̨̀· dàhł·-tò·.

(5) ʔákò· ǯıłą́gò nàńdà·ǯíńťł. ʎ́ížèí, ʔáí ʔádà·ťı̨. ʔákò· ʔáí ǯıłą́gò nàńdà·ǯíńťł ńdàh gòtìsá ʔáí màłí kı̨̀·í kàłłyà·nâ·łyònáʔà. kàłłnádà·-dł·łyònáʔà kı̨̀·í. bıkéyá ʔłłàdà·šdè·skànáʔà.

(6) ʔákò·, ⁿdásèšı̨, ʔıcá kı̨̀· yà·yíńłťą́. ʔáši̇ı̨, ʔáńdè·dà, dí· ʒłłí bıyèʔyá dí·k̀è·ń kı̨̀·í nàłdè·sgè·náʔà. ʔłłčą́gò dà·gòdè·k̀ą́·náʔà.

(7) ʔákò· dí·dí· ʎ́ížèí kı̨̀·í dà·yłńłcé·s ńdàh čédàʔádà·yó·łʔı̨·náʔà.

(8) ʔákò· ʔáń màʔyèń ńłčłʔí bıǯò·sⁿdè·gò dè·yòlgò, kı̨̀·í, dò·bè·šłgòdàʔı̨·łdàgò, dà·dł·łʎ́ánáʔà. káťégò, kı̨̀· gò·slı̨náʔà.

(9) ʔákò· ʔáń màʔyèń k̀è·dà·šłⁿdł·. ʔákò· ʔádà·łǯłⁿdínáʔà: "céí, ⁿdł·í, tóí: dí·k̀èh bıłnò·dółàhà!" dà·bıłǯłⁿdínáʔà. ʔáí dáʔáyáǯà·náʔà.

(10) ʔákò· nà·náǯìnàgònáʔà. màʔyèń ʔáťı̨náʔà. dí·dí· dí·k̀èh gòłńdò·. ʔíbą̀· čédàʔıǯłłyè·-

(1) Long ago, there was no fire. Then only those who are called Flies had fire.

(2) Then the Flies held a ceremony. And Coyote came there. At that place where they held the ceremony, Coyote danced around and around at the edge of the fire. And he continually poked his tail in the fire.

(3) Then they spoke thus to him: "Friend, your tail will burn," they said to him.

(4) Then: "Let it burn!" he said to them. And he put his tail in the fire. The fire flared up under his tail.

(5) Then many of them circled around him. The Flies, they did so. Then many of them circled around him but that Coyote jumped over [and] away from them with the fire. He ran away from them with the fire. They ran behind him.

(6) Then, farther on, he gave fire to the Eagle. At that place, now, he scattered the fire all over among these mountains. Fire was burning in every direction.

(7) Then these Flies tried to put out the fire but they tried in vain.

(8) Then, that Coyote having been helped by the blowing of the wind, the fire, becoming impossible to control, burned on. In this way, fire came into existence.[2]

(9) Then [the Flies] hated that Coyote. And they spoke thus to him: "The stones, the earth, the water: let them all become hot for him!" they said to him. That happened exactly so.

(10) Then he was dashing around and around. The Coyote did so. All of these became hot for

ná?à. tó sìkąná?à.

(11) "dí·, ?łłdǫ́, sìk̀àsłę̀·," ʒ̀łⁿdínná?à. ?ákò· tósìkąí bìγè·ʒ̨̀ yà·náʒ̨̀l·łγònná?à. ńł?ádàìsćąná?à. dá?ákà·, ʒ̀l·sbé·žná?à.

(12) dí·dí· ?ádą́, dáxà?yá yádà·ʒ̨̀łłtìí ?áí dá?ákà· ?ágòťénná?à. dáyâ·dà "?ágòⁿdá" ʒ̨̀lⁿdíí, dá?áγáhàⁿdí·łná?à. ?áíbè· dò·dá?ákòyáxà·ńbìčę̀·-yáʒ̨̀łłtìdànná?à. dáxà·ń k̀è·šńⁿdì·ńná ?áγáťégò bìčę̀·yáʒ̨̀łłtìí, ?áń dá?ákà· ?áhàⁿdí·łná?à. ?áíbą̀· dò·dá?kòdéyáxà·ńbìčę̀·yáʒ̨̀łłtìdànná?à. dágóžǫ́gònná yádà·ʒ̨̀łłtìná?à.

(13) ?ákò·, ʒą̀·šę̀ kágòʒà·gò, kǫ̀·gò·slę̀-ná?à. mà?yèń ?áń bìk̀èhgò kǫ̀· gò·slę̀ná?à, dà·ʒ̨̀l-ⁿdí. káťégò, ⁿdé yà·dà·gò·łⁿdí ?łłk̀ìdąnè.

11. Coyote and the Money Tree

(1) màì ?íńtìń hòłyòłná?à. ?íńtìńšę̀ dìcę̀-?ó·?áí bìk̀ášę̀ nè·sdánná?à. ?à·šę̀ sìdágò ?à?á·ł-ná?à.

(2) nágò dìcę̀?ó·?áí bé·sò yà·dàhyè·sⁿdìì-ná?à.

(3) nágò ?íńtìńšę̀ ?ìⁿdà· nà·kì xé·ł yìł?ì-nàyòłná?à. ?à·šę̀, ?íńtìńšę̀ dìcę̀?ó·?áí bìk̀ášę̀, sìdánná?à. xé·ł bà·bìł?ìnéńyò·ná?à. ?ìⁿdà·ń ?á-bì·łⁿdìná?à: "?ìyâ·bą̀· dá?kòdèšę̀ síńdá?" bì·ł-ⁿdínná?à.

(4) "dò·dà," ⁿdìná?à. "?ádí· dìcę̀?ó·?áí bà·sídá," ⁿdìná?à. "dí· dìcę̀í bé·sò bà·náńťę̀. ?áíbą̀·, šìłńžǫ́," ⁿdìná?à.

(5) ?ìⁿdà·ń ?ábì·łⁿdìná?à: "nà·nà·hì·ł-ⁿdì·," bì·łⁿdìná?à.

(6) nágò ?áⁿdìná?à: "dò·dà, dą?àyáłą́í ?í-łę̀," yì·łⁿdìná?à.

(7) nágò ?ìⁿdà·ń ?ábì·łⁿdìná?à: "ádí·dí· łę̀í dá?łk̀èh dà·dàhòⁿdé·łgò ?ášę̀ dí· xé·łí bìł-nò·ʒòłí dí·k̀èh nàńⁿdí·łgò ?à·í dìcìní nàhà·déń-?à·," gòłgòⁿdìná?à. "?ę̀·yą̀·dà dìcę̀í ńyá; bé·sò nà·nì·dá hálí," gòłgòⁿdìná?à.

(8) nágò mà?yèń ?ágò·łⁿdìná?à: "?àò, dìcę̀í

him. Therefore he ran away in vain. A [pond of] water lay there.

(11) "This, also, used to be cool," he said. And he jumped into the water that lay there. A [hissing] noise was heard. Right there, he was boiled.

(12) At this time, anything that they said occurred in exactly that way. Anything of which one said: "It is to happen so," happened in just that way. For that reason one did not say just anything to someone. If one spoke in that way to someone one hated, it happened in exactly that way. For that reason, one did not say just anything to someone.[3] They spoke only in a very good way.

(13) Then, it having happened so in this place, fire came into existence. Because of Coyote, fire came into existence, they say. In this way, the old people have told them about it.

11. Coyote and the Money Tree

(1) Coyote was walking [along] a road. He sat down under a tree that was standing by the road. There he sat for some time.

(2) Then he put several [silver] dollars upon the tree that was standing there.

(3) Then two white men came along the road driving a pack [train]. There, under a tree that was standing by the side of the road, he sat. They drove the pack [train] to him. The white men spoke thus to him: "Why are you sitting in this lonely place?" they said to him.

(4) "Well," he said. "I sit guarding this tree that stands here," he said. "Money grows on this tree. For that reason, it is valuable to me," he said.

(5) The white men spoke thus to him: "We will buy it from you," they said to him.

(6) Then he spoke thus: "No, it is worth a great deal," he said to them.

(7) Then the white men spoke thus to him: "We will give you both these horses with their burdens and all of these pack [animals] that we are driving if you will give us that tree," they said to him. "But shake the tree; let's see if money will fall," they said to him.

(8) Then Coyote spoke thus to them: "Yes,

hłšxá." dáʔkògò dìcı̨ì yó·γáná?à. bé·sò hìká dàh-yè·sⁿdìlńí łì? nà·nè·sdà·ná?à.

(9) nágò bè·ʒàʔàšńí dí·kèh bà·ʒíńⁿdìlná?à.

(10) nágò mà?yèń ?ágò·łⁿdìná?à: "?áγàí γàšı̨ ʒłłńcà·í sì?ą?í·yéí bìtìs ?ì?nó·yò·gò, ?áńdè·dà dìcı̨í hàxá. ?ákò· bé·sòí nà·nè·sdà·gò náhàłá," gò·łⁿdìná?à.

(11) ?ákò· ?áńdè·dà gòčą?íńdè·yò·ná?à. ?ágòłʒłⁿdìńí bìtìs ?ì?ʒìnó·yò·ná?à.

(12) nágò ?ìⁿdà·ńń nádì·ťá·žná?à. dìcı̨í yì-γágò yà·nà·?à·šná?à. dò·yâ·nò·ťı̨·dàná?à. ʒò·ʒì-bá·yégò, dìcı̨?ó·?áí bìχáhè· nà·ʒìyè·?à·šná?à. gòłgó·tı̨·ná?à. bìkè?šdìyè·sťá·žná?à.

(13) ?ákò· ?ìłkìdą ńzà?yá ?ì?nó·yò·ná?à. mà?yèí łą́gò bìgò·tà ná?è· ?ìnéńyò·ná?à. dí·kèh gòtà·dàìsⁿdì·ná?à.

(14) ?ákò· ?áń ?ìⁿdà·ńń yàšı̨ gà?àšná?à. ?áń mà?yè ?ágòł?ı̨ńń ?íłcé gòdáhíłγòná?à. híšdłłkl-ná?à.: "?ı̨·šı̨ łà?ń xé·ł hìł?ìnàyòłń dò·xà·ó·?ı̨-dà?" bìłʒìⁿdìná?à.

(15) mà?yèń ?ágò·łⁿdìná?à: "?à·šı̨ ?áⁿdè·dè-gò hòšá·ł ńdàh dò·yâ·hòš?ı̨dà. xà·dèń nà·dà·gò-kà," gò·łⁿdìná?à.

12. Coyote and the Rock Rabbit

(1) mà?yèń ?íńtìń hòłγòłná?à. gàh ?íńtìní bìbą·šı̨ sìtı̨gò yì·łcą́ná?à. ?áí gàhí céγè?hè·s-ⁿdìlná?à.

(2) hłčı̨·yà·nâ·łγòná?à. ?łłⁿdí ?ìʒó·łxàž ná?à.

(3) "?áí...! gàh ?áťé náńsı̨!" ⁿdìná?à.

13. Coyote Misses Real Rabbit

(1) ?íńtìń hòłγòłná?à. ?ìńtìníbą·šı̨ gàh sìtı̨gò náyì·łcą́ná?à. yìyè·šxàhè· hòłγòłná?àgò, ?á-ⁿdìná?à: "gàh céí xáń dàìlá?" ⁿdìná?à.

I'll shake the tree." And then he shook the tree. Some of the money he had put upon it fell down.

(9) Then they gave him all of that with which they had been travelling.

(10) Then Coyote spoke thus to them: "When I have driven [the pack train] across that big mountain that lies at that place yonder, then you shake the tree. Then pick up the money that has fallen off," he said to them.

(11) And now he began to drive [the pack train] away from them. He drove it across [the mountain] as he had said.

(12) Then the white men got up. They shook the tree for a long time. Nothing fell down. In a pitiable state, they stood about under the tree that was standing there. They became angry. They started to go after [Coyote].

(13) But he had long ago driven [the pack train] far away. He had driven it to a camp of many Coyotes. He had distributed all of it among them.

(14) Now those white men were coming to that place. That Coyote who had done so to them met them first. They asked him: "You haven't seen over here someone who was driving a pack [train]?" they said to him.

(15) Coyote spoke thus to them: "I was walking over here a while ago but I saw no one. [I don't know] where they went," he said to them.

12. Coyote and the Rock Rabbit

(1) Coyote was walking [along] a road. He saw a Rabbit lying on the edge of the road. Rocks were lying inside that Rabbit.

(2) [Coyote] jumped toward it. He bit at the center of it.

(3) "Ow...! I thought it was Rabbit!" he said.

13. Coyote Misses Real Rabbit

(1) He was walking [along] a road. He again saw a Rabbit lying on the edge of the road. As he went along quite close to it, he spoke thus: "Who'd meddle with a rock Rabbit!" he said.

(2) ʔáĺná dáʔⁿdí·dé gàh ʔáťé ńdàh dò·yà·šdè·szḷdànáʔà. dáⁿdás hłkłʔčé·łyònáʔà.

(3) ⁿdásésḷ, ťą·ʔnádè·sgàlnáʔà. gàhńí yà·nâ·łyògò ył·łcąńáʔà.

(4) nágò ʔádó·ʒł·náʔà. "màłńtǫʔé! màł błškèʔ! dákǫ·hédá dò·ʔłkóńzḷdàgò nà·yá!" ⁿdínáʔà.

(5) gàh yà·nâ·łyòí hłkèʔhł·łtè·náʔà. dłcḷ náhè·sgąʔí słtąí bà·yèhòłyònáʔà. hłčḷ·yà·słtḷ-náʔà. ʔłgòłʔáńʒł čłdégòdà ʔállágò hłčḷ·ʔłnádłł-ⁿdłnáʔà. gàhí ył·słłnáʔà.

(6) nágò gàhí ʔáⁿdłnáʔà: "šłčółè·! bé·ší šàńʔà·! dákògò błlà·cíńšḷ ḱèʒłńšgé·š!" ⁿdłnáʔà, màʔyèí yłlà·cíńšḷ ył·słłgò.

(7) nágò màʔyè ʔłłdǫ́ ʔáⁿdłnáʔà: "šłčółè·! nò·škąˀ, bé·ší dò·bàńʔà·dà!" ⁿdłnáʔà. nágò màʔ-yèí bà·hàʔʒàłyònáʔà.

14. Coyote and the Rolling Rock

(1) ʔíńtłń ná·nô·łyòłnáʔà. céńcà·í słʔąí yà·hłłyònáʔà. łłʔ ʔâ·łʒłⁿdłnáʔà: "ʔà·í cé nà·yáí ʔáťé," błłʒłⁿdłnáʔà.

(2) "ʔłyâ·xè·ʔ xà·è· cé nà·yáná!" gò·łⁿdł-náʔà.

(3) "ʔà·í céí dò·ḱèʒłčḷ·dà," błłʒłⁿdłnáʔà.

(4) nágò ʔáⁿdłnáʔà: "ʔłyâ·xè·ʔ xà·è· cé nà·yáná!" ⁿdłgò céí hłkè·sčą·náʔà.

(5) nágò yáháčéłyònáʔà. céí błkèʔčéńmá·z-náʔà. yà·nádł·łyònáʔà. dábłkécínè· hòmàsnáʔà. dásíbłńʒłlèí yè·nádà·dł·łyònáʔà. dáʔáyáťéńdàh, céí dábłkécínè· hòmàsnáʔà.

(6) nágò màʔyèí ʔáⁿdłnáʔà: "dásíšłhátłdèí bè·nádł·šyòdą dàńšǫ·ʔḷnáʔ" céí ył·łⁿdłnáʔà.

(7) nágò dásíʔłtłsgò yè·hł·łtłí yè·nádł·ł-yònáʔà. dáʔáyáťéńdàh, čéí dábłkécínè· hòmàsnáʔà.

(8) nágò ʔł·ʔáńyá yà·ʔáhòłyònáʔà. céí ʔł·-ʔání błdádéńmá·znáʔà. céí ʔábł·łⁿdłnáʔà: "dí·-dí·, xąh šánáłⁿdà·!" bł·łⁿdłnáʔà.

(2) That one was a real Rabbit but he paid no attention to it. He passed on right by it.

(3) A little further on, he looked back. He saw that Rabbit jumping up.

(4) Then he cursed himself. "No good Coyote! Child of a Coyote! He goes about without a bit of sense!" he said.

(5) He ran after the Rabbit who had jumped up. He had run from him into a dead tree that lay there. [Coyote] lay toward [the hole in the tree]. He tried again and again in vain to reach into the hole. [Then] he caught [hold of] the Rabbit.

(6) Then the Rabbit spoke thus: "Oh my grandmother! Give me the knife! Right now I'm going to cut off his wrist!" he said, holding Coyote by the wrist.

(7) Then Coyote also spoke thus: "Oh my grandmother! I beg of you, don't give him the knife!" he said. Then [Rabbit] got away from Coyote.

14. Coyote and the Rolling Rock

(1) He was going [along] a road again. He came to a big Rock that was lying there. Someone spoke thus to him: "That is a Rock that moves about," he said to him.

(2) "So? Where is there a Rock that moves about!" [Coyote] said to him.

(3) "Do not defecate on that Rock," he said to [Coyote].

(4) Then he spoke thus: "So? Where is there a Rock that moves!" he said [and] defecated on the Rock.

(5) Then he went over yonder. The Rock rolled out after him. He ran from it. It rolled along right at his heels. He ran with all his strength. In spite of that, the Rock rolled along right at his heels.

(6) Then Coyote spoke thus: "Did you ever see me when I was running at my very best speed?" he said to the Rock.

(7) Then he ran with his very best speed. In spite of that, the Rock rolled along right at his heels.

(8) Then [Coyote] ran from him into a hole. The Rock rolled to cover [the entrance to] the hole. The Rock spoke thus to him: "This, lick it

(9) nágò mà?yèí dí·ḱèh kánáyó·łⁿdá·ná?à. ?ákò· céí sí?ą̀yá ǹnáńmá·zná?à.

off for me quickly!" he said to him.

(9) Then Coyote licked it all off for him. And the Rock rolled back to where it had been before.

15. Coyote and Beetle

(1) ?ášı̨ ⁿdásá čéná·ná·łyòná?à. ⁿdáséè· gólłžǹłčìné yà·ǩà·?łł?ágò yà·híłyòná?à dásí?íńtìǹyá.

(2) nágò mà?yèí ?áⁿdìná?à: "?łḱàh hłšą́nágò nà·šá," ył·łⁿdìná?à. "xą̀h nłšyàł," ył·łⁿdłgò hłčı̨·slzı̨ná?à.

(3) nágò góllžǹłčìnéí ?ábł·łⁿdìná?à: "?łłcédà, hà·stı̨·, dò·dà·ńⁿdłdà! kòyá ⁿdł·íǩáhyá ?łyâ·xè· dà·ʒłⁿdłí ?łyéšćą́."

(4) nágò mà?yèí ?ábł·łⁿdìná?à: "xą̀h! ?łyâ·dà·ʒłⁿdłí šłłgółⁿdł! šłłgóǹłⁿdł·gò, ?áńdè·dà nłšyàł," bł·łⁿdìná?à.

(5) nágò góllžǹłčìnéí ?ábł·łⁿdìná?à: "?à·šı̨ xáńé cé hłḱè·sčą̀·ǹń dákògò hádà·šdłyà·ł. dà·ʒł·łxé dà·ʒłⁿdł hłłćà?."

(6) nágò mà?yèí ?ábł·łⁿdìná?à: "hą̀·šą̀, ?łłcé. dá?ı̨·šı̨ šłbà?síǹdá! ?áyàè· ?łyâ·?łsťèǹní?ı̨·í bà·náǹšdá." ǩàsą̀ ?ášq̂·łyòłdą́, cé hłḱè·sčą̀·ná?à. ná?àí ?áłłⁿdł.

(7) ťą́yá yà·náłyòyá, náyó·łⁿdáná?à. "šłbà?síǹdá" gò·łⁿdłíǹè· náłyòná?à. dò·xà?yâ·dàná?à. bà·hà?ʒàłyòná?à.

(8) nágò ?ádóʒł·ná?à. "màł błškè?! ?łłḱłdą́ ?łłyàłǹè· bà·?łsdánô·ʒá!" ⁿdłná?à.

16. Coyote Holds Up the Sky

(1) ?ášı̨ dáná?ńtìná čéná·náłyòná?à. ⁿdáséyá hòłyòłyá, mà?łšq́ídłčìžé dłcı̨náhè·sgą̀?í ?ó·?áí yà·dàsłtı̨gò yà·híłyòná?à.

(2) yédàhdè·s?ı̨ná?à. "?łḱàh hłšą́nágò nà·-

15. Coyote and Beetle

(1) Then he again went on. At a place further on, he came to a Beetle standing on his head right in the middle of the road.

(2) Then Coyote spoke thus: "I eat only fat in order to live," he said to him. "I'm going to eat you right away," he said to him as he stood next to him.

(3) Then the Beetle spoke thus to him: "Wait, old man, don't say anything! I am listening to what some [people] are saying [down] there under the ground."

(4) Then Coyote spoke thus to him: "Hurry! Tell me what they are saying! When you have told me, then I'll eat you," he said to him.

(5) Then the Beetle spoke thus to him: "Right now they are going to look for someone who has defecated on a rock over there. It sounds [as if] they are saying [that] they are going to kill him."

(6) Then Coyote spoke thus to him: "Well, wait. Wait right here for me! I'm going back over there for something which I left there." Just as he had been coming there, he had defecated on a rock. That is what he was speaking to him [about].

(7) At the place to which he returned, he licked it off. He returned to the place where he had said "Wait for me." No one was there. [Beetle] had run away from him.

(8) Then he cursed himself. "Child of a Coyote! He has long ago left the place where he should have been eaten!" he said.

16. Coyote Holds Up the Sky

(1) Then he again went out on the very same road. As he was going along a little further on, he came to a Rock Lizard lying upon a dead tree that was standing there.

(2) He looked up at him. "I eat only fat in

šá," yl·łⁿdlná?à. "nà·ńłyè·! xąh nlšyàł," yl·łⁿdlná?à.

(3) "šòh, hà·stl̨·, dò·ńⁿdl·?édl̨dà! dí· yábéyàh?áí hóńštą. dí· bldó·člgò, yáí nàhǩlžl̨ nà·kà·.

(4) "hà·stl̨·, ńnáhl·yá. ⁿdídà, ńłcó. dò·blńčídà! bldóńčlgò, dlclní nàh?ó·ké·zgò, yáí nàhǩlžl̨ nà·kà·. gółʒllgò hóńtą!" mà?yèń blłʒlⁿdlná?à.

(5) nágò dlclní yà·dàhnè·syàlná?à. mà?lšǫ́ídlčlžń ?ábl·łⁿdlná?à: "?łcé! ?à·šl̨ łl? nà·ʒlyè·stą́í gòčągòščí. łàšé nàhádà·ʒl·łcó," gò·łⁿdlná?à.

(6) mà?yèń "?àò," ⁿdlná?à.

(7) nágò mà?lšǫ́ídlčlžń gòčąhà?ò·łyòná?à. mà?yèńń dlcl̨ńí yà·dàsltl̨gò ?à?á·łná?à. ńnáhl·yáná?à. dlcl̨í yédàhdè·s?l̨ná?à. ǩòsí dà·hlkàná?à. dlcl̨í nàh?l·kà·í blłǩè?ánáháhⁿdí·łná?à. "?ǫ...!" nádlhⁿdlná?à.

(8) dáhl·yáná?à. ?łłčągò nádlgàłná?à. "xà?šl̨šl̨ ?áxá·néšl̨ nàhàgóń?ášl̨?" ńzl̨gò nà·góń?áí hádè·s?l̨ná?à.

(9) ?áxá·néšl̨, gòzą·yégò nà·góń?ágò yl·łcą́ná?à. dlcl̨ńí yldó·člná?à. nà·góń?áí blčl̨·?ádè·nà·ʒłłǩlžgò nádl·łyòná?à. nà·góń?áyá ?ádè·?ʒ̨àłǩlžná?à.

(10) ?lšdàhèńl̨nágò bllgóyénágò, dàhyá dè·s?l̨ná?à. ǩòsí dà·hlkàí ylnéł?l̨nágò, bllgóyénágò, "?ǫ...!" ⁿdlná?à. ?lnádà·gòyàłǩàšl̨ nádl·łyògò ?à?á·łná?à. dáhl·yáná?à.

17. Coyote Dances With the Prairie Dogs

(1) mà?yè ?ńńtlń hòłyòłná?à. sllá·dò bl?édè ńtǫ́·yéí sllá·dò čénáńsąná?àyá nálńłcò·zná?à. λǫ́·?yè blgò·tàšl̨ hòłyòłná?à. dlcl̨ nálńtąná?à. sllá·dò bl?édè ńtǫ́·yéńí yà·dàhyè·scò·zná?à. yé?àłclná?à.

(2) ?l?ó·?ągò ?áłl̨ná?à. λǫ́·?yèí hlčl̨·dà·gòⁿdéná?à. "dánàhíǩèh, yóščl̨šl̨ dà·nàhká!" dà·yl·łⁿdlná?à. dá?łłčąšl̨ blčl̨·dà·híkè·ná?à.

(3) "dí·ǩèh! dò·xáń kò·yąyá sldádàgò; dánàhíǩèh ?l̨?dà·nàhká!" dà·yl·łⁿdlną́?à.

(4) nágò dáʒíǩèh, dò·xáń kò·yąyá sldádàgò,

order to live," he said to him. "Come down! I'm going to eat you right away," he said to him.

(3) "Say, old man, don't be foolish! I am holding this [tree] which holds up the sky. If I let go of this, the sky will fall down on us.

(4) "Old man, I am very tired. You, you hold it. Don't let go of it! If you let it go, if the tree falls over, the sky will fall on us. Hold it with all your strength!" he said to Coyote.

(5) Then [Coyote] threw himself onto the tree. The Rock Lizard spoke thus to him: "Wait! I'll let those [people] who are sitting about over there know. They will hold it on one side for us," he said to him.

(6) "All right," said Coyote.

(7) Then the Rock Lizard ran away from him. Coyote lay upon the tree for a long time. He became very tired. He looked up at the tree. The clouds were moving. It continually seemed to him as if the tree was about to fall. "Oh...!" he said from time to time.

(8) He was very tired. He looked constantly in all directions. "Where [is] the nearest arroyo?" he thought as he looked for an arroyo.

(9) Nearby, he saw a small arroyo. He let go of the tree. He ran in a zigzag course to the arroyo. He threw himself into the arroyo.

(10) Panting and frightened, he looked upward. He looked at the moving clouds [and], being frightened, he said "Oh...!" He ran to one hollow after another for a long time. He became very tired.

17. Coyote Dances With the Prairie Dogs

(1) Coyote was walking [along] a road. He picked up [some] old wornout soldiers' coats where the soldiers had passed. He was going to the Prairie Dogs' town. He picked up a stick. He hung the old wornout soldiers' coats onto it. He was carrying it like a flag.

(2) It was sunset. He shouted to the Prairie Dogs. "All of you, come over here!" he said to them. They ran toward him from all directions.

(3) "Everyone! No one is to stay at home; all of you come here!" he said to them.

(4) Then all of them, none staying at home,

bà·dà·ʒì·skànáʔà.

(5) nágò gòčį·yádà·łtìnáʔà. "ʔáɣàí, ʒìłsì-ʔą́ʔí·yéí bìkáè·, dánà·gòñʒò·gò ʔìʔó·ʔą́. nàhìʔì-ⁿdàʔñí dí·ḱèh nàhánà·síłcè·. ʔádí·dí· ʔé·ʔí ʔášį́ nánílcò·z." ⁿdì nágò dàhyéʔàłcìnáʔà.

(6) "ʔį́·yą̀·dà, dákògò kǫ̀·dàsàhkà·! bìḱédé gòtál sìʔą́gò hìłkà·. dágònè·λ̨gò hìłkà·," ⁿdìnáʔà màʔyèí.

(7) nágò: "ʔàò! ʔáxą̀h, kǫ̀·dàsàhkà·! dákògò gòtál ñťà·. nàhìʔⁿdàʔñí dí·ḱèh nàhánà·ʒì·scè·-náʔà," λǫ́·ʔyèí dà·ⁿdìnáʔà.

(8) nágò kǫ̀·dà·dàìskąnáʔà.

(9) nágò gòtál ñťąnáʔà. dà·ʔʒìžìšnáʔà. màʔ-yèí ʔádà·gò·łⁿdìnáʔà: "šédà·ʔdàìʔà! káťégò: 'ʔá-ɣàí ʒìłsìʔą́í ʔášį́, náyíńłcò·zé, náyíńłcò·zé,' dà·dàhⁿdìgò šédà·ʔdàìʔà," λǫ́·ʔyèí dà·yì·łⁿdìnáʔà.

(10) nágò λǫ́·ʔyèí màʔyèí yédà·ʔdìłʔànáʔà. "ʔáɣàí ʒìłñcà·í sìʔą́šį́, náyíńłcò·zé, náyíńłcò·zé," dà·ⁿdìnáʔà.

(11) nágò ḱé·ʔó·sʔàhnáʔà.

(12) nágò màʔyèí ʔáⁿdìnáʔà: "ʔà·í dà·łàh-ḱà·í dáłèšégò nàhťìgò ʔáí λǫ́í dàñtǫ́·yéí dáłèšį́-gò ʔìłdǫ́ nàhťìgo dà·ʔàhžìš. gònè·λ̨gò ʔágònàsį́!" màʔyèí dà·gò·łⁿdìnáʔà.

(13) ʔákò· λǫ́·ʔyè dà·łìḱà·í dáłèšį́gò ńťìnáʔà. λǫ́·ʔyè ñtǫ́·yéí ʔìłdǫ́ dáłèšį́gò ńťìnáʔà.

(14) nágò màʔyèí ʔáná·dìhⁿdìnáʔà: "ťédò·dà-gò hì·yá. dánà·gòñʒò·gò ʔìʔó·ʔą́. ʔíłcé kǫ́·héžį́ ʔì·šxá·š. ḱà·dégò nàhà·náñšyè·. gònè·λ̨gò ʔágò-nàsį́!" λǫ́·ʔyèí dà·yì·łⁿdìnáʔà.

(15) nágò λǫ́·ʔyèí ťédò·dàgò gòtál yì·sʔą́-náʔà. màʔyèí kòʔyá ʔò·łyònáʔà. dà·gògò·tàñí kàì-tàhíłyònáʔà. ʔìdà·gòìʔáńñí dí·ḱèh kà·dà·nádà·gò-dè·zì·náʔà.

(16) nágò céłkànè· ñcà·í ʔó·ʔáí yà·híłyò-náʔà. łìʔ ḱéyíńtìnáʔà. dà·ʔʒìžìšñžį́ gòčį·náyà-gé·łnáʔà. ʔáxá·néšį́ nô·łyòłnágò, gòyàⁿdènáʔà.

(17) "ʔáɣáťégò gònè·λ̨gòyé!" ⁿdìgò gòyàⁿdè-náʔà. nà·náʔàžìšnáʔà gòyèʔyá. łínádà·gòłčínáʔà.

came to him.

(5) Then he talked to them. "Over there, on yonder mountain, there was a big battle until sunset. I killed all of those who were your enemies for you. I have brought back these coats from there," he said and held them up.

(6) "So, build your fires right now! The ceremony in honor of [the victory] will last all night. The celebration will last all night," Coyote said.

(7) Then: "All right! Hurry, build your fires! There is to be a ceremony right now. It is said that he has killed for us all of those who were our enemies," the Prairie Dogs said.

(8) Then they built the fires.

(9) Then the ceremony began. They were dancing. Coyote spoke thus to them: "Sing about me! In this way: 'From the mountain that lies over there, he has brought them back, he has brought them back' you say as you sing about me," he said to the Prairie Dogs.

(10) Then the Prairie Dogs sang about Coyote.[1] "From the big mountain that lies over there, he has brought them back, he has brought them back," they said.

(11) Then it was late at night.

(12) Then Coyote spoke thus: "Those of you who are fat line up on one side, and those Prairie Dogs who are thin also line up on the other side as you dance. Have a good time!" Coyote said to them.

(13) Then the Prairie Dogs who were fat lined up on one side. The Prairie Dogs who were thin also lined up on the other side.

(14) Then Coyote spoke thus again: "I am very tired. The fighting lasted all day. Now I'm going to sleep a little while. Soon I'll come back to you. Have a good time!" he said to the Prairie Dogs.

(15) Then the Prairie Dogs had a very [good] ceremony. Coyote went off somewhere. He went into their town. He filled up all of their holes.

(16) Then he went to a large mulberry tree that was standing there. He broke off a piece of it. He carried it back to where they were dancing. Just as he was returning to that vicinity, he was shouting.

(17) "That's the way to have a good time!" he said as he shouted. He was dancing around and

gišibe.

(18) nágò λǫ·ʔyèĩ łłʔ ʔádà·bł·łⁿdlná?à: "yé! k̀àsą̀ hàgòǯó·łxà·l!" dà·bł·łⁿdlná?à.

(19) nágò mà?yèĩ ʔáⁿdlná?à: "dò·dà! dò·nàhĩⁿdł·ʔédà·dl̥dà! kášʒ̀à·, dłšⁿdł, nàhłʔⁿdàʔĩ nàhábłłnà·gòñšǯò·dą!" dáʔà·è·, nà·náʔàžłšgò, łłʔ k̀àsą̀ hàná·gó·łxà·l.

(20) nágò łłʔ ʔáná·dà·bł·łⁿdł: "k̀àsą̀ hàgòǯó·łxà·l!" ná·dà·dłhⁿdł.

(21) nágò mà?yèĩ ʔáⁿdł: "dò·dà! kášʒ̀à·, dłšⁿdł! kášʒ̀à·, dłšⁿdł, nàhłʔⁿdàʔĩ nàhánà·sĩłcè·dą!" λǫ·ʔyèĩ dà·ył·łⁿdlná?à.

(22) nágò gòyè?è· głšĩ yè·łĩnádà·gòłčĩgò nà·náʔàžłšná?à. dáhágò·hⁿdł·, gòtà·ǯł·sλ̀łžná?à. nà·gò·scè·ná?à. gòkò·yą̀ñyá ʔłłàdà·šdè·skànáʔà. daʔáka· gòtà·ná·nô·łyòłná?à. gòtà·ǯł·λ̀łžgò, dĩ·k̀èh nà·gò·scè·ná?à.

(23) nágò, ʔáńdè·dà, kǫ̀·ñžl̥ ñnádà·gòłgè·ná?à. dĩ·k̀èh ʔłłyénágòyè·sgl̥ná?à. kǫ̀·ñĩ ʔłłčą̀yĩńzł·ná?à. dĩ·k̀èh ʔážl̥ ʔłgòyè·sⁿdłłná?à. nágò kǫ̀·ñĩ gòk̀è·ná·ył·zł·ná?à.

(24) "ñžǫ́négò šádà·ʔłíè·s," ⁿdlná?à.

(25) nágò čà·gòsʔòhyá dłcl̥ ʔó·ʔáĩ błk̀áyá nè·stl̥ná?à. ʔł·łxà·žná?à. dáʔłłxòšgò k̀àdé ʔłʔó·ʔą́ná?à. ʔádą, ʔłłxòšdą, ńdóĩ bà·hàná?ó·zł·ná?à. λǫ·ʔyè dà·łłk̀à·ñĩ dĩk̀èh bà·yàłyàłná?à. λǫ·ʔyè dásĩñtǫ·yéĩ dánà·kłé ʔákà· báñnáyĩńlána?à.

(26) ʔákò· ńdóĩĩ gòčą́ʔò·łyòná?à. k̀àdé ʔłʔó·ʔą́gò, màʔyèñĩ čĩnáʒłná?à. nádł·ʒ́ána?àgò ʔáⁿdlná?à: "ʔłʔyó·šĩò·d," ⁿdlná?à.

(27) λǫ·ʔyè cĩyó·ǯà·ñžl̥ nô·łyòłná?à. cĩyèʔnà·ʔłcłná?à głšĩbè·. nà·klnáhĩ ñtǫ·yéĩ ʔákà· báñnáǯĩńlánĩ hàyéʔó·łcłná?à.

(28) "dĩ·dĩ· ʔł·łkó," ⁿdlgò, t̀ą́yá yè·ʔdè·sdé·lná?à. ʔáĩłłʔñĩ dł·k̀èh čéháłnè·stą́ná?à.

(29) nágò, błłʔł·łkógò, blⁿdèʔyágò dádò·dè·sʔl̥dàyá ʔłyó·łdé·łñĩ náyłñláyá yàłyàłná?à.

around among them. He pretended to hit them with the club again and again.

(18) Then some of the Prairie Dogs spoke thus among them[selves]: "Look out! He nearly hit him!" they said among them[selves].

(19) Then Coyote spoke thus: "No! Don't be foolish! I did so, I say, when I fought with your enemies for you!"[2] Just then, while dancing around and around, he nearly hit someone again.

(20) Then some of them again spoke thus among them[selves]: "He almost hit him!" they said again.

(21) Then Coyote spoke thus: "No! I did so, I say! I did so, I say, when I killed your enemies for you!" he said to the Prairie Dogs.

(22) Then he danced around and around among them pretending to strike them again and again with the club. Suddenly, he struck at them. He killed them. They started to run away to their houses. He went among them even there. Striking at them, he killed them all.

(23) Then, after a while, he carried them back to the fire. He piled them all in a heap. He spread the fire apart. He put all of them in there. Then he covered the fire up again.

(24) "They will cook well for me," he said.

(25) Then he lay down in the shade under a tree that was standing there. He fell asleep. He was still sleeping when [the sun] had nearly set. At that time, while he was asleep, a Puma dug them out [and stole them] from him. He ate all the Prairie Dogs which were fat. He put back only two of the worst Prairie Dogs.

(26) Then the Puma went away from him. When it was almost sunset, Coyote woke up. He got up and spoke thus: "They're tender [now]," he said.

(27) He returned to where he had put the Prairie Dogs in the fire. He poked about in the fire with a stick. He poked out only those two worst ones that [Puma] had put back there for him.

(28) "These are no good," he said, throwing them backward. He searched in vain for all of the others.

(29) Then, though he did not like them, he picked up and ate those he had thrown over his shoulder without seeing where [they fell].

18. Coyote Marries his Own Daughter

(1) mà?yè bɪčè?ské łą́gò hɪłnà·hè·stą́ná?à. bɪʒè·kę́? ?íłcénà·yáń ńnáńžǫ́. yà·bó·ⁿdɪ·ná?à.

(2) nágò kà·?ɪ́gòdè·stɪ́ná?à. bɪyà?ɪsʒáń ?áłⁿdínná?à: "dò·ńžǫ́dàgò kà·sɪ́tɪ́," yɪ·łⁿdínná?à. "?à·í dɪcɪ́ ?ó·?áí bɪkáyá tê·skèh šá?ágólá. ?ákà·dàšɪsɪ́łtè·," gò·łⁿdínná?à.

(3) ?ákò· bɪyà?ɪsʒáńń ?ákà· tê·skèh bá?ágólà·ná?à.

(4) nágò ?ákà· dàhnè·stɪ́ná?à. xà?šɪ́ń ?ɪzɪ́ hó·łʒɪ?í náyíń?ą́ná?à. bɪ́ťàhyá ńyíń?ą́ná?à.

(5) nágò bɪyà?ɪsʒáńń ?áłłⁿdínná?à: "?áʒą́·è·šɪ́ťáhè· dá?áłcò ʒɪ́dà góšó. čòš nà·nɪ·dágò, dò·ńšóńłídàdà·ł. ?ákò· dà·hkà. dáxáń λǫí łɪ́kà·í dɪ́·? yàʒɪ́šgò nàhdáhɪłyòń bà·gòdà·łté·ł. ?à·ń ?ɪłcénà·yáń bà·gòdà·łté·ł," gò·łⁿdínná?à.

(6) bɪʒè·kę́?ńń hɪčɪ́·nàbó·ⁿdɪ·.nágò ?áⁿdínná?à.

(7) bíńťàyá sǫ·s ńcà·í bà·dàsɪ?ą́í bè·bégóʒɪ́ná?à.

(8) ?ákò·, dá?áłcò ʒɪ́dà, bɪťáhè· gòʒɪ́šóná?à. łàł ʒɪ́gò ?ɪzɪ́ńí łą́gò čòš bà·gò·slɪ́ná?à. nágò čòší nà·yàⁿdɪłná?à.

(9) nágò łàł ʒɪ́gò, bɪyà?ɪsʒáńń bɪťáší́ ná·nô·łyòłná?à. čòš ?ɪsdà?yè·sⁿdɪlí nɪ·?yá yà·hè·sⁿdɪlgò yɪ·łcą́ná?à. ťą́yá bɪčè?ské́nè yà·náłyòná?à. hɪčàná?à.

(10) "čòš nà·nè·sdà·. xąh hò·ká. 'čòš nà·nɪ·dágò, dà·hkà,' nàłʒɪⁿdíń," bɪčè?ské́nèí dà·yɪ·łⁿdínná?à.

(11) ʒò·dà·ʒɪ́bá·yégò, ʒɪ́dè·skànná?à. dásí hànná?àń ?ɪʒɪ́káyá, ?áń bɪzą́·yéń, ?ɪkéyánà·yáń, ťą́yá dɪcɪ́ ?ó·?áńí ?ákà· nádè·sgàlná?à. dɪcɪ́ ?ó·?áńí bɪkáší́ bɪtà·ńń yà·nâ·łyògò yɪ·łcą́ná?à.

(12) nágò bɪmáń ?áyɪ·łⁿdínná?à: "šɪmá, dɪcɪ́ ?ó·?áńí bɪkáší́ šɪtà· yà·nâ·łyò ?í·yéhé!" gò·łⁿdínná?à.

(13) nágò bɪmáń ?ábɪ·łⁿdínná?à: "dò·?áʒɪⁿdídà, šɪškè?é. ?ɪłkɪdą́ ?édɪ́. dò·ʒóʒídà," bɪmáń bɪ·łⁿdínná?à.

(14) dá?áyáťéńdàh, ?áń bɪzą́·yéń bɪmáń ?áyɪ·łⁿdínná?à: "dò·dà, dɪšⁿdí! dò·dà, dɪšⁿdí! šɪtà· ?áťɪ́! dábí ?áťɪ́! ⁿdínná?à.

(15) dá?áyáťéńdàh bɪmáń bɪčà·yàgóčɪ́ná?à.

18. Coyote Marries his Own Daughter

(1) Coyote lived with his many children. His oldest daughter was very pretty. He wanted to marry her.

(2) Then he pretended to be sick. He spoke thus to his wife: "I am badly sick," he said to her. "Make me a bed on that tree that stands there. Put me up there," he said to her.

(3) Then his wife made a bed for him there.

(4) Then he lay down up there. Frome somewhere he had brought a liver back that was rotten. He had put this by his side.

(5) Then he spoke thus to his wife: "Sweep right here under me every day. When worms begin to fall, you will know I am gone.[1] Then you will go away. You will give [my daughter] to anyone you meet carrying four fat prairie dogs. You will give him the oldest one," he said to her.

(6) He had sexual desires toward his daughter. So he spoke thus.

(7) They knew him by a large wart that was on the side of his head.[2]

(8) Then, every day, his wife swept [the ground] under him. One day there appeared many worms on that liver. And he was dropping the worms down [to the ground].

(9) Then, the next day, his wife was coming again to the place under him. She saw the worms he had dropped lying scattered about on the ground. She went back to her children. She was weeping.

(10) "The worms have fallen. We shall go right away. 'When the worms fall, you will go,' he said to us," she said to her children.

(11) Sadly, they started off. When they were nearly out of sight, the small one, the youngest one, looked back to the tree that stood there. He saw his father jumping from the tree that stood there.

(12) Then he spoke thus to his mother: "My mother, [I'm] sure my father jumped from the tree that stands there!" he said to her.

(13) Then his mother spoke thus to him: "Do not say so, my child. He is gone long ago. Do not mention him,"[3] his mother said to him.

(14) In spite of that, the little one spoke thus to his mother: "No, I say! No, I say! It was my father! It was certainly him!" he said.

(15) But then his mother stopped him. They

ⁿdáséyá ʒàkànáʔà.

(16) nágò, ná·náⁿdáséè·, ʔáń màʔyèń bɪčèʔškéńèńí dábíńí λǫí dɪ̨·ʔ yàʒɪšgò gòdáhíłyònáʔà. gòyąʔńń gòčɪ̨·yáłtɪ ńdàh dò·bégòʒísɪ̨dànáʔà.

(17) nágò ʔáń màʔyèńń, bɪčèʔškéńí hɪdánáł-yòžɪ̨, ʔádàɪłⁿdínáʔà: "xàʔyáxè· ʒò·dà·nàhbá·yégò dàhkáná?" dà·yɪ·łⁿdínáʔà.

(18) nágò bɪyàʔɪsʒáńń ʔábɪ·łⁿdínáʔà: "!čòš nà·nɪ·dágò, dà·hkà,' nàłʒɪⁿdí. ʔákò· čòš nà·-nè·sdà·. ʔíbą· ʔášɪ̨ hò·kà. ʔéʒɪdɪ̨ń," ⁿdínáʔà.

(19) nágò, dábí ʔáťɪ̨ ńdàh, ʔágò·łⁿdínáʔà: "hà·stɪ̨·í gòʒíyąłè·. ʔɪyâ·dà ʒɪⁿdínáʔà, hálí?" gò·łⁿdínáʔà.

(20) nágò ʔâ·łʒɪⁿdínáʔà: "ʔàò. 'dáxà·ń λǫí dɪ̨·ʔ yàʒɪšń díń ʒè·kę̨ʔ ʔíłcénà·yáń bà·dà·łté·ł,' šɪłʒɪⁿdíń," ⁿdínáʔà.

(21) nágò ʔágò·łⁿdínáʔà: "ʔáyáťé, dɪšⁿdí, gòʒíyąłè·!" ⁿdínáʔà.

(22) nágò bɪʒè·kę̨ʔ ʔíłcénà·yáńń bà·ʒíńłtɪ̨-náʔà. kò·yą̨ báʔágòʒɪlánáʔà. bɪʒè·kę̨ʔńń, bɪyàʔɪs-ʒáńgò, yɪłsɪkénáʔà šąʔšɪ̨.

(23) nágò bɪʒè·kę̨ʔńń ʔáłłⁿdínáʔà: "šɪyàʔɪs-ʒáń, yà· šáháńyà·ł," yɪ·łⁿdínáʔà.

(24) gòcà·skłdèyá ńnè·ťągò, nàńnè·stɪ̨gò yà·báháʒɪńtánáʔà. bíńλàšɪ̨ sǫ·s ńcà·í bà·dàsɪʔą́í bè·bégózɪ̨náʔà. ʔášɪ̨gò hɪkłžɪ̨ nè·sʔąnáʔà. ʔášɪ̨gò ʔɪná·šdɪyàłⁿdɪ.

(25) nágò ʔágò·łⁿdínáʔà: "ʔɪ̨·šɪ̨gò šégòʒà," gò·łⁿdígò, sǫ·s ńcà·í bà·dàsɪʔą́ségò dò·dàšdɪł-ⁿdɪkà·háťɪ̨dànáʔà. dáhágò·hⁿdɪ·, ʔɪ·łxà·žnáʔà.

(26) nágò ʔáń ʒè·kę̨ʔń ʔáyɪńzɪ̨náʔà. "hą̨·šą̨, ʔɪyâ·bą̨· ʔɪ̨·šɪ̨gò dò·dàʔdɪⁿdɪháťɪ̨dàʔ" ʒíńzɪ̨gò, dáʔɪłxòšgò ʔášɪ̨gò ḱéšdè·syàlnáʔà.

(27) nágò bíńλàšɪ̨ sǫ·s ńcà·í bà·dàsɪʔą́náʔà! gòtà·ńń ʔáťɪ̨náʔà! dáʔɪłxòšgò, kǫ·hégò bɪλáh hà-ʒàłcànáʔà. gòmáń bɪčɪ̨·nážɪ·łtè·náʔà. gòmáń ʔâ·ł-ʒɪⁿdínáʔà: "šɪmá, ʔáyáń šɪtà·ńń ʔáťɪ̨! bíńλàšɪ̨ sǫ·s ńcà·í bà·dàsɪʔá! ʔáíbè· dábí ʔáťɪ̨í bégózɪ̨!" gò·łⁿdínáʔà.

(28) bɪčɪ̨·nášdɪyè·sťá·žnáʔà dágòmáńbɪł. dá-ʔɪłxòšnáʔà. bà·nážɪťá·žnáʔà. bíńλàšɪ̨ bɪkéšdè·s-yàlnáʔà. dáⁿdí dábí ʔáťɪ̨náʔà!

(29) céńcà·í nášńʔąnáʔà. gòcɪ·ťá dàhʒɪ·sʔą-

went on.

(16) Then, at a place still further on, that Coyote himself, carrying four prairie dogs, met his children. Her husband talked to her but she did not recognize him.

(17) Then that Coyote, when he met his children, spoke thus to them: "Where are you who look so sad going?" he said to them.

(18) Then his wife spoke thus to him: "'When the worms fall, you will go,' he said to us. Then the worms fell. Therefore we are travelling here. He has gone," she said.

(19) Then, though it was indeed him, he spoke thus to her: "The old man was wise. He said something else, no doubt?" he said to her.

(20) Then she spoke thus to him: "Yes. 'You will give this oldest girl to anyone who carries four prairie dogs,' he said to me," she said.

(21) Then he spoke thus to her: "It is so, I say, he was wise!" he said.

(22) Then she gave him her oldest daughter. She made a wickiup for him.[4] His daughter, being his wife, sat with him in the sun.

(23) Then he spoke thus to his daughter: "My wife, search for lice on me," he said to her.

(24) Putting his head in her lap, he lay on his side as she searched for lice on him. They knew him by a large wart that was on the side of his head. His head lay on that side. She put her hand there every now and then.

(25) Then he spoke thus to her: "They are on this side of me," he said, not permitting her to put her hand on the side on which the big wart lay. Suddenly, he fell asleep.

(26) Then that girl thought thus. "Let's see, why does he not allow me to put my hand on this side?" she thought, looking on that side as he slept.

(27) And a big wart was on the side of his head! It was her father! As he slept, she slipped quietly out from under him. She ran back to her mother. She spoke thus to her mother: "My mother, that one is my father! A big wart lies on the side of his head! That shows that it is surely him!" she said to her.

(28) She went back to him with her mother. He was still asleep. The two of them went to him. They looked at the side of his head. It was indeed him!

(29) [The mother] picked up a big stone. She

ná?à. ?łłxòšžǫ̨ bìłłžǫ̨ ńžíńyáná?à. bìcì· cé łè·-žì·łkà·ná?à. žìyè·sxǫ́ná?à.

19. The First Mountain Spirit Ceremony

(1) ?łłłìdą́, ?á^{n}dè·nà·gòyádą́, ^{n}dé łą́ná?à. gą́hé hò·yéí dò·xádą́?ìyâ·yégósǫ̨dànná?à. ^{n}dé dáhô·-łè?é yégósǫ̨ná?àń ?à·è· ^{n}déłą́íyè?é nà·yáná ńdàh dò·bédà·gòžísǫ̨dànná?à.

(2) ?ákò· ?áń ^{n}déń gą́hé yégósǫ̨ń gòčǫ̨·yá-dà·łtìná?à. "gòtál ńtà·. łé·?gò, gą́hé nàhá?ágòš-łá. dágòtálsì?ą́gò dǫ̨·? łé·?; dò·xádą́dà·h?ǫ́dàí nàhá?ášłá. hǫ̨·yą̀·, dánàhíłèh ?à·è· dà·nàhká," dà·gò·ł^{n}díná?à.

(3) ?ákò· ^{n}déí ?ádà·žì^{n}díná?à. ?łłčǫ̨·yádà·-žłłtìná?à. "dá?ákàńžǫ́. dí· dò·xádǫ̂·łǫ́dàí ^{n}dé nà-há?áìláí bá?łłénàsǫ̨gò ńžǫ́. dáxà?yá ^{n}dé ?ánàhì·ł-^{n}díyá ^{n}dé bá?áhì·h^{n}dágò ńžǫ́," dà·?łłčǫ̨·dìh^{n}dígò ?łłčǫ̨·yádà·žó·łtìná?à. "hǫ̨·yą̀·dà, dánàhíłèh, dá-nánàł?ážǫ̨, ?à·è· dà·nàhká," dà·?łłčǫ̨·dìh^{n}díná?à.

(4) nágò ?ádíń ^{n}déń, gą́hé yégósǫ̨gò gą́hé ká-?ádà·gòláń, gòčǫ̨·yáná·dà·łtìná?à. ?ádà·gò·ł^{n}dí-ná?à: "šìłłshókénè, šílą̀hókénè: ?ádí·dí· gą́hé ?ágòšłáí ?áyàhyá ?à·^{n}dàhyá žłłí bìłáhyá ?ášłá. hí·yà·dà góžǫ́gò nàhčè?škénèí nàhłékénèí bà·dà·-hàh^{n}dí. ?ádí·dí· gą́hé ?ágòšłáí łèdà·?ìšcìí bì-čǫ̨·?áxá·nézǫ̨ dò·yá·dàhíyádà. ?ádí·dí· ^{n}déí gą́hé ?ádà·šłáí bégònàsǫ̨dè·dà bìžì·í dò·bè·hášídà. šì-łékénè, łą́^{n}dá góyéyá hàdà·žì·hálí. nàhì?áłčìnéí bìčà·yàgònàhčǫ̨. ?ádí·dí· gą́hé łè?ì·sčǫ́žǫ̨ dò·łì?-dà·híyádà. dò·łì?hìnéł?ǫ́dà. gòłné·žǫ́gò kǫ̀·žǫ̨ čé-kágò ?ákò·ná ?áńdè·dà dà·nál?ǫ́dè·dà, dá?ákò dá-?áyáłé. ^{n}dàh gòdìnàsǫ̨. dò·xáńdá?kòyáyáłtìdà. nà-hì?áłčìnéí bìčà·yàdà·gònàhčǫ̨. dò·xáńdá?kòyá?á-^{n}dídà. góyéyá łą́^{n}dá ?ádà·^{n}díhálí. šìłékénè, dà·-nàhònškǫ̀·," dà·gò·ł^{n}díná?à.

put it on top of her head. She stood over him where he slept. She threw the stone on his head. She had killed him.

19. The First Mountain Spirit Ceremony

(1) Long ago, when everything was new, there were many Indians. No one at that time knew anything about those who are called Mountain Spirits.[1] Only one man who knew about them lived among the many Indians but they did not know about him.

(2) Then that man who knew about the Mountain Spirits talked to them. "There is to be a ceremony. Tonight, I will make Mountain Spirits for you. The ceremony lasts four nights; I will make for you something you have never seen before. Therefore, all of you go there," he said to them.

(3) Then the Indians spoke thus. They talked to one another. "It is well. It is well that you be grateful for that which the man is to do for us which we have never seen before. It is proper that we do for the man whatever the man tells us," they said to one another as they talked to one another. "Therefore, all of you, every last one of you, will go there," they said to one another.

(4) Then this man, he who knew about the Mountain Spirits [and] was going to make them for them, again talked to them. He spoke thus to them: "My brothers, my sisters: I will make these Mountain Spirits that I'm going to make far away over there at the foot of the mountain.[2] So advise your children [and] your relatives well. No one is to come close to these Mountain Spirits which I will make [and] decorate. Do not call these Indians I will make into Mountain Spirits by their names even if you recognize them. My relatives, it is dangerous [for] anyone to speak [so]. Forbid your children [to do so]. No one is to go where these Mountain Spirits are being decorated. No one is to look at them.[3] If you see them only at twilight coming out to the fire, it is perfectly all right. But treat them with respect.[4] No one is to speak carelessly. Forbid your children [to do so]. No one is to say anything. It is dangerous [for] anyone to speak thus. My

(5) góžǫ́gò, xà?yą́ dásí?ágóťéyá, bè·gòčàdà·-gòžł·sčı̨ná?à. ?áń ⁿdéń gą́hé ?ágòláń yè·kà·dàòh-ⁿdł·ná?à.

(6) nágò ḱàdí, dá?áí błłⁿdéžílı̨í łł? čídà·-žò·s?ı̨·gò, gą́hé ?ážílà·ná?à. ?à·ⁿdàhyá, žłłí bł-ťàhyá, dò·xášı̨?áxá·nédàyá, gą́hé báná·?žínè·s-ⁿdílná?à. ?ákà· gą́hé ḱè?žłłčína?à.

(7) ?ákò· dí· ?áłčínénèí, nà·dà·ⁿdéhégò, dí·ḱè·ń ?łłnánákè·ná?à. "dò·xáń ?ážı̨ dà·híγádà," žłⁿdígò ⁿdébè· błčı̨·yádà·žó·łtłńí, dá?ádą́ błčı̨·-yágò ?áłčínénè ?łłnánákè·ná?à nà·dà·ⁿdéhégò.

(8) nágò łł? žè·žíkę́í gą́hé ḱèdà·?žłłčíí bł-yè·šxàhá čéžíłγè·. nágò ?ážı̨ gą́hé ḱèdà·?žłłčíí błčı̨·yágò ńžínè·łⁿdína?à. nágò ?áí žè·žíkę́í łł? žłⁿdéí kégòžísı̨náí gòžł·łcą́ná?à. kégòžł·sı̨·ná?à.

(9) nágò, gòłné·žı̨gò, gòtál ńťà·ńè· kǫ·í xà·dègò dàsíkąná?à. dá?ákòdè·yágò žílą́ná?à. gą́-héńí kǫ·žǫ·kàná?à. kǫ·í dàísı̨ná?à. báhà?dàťą́-ná?à. kǫ·í dà·yó·sı̨nágò, báhà?dàťá·łná?à. dà·?ı̨-žłšná?à. ńžǫ́gò dà·?ıžłšná?à.

(10) nágò ?ádí·dí·, žè·žíkę́í gą́hé ḱè?žłłčí-è· ⁿdéłł? bégòžísı̨í gòžł·łcą́ńí, ?á?nà·ná·žàłγòł-ná?à gą́hé nà·nô·ké·łè·. nágò ?áí žè·žíkę́í dí· gą́héí bížł·í bè·žó·žł·ná?à. "?à·í ?áγáhò·γéń ?á-ťı̨," žídó·ⁿdí·ná?à. ?áí žè·žíkę́í ?ážłⁿdína?à.

(11) nágò ?áí gą́hé bégòžísı̨í ⁿdé gą́hé bágò-žłláńí dágò·ščı̨· kégòžł·sı̨·ná?à.

(12) nágò gą́héí hàná?àńyá ?ínážó·žò·ž. nágò ⁿdéí dí·ḱèh bè·bıčàgòžł·sčı̨ná?à. "'łą́ⁿdá xà?ágò-dà ?ádàⁿdí·ł hálí' dà·nàłdíšⁿdígò: góžǫ́gò bè·-nàhčàdà·gòsíłčı̨ń. ?áíńí dá?ádą łł? dò·?ákà·dàyá góγéyá ?ádà·ⁿdína?à. dákògò ?áńdè·dàgò, dò·xà?-yágò ńžǫ́yá nàhá?ánô·šλáłè·?áťédà. łł? žè·žíkę́í, ?ąⁿdè·dègò gą́héí nà·nô·kàdą́, łł? bégòžísı̨náí dá-bížł·íbè· žó·žł·ná?à. ?áí dò·xà?yágò nàhá?ána-gòšλáháťédà," ⁿdé dà·błłžłⁿdína?à.

(13) ?ákò· ⁿdé dà·gò·ką·ná?à. "čê·ḱèh, gół-

relatives, I plead with you," he said to them.

(5) In a good way, in exactly that way, he had made it known to them. That man who was to make the Mountain Spirits advised them [well].

(6) Now then, making use of some of those people who were with him, he made the Mountain Spirits. Far away, at the foot of the mountain, where no one was near, he made a brush corral for the Mountain Spirits. There he decorated the Mountain Spirits.

(7) Then some children [who] were playing ran about all over. Though he had said "No one is to go there," when he had spoken to the people, the children were already running about playing [close] to [that place].

(8) Then one young girl came out near the Mountain Spirits who were being decorated. And she turned her head toward the Mountain Spirits who were being decorated there. And that young girl saw one of the men she knew. She recognized him.

(9) Then, at twilight, there was a big fire at the place where the ceremony was to be held. There were a great many there. The Mountain Spirits came to the fire. They worshipped the fire.[5] The singing had begun for them. When they had worshipped the fire, the singing went on for them. They danced. They danced well.

(10) Then this one, the one man that the young girl had seen [and] recognized where the Mountains Spirits were being decorated, was going around there where the Mountain Spirits were dancing. And that young girl called by name this Mountain Spirit.[6] "That is he who is called so and so," she said. That young girl spoke thus.

(11) Then that one who knew about the Mountain Spirits [and] who had made them for the Indians immediately knew [what she had said].[7]

(12) Then the Mountain Spirits went back out of sight. And he talked to all of the Indians. "'No one is to say anything' I told you; I made this known to you in a good way. It is said that someone has already spoken improperly [and] dangerously. Now then, I can in no way make things good again for you. One young girl, while the Mountain Spirits were dancing a while ago, called someone that she recognized by name. I can in no way make things [right] again for you," he said to the Indians.

(13) Then the Indians pleaded with him.

ʒìlgò nàhábìčı̨·ńƛá·s. dò·dànàhà?ánáʔìλá," ʔáń ⁿdéń dà·hìłʒìⁿdínáʔà.

(14) dáⁿdí gółʒìlgò káìčı̨·dè·sƛàs ńdàh dò·-dà·gò·ʒà·dànáʔà. dáčéʔáóťı̨·náʔà.

(15) nágò ʔáń gą́hé kádà·gòláńń gòčı̨·yádà·ł-tìnáʔà. "ʔádíń ʒè·kę́ń dò·ʔákà·dàyá hàóʒíńń dí·-dí· dı̨·ʔƛé·ʔ gòtál sìʔą́í hàyó·łkągò hàʔó·ʔągò dò:nàhìⁿdí·dà, nàłʒìⁿdí. dánàhⁿdì·žı̨, dádà·náł-ʔı̨gò, nàhà·ʒì·łxé, nàłʒìⁿdí. dò·xàʔyágò nàháʔá-nô·šλáháťédà. ʔìłkìdą, dágô·ščı̨·dá, ńžǫ́gò bè·-nàhčàgòsíłčı̨ń. 'łą́ⁿdá ʔáyádàⁿdì·ł hálí,'dà·nàł-dìšⁿdíń."

(16) dáʔáyáťéńdàh, díń ⁿdéń gą́hé yégósı̨ń, bìdìyı̨ńíbè·, dò·dàkàʔánáʔìλágò káìčı̨·nádìƛá·sná ńdàh dáčéʔáyó·łʔı̨·náʔà. dáhô·łè·ńyágònà bìłkégò-zı̨·náʔà. xà·ń bìčı̨·yáłtìnáʔàń ábì·łⁿdínáʔà: "dı̨·ʔƛé·ʔí ʔádí· gòtálí ʔénágòdı̨·í hàyó·łkągò, dá·ʔáí ʔà·è· gą́hé dà·ʔìžìšè· kǫ·łą́í dàsìką́í bì-ƛáhyá ʔìgàhčı̨·yá ʔà·ń ʒè·kę́ń dò·ʔákà·dàyá hàóʒí-ńń ʔákà· ʔà·łtè·," gò·łⁿdínáʔà.

(17) ʔákò· díń ⁿdéń gą́hé káʔádà·gòláńń yè·-gòčàdà·gò·sčı̨náʔà.

(18) ʔákò· ʔìłdǫ́ ʔáná·dà·gò·łⁿdínáʔà: "ʔá-xąh, gònè·λı̨ sàłʔą́. dò·xàʔyágò ʔáʒóláháťédà. dı̨·ʔƛé·ʔí hì·skągò ʔákò·ná bégòdà·zı̨·ł," dà·-gò·łⁿdínáʔà.

(19) ʔákò·, dáʔáyáťégò, gòtál sìʔą́náʔà. dá-ʔáyáťéńdàh dò·bà·gòłdà·gǒžǫ́dànáʔà. ʔáí ʒè·ʒíkę́í dáʔáyáʒížǫ́náʔà. čédégòdà ʔádà·gòʒìlánáʔà.

(20) dı̨·ʔhìłkà·í ʔážı̨ kágòšdè·sʔą́ńí ʔà·è·-ńgóńyáná?à. kǫ·dàsìką́ńí bìƛáhyá ʔáí ʒè·ʒíkę́í ʔì-dà·gòʒì·stı̨náʔà.

(21) hì·skąnągò, ʒìłšı̨gò gą́hé łągò, xà·dèyá ńnáńťìgò, kà·náńsąnáʔà. łìbáyé dáłèʔé dásíʔìkéè·-sìzı̨náʔà. dí·dí·, gą́héí ʒìłšı̨gò ʔádà·ťı̨í dò·xá-dądà·ʒąʔı̨dàí, dí·kèh dìłxìšì· yàʒìšnáʔà. gą́hécò-dìłxłłń dásíʔè·šáńè· sìzı̨náʔà. dábìkéè· gą́héńcò-dàƛìžń sìzı̨náʔà. dáná·bìkéè· gą́héńcòłìcòń sìzı̨-náʔà. dásíʔìkéyá gą́héłbáyéń sìzı̨náʔà.

"Anyhow, help her for us with all your power. [Then] nothing will happen to us," they said to that man.

(14) He really tried to help her for them with all his power but it could not be done.[8] He tried in vain.

(15) Then that one who had made the Mountain Spirits for them spoke to them. "This girl who has spoken improperly will not be ours at sunrise on the morning [after] the fourth night of this ceremony, they say to us. Right before your faces just as you are looking on, they will kill her, they say to us. I am unable to make it as it was for you. Long ago, at the very beginning, I made this known to you in a good way. 'No one is to speak so,' I said to you."

(16) In spite of that, this man who knew about the Mountain Spirits, by means of his power, tried to help her for them so that nothing would happen to them but he did so in vain. He could think of only one thing. Whoever it is who is said to speak to him[9] spoke thus to him: "The morning [after] the fourth night of this ceremony has been finished, put that girl who spoke improperly into a hole you will dig under the fire that lies there where the Mountain Spirits are dancing," he said to him.[10]

(17) Then this man who had made the Mountain Spirits for them made this known to them.

(18) Then he also spoke thus to them again: "Go ahead, have a good time. One can do nothing. Only on the morning [after] the fourth night will [anything] be known," he said to them.

(19) Then, in just that way, the ceremony went on. But they did not feel right about it. That young girl was very pretty. They tried in vain to do so.[11]

(20) The fourth night came to an end as he had promised them. They put that girl under where the fire had been.

(21) That morning, many Mountain Spirits from the mountains,[12] strung out in a very long line, came to them. One Gray One[13] stood at the very end. These, who were Mountain Spirits from the mountains whom they had never seen, all carried sabres. The Big Black Mountain Spirit stood in the very first place.[14] Right behind him stood the Big Blue Mountain Spirit. And right behind him stood the Big Yellow Mountain Spirit. At the very end stood the Gray Mountain Spirit.

(22) gòtál sì?ą̨̀nè·, kǫ̀·dàsìką̨̀ní dàìsı̨ná?à. kǫ̀·í dà·yó·sı̨ná?à nágò ?áí ʒè·ǯíkę̨̀ní gókádàǹtá-ná?à. dà·gògò·tàí dí·kè·ǹ gò?ìžà·žéí kà·nà·dàì-ⁿdìlgò gókádàǹtáná?à. dáčédà nà·dàǹtáná?à.

(23) gòtál sì?ą̨̀nè·, kǫ̀·í hìčı̨̀·nádà·dìdìł-dìsná?à. gą̨̀hécòdìłxìłń gą̨̀hé dí·kèh yè·šáń sìzı̨-ná?à. dáčédà bìłkégòzı̨̀·ná?à. ?ákò· dásí?ìkéyá ǹłyònná?à čé?áťı̨gò.

(24) ?ákò· gą̨̀hécòdàǹìžń ?è·šáń ǹná·náłyò-ná?à. kǫ̀·í dàìsı̨gò, hìčı̨̀·nádà·dìdìłdìsgò, hìnô·-ké·łná?à. gą̨̀hécòdàǹìžń ?ìłdǫ́ dò·bìłkégòzı̨̀·dà-ná?à. ?ákò· bí ?ìłdǫ́ dásí?ìkéyá ǹná·náłyònná?à.

(25) nágò gą̨̀hécòłìcòń ?è·šáń ǹná·náłyònná?à. kǫ̀·í dàìsı̨ná?à. ?áń ?ìłdǫ́ dáčé?áóťı̨̀·ná?à.

(26) nágò ǩàdì, łìbáyéí gą̨̀héí dí·kèh ?è·šáń ńyáná?à. kǫ̀·í dı̨·ǹ hìnáskı̨ná?à. dı̨·ǹ hìčı̨̀·dà·dì-dè·sdìzná?à. dásí?ìkéè·, dı̨·ǹ ?ílà·è·, łìbáyéí kǫ̀· ?ìłⁿdíšı̨ gòcì·ťášı̨ yó·tą̨̀gò kè·hàǯó·łxìžná?à. dàhgàłté·łžı̨, gą̨̀héí dí·kèh dìłxìšì·ťbè· dábìǯí-ząǯ·yégòná ǹkédà·ǯìyè·sxìžná?à. kǫ̀·í hìnáskı̨yá, ?ìnó·kàná?à.

(27) łą̨̀gò ?ádà·ťı̨ná?à. dáǯíǩèh dádà·ǯìnéł-?ı̨gò, kǫ̀·šı̨ ʒìłí bìčı̨̀·gò dìłxìšì·í dà·dì·ċàgò ǩìyà·dà·?dìλà·gò čénáńsą̨ná?à. dádà·ǯìnéł?ı̨gò, ʒìłsì?ą́í ?ìłⁿdíšı̨ céǹtè·líná́ńťìí bìčı̨̀·hàǹdà?nô·-sé·łná?à. céná́ńťìí hìčı̨̀·ǹná́ńsą̨ná?à. dà·dìhⁿdí-ná?à. céná́ńťìǹí ?ìłčą̨?ázà·ná?à. ?ákà· yà?nó·są̨-ná?à. céí ?ážı̨?ánázà·ná?à.

(28) dí·dí· gą̨̀héí dáxà?yágò?áťédè·dà łìbá-yéíná dí·kèh bìtìsgò bìł?égózı̨̀. gą̨̀hé dí·kèh bì-tìs sìtı̨. gą̨̀héí ?áí ʒè·ǯíkę́í čégókádàǹtáè·, łì-báyéídà kè·hàǯó·łxìžná?à. łìbáyéíná ?ìtìsí ?áťé.

20. The Visit of the Mountain Spirits

(1) ?ı̨·è·, ?ìłdǫ́, dá?ákòdè·yágò ⁿdé łą̨ná?à.

(22) At the place where the ceremony had been held, they worshipped the fire that had lain there. They worshipped the fire and then they searched for that young girl. They searched for her all over the camp, scattering their furnishings here and there. They searched in vain.

(23) At the place where the ceremony had been held, they circled toward the fire several times. The Big Black Mountain Spirit stood before all of the Mountain Spirits. He had tried in vain to learn [where she was]. Then he went to the very end [of the line] since he had failed.

(24) Then the Big Blue Mountain Spirit went to the front. Worshipping the fire, circling toward it again and again, they ran around it. The Big Blue Mountain Spirit also learned nothing. And he also went to the very end.

(25) Then the Big Yellow Mountain Spirit went to the front. They worshipped the fire. He also did so in vain.

(26) Then now, the Gray One went before all of the Mountain Spirits. They ran around the fire four times. They circled toward it four times. The last time, the fourth time it was done, the Gray One pulled [the girl] out of the center of the fire holding her by the top of her head. As he held her up, all the Mountain Spirits cut her into very small [pieces] with [their] sabres. Circling the fire, they went off.

(27) There were many of them. As everyone watched them, they went out from the fire toward the mountains, the sabres clashing and sparkling [in the sun]. As they watched them, they were moving up toward a broad sheer rock wall at the center of a mountain that lay there. They stopped before the rock wall. A noise was made. The rock wall opened. They went in there. The rock closed again.

(28) The Gray One knows more than all of the Mountain Spirits of whatever kind. He is over all the Mountain Spirits. Where the [other] Mountain Spirits were unable to find that young girl, the Gray One pulled her out. Only the Gray One is supreme.

20. The Visit of the Mountain Spirits

(1) Here, also, were a great many Indians.

ʔáí, ʔà·è· ǯílą̨è·, ʔłłdǫ́, dáǯłłèʔé góžǫ́gò gą́hé bégòǯísl̨náʔà. dáʔáťéšl̨ ʔáí ʔánděˈ·dègò gą́hé bégòǯísl̨gò kà·gòšⁿdíí dàhń dáʔáí ʔáǯłť̨, dàhń ʔáínà dò·yâ·ʔáyáⁿdídà.

(2) dáʔáyáťéńdàh, ʔádíń ⁿdéń gą́hé yégósl̨ń dáǯíkèh gòčl̨·yáłtìnáʔà. "šłťékénè, dí·ʔǩé·ʔgą́hé nàháʔágòšlá. dágòtálslʔą́gò dí·ʔ hłłkà·," dà·-gò·łⁿdínáʔà.

(3) ʔákò· ⁿdé dí·ǩèh błčàgòǯl·ščį́náʔà. ⁿdéí dí·ǩèh yà·błłgóžǫ́náʔà.

(4) ʔákò·, yà·ǯl dè·sʔą́gò, gą́hé ǩèdà·ʔłčínáʔà. ʔłʔó·ʔą́náʔà. gòłné·ǯį́náʔà. gòtálńťà·è·, gą́hé dà·ʔdè·ǯl·žè·, kǫ̀·łą́gò dàdà·ǯl·skąnáʔà. ⁿdéí ʔlszą́yóí dáǯíkèh ʔà·è· dà·ǯl·skànáʔà. gą́héí kǫ̀·žǫ̀·kànáʔà. kǫ̀·í dàlsį́gò, hlnáǯàžǒšnáʔà. báhàʔdàťą́náʔà. gą́hé dà·ʔłžłšnáʔà. dáʔákòdè·yágò gònè·λį́náʔà.

(5) dásíʔídł̨· gònè·λį́nágò, xàʔášį́xè· gą́hé nà·kł dò·xádą́ǫ́ťį́dàí. dáčé·yá góžǫ́gò ǩèʔł·sčį́í, błdè·í dí·ǩèh ńžǫ́ ǩèʔł·sčį́í, gą́héí dákídà·gòⁿdî·í dáʔáyáńžǫ́ dà·ʔłžłš, ńdàh, ʔáí nà·kł dò·bédà·gòǯísl̨dàgò ʔà·è· ʔłłíłdé·lí ʔáínà ʔłtłsgò góžǫ́ ʔłžłšnáʔà. dáʔáínà dà·ǯłnéłʔį́náʔà. dáʔáínà gą́hé łą́gò ʔáťénáʔà.

(6) nágò ⁿdédà·góyą́í ʔádà·ⁿdínáʔà. bédà·-ʔłłčl̨·hídłłklnáʔà. "ʔáí xáń blⁿdî·í ʔáťį́?" dà·-ʔłłčl̨·dłhⁿdínáʔà. dò·xáńyégósl̨dànáʔà.

(7) gą́héí dí·ǩèh dádà·ʔłžłšgò hłyàłká·łnáʔà. hàyàłká·łgò, ʔłťà čà·nágòłyè·łgò, xàʔáxè·ʔłłyàłdłłnáʔà. dò·bédà·gòǯísl̨dànáʔà. čédàbédà·-gòǯl·sl̨·náʔà.

(8) ǩé·ʔè·, gą́héí dà·ʔłžłšè· hànáʔàh ʔlnáǯłyàžǒšè·, bí ʔłłdǫ́ ʔákà· ʔlnáʔłłyàłdłł ńdàh ʔáí gą́héłłʔí błčą́ʔà·ⁿdàšį́ nłʔłłyàłdłłnáʔà. ʔáí gą́hé-łłʔí dò·bédà·gósl̨dànáʔà.

(9) dáʔłłcòłǩé·ʔdà ʔà·è· náʔłłłłdłłnáʔà. dáʔáyáťį́gò dí·ʔǩé·ʔnáʔà. dáʔáyáťéńdàh, dò·bédà·-gòǯísl̨dànáʔà. ʔłťà čà·nágòłyè·łgò, xàʔáxè· ʔłhàłyòłnáʔà.

(10) nágò ⁿdédà·góyą́í dí·ǩèh ʔádà·ⁿdínáʔà:

Here where they were many, also, only one knew in a good way about the Mountain Spirits. It is possible [that] these are the same ones of whom I spoke a while ago [who] knew about the Mountain Spirits,[1] [but] perhaps no one has spoken of them.

(2) Anyhow, this man who knew about the Mountain Spirits spoke to everyone. "My relatives, I will make Mountain Spirits for you four nights. The ceremony will last four days," he said to them.

(3) Then he had made it known to all the Indians. All the Indians were happy about it.

(4) Then, when the sun had begun to go down, the Mountain Spirits were being decorated. The sun had set. Twilight had come. Where the ceremony was to be held, where the Mountain Spirits were to dance, they had built a big fire. All of the men [and] women had come there. The Mountain Spirits were coming to the fire. Worshipping the fire, they were moving around it. Singing had begun for them. The Mountain Spirits danced. It was a great celebration.

(5) When the celebration was at its height, two Mountain Spirits that no one had ever seen before [came] from somewhere. They had been beautifully decorated. All of their horns[2] had been well designed. The Mountain Spirits that belonged to [the Indians] danced very well, but those two who had come there unknown to anyone danced much better. They looked at them alone. Only those Mountain Spirits were outstanding.

(6) Then the wise men spoke thus. They asked one another about them. "Who is it that owns these?" they said to one another.[3] No one knew about them.

(7) All of the Mountain Spirits danced until dawn. As dawn was breaking, while it was still dark, the two [strangers] were going away somewhere. No one knew [where]. They had tried in vain to find out.

(8) At night, when the Mountain Spirits danced [and] were going back out of sight, those two also moved back there but they stopped far from the other Mountain Spirits. Those other Mountain Spirits knew nothing about them.

(9) The two [strangers] kept coming there every night. It happened so four nights. In spite of that, no one knew about them. While it was still dark, they always went away somewhere.

(10) Then all of the wise men spoke thus:

"bégò·zı̨·gò náǹžǫ́," dà·ǯìⁿdínáʔà. "ʔı̨·yą̀·dà, dí·ǩé·ʔè·í, ʔà·è· gą́héí dádà·ʔìžìšgò, dáʔdìʔà·. ʔákò·, xàʔyágò ʔìłłłdè·łí bégò·zı̨·," dà·ǯìⁿdínáʔà.

(11) nágò ʔáná·dà·šdìhⁿdínáʔà: "dí· ǩé·ʔí, hàyó·łką́gò, nàhlı̨·ʔ dásíʔìtìsgò dà·dìžáí ḱèdà·-dàʔàhⁿdí·ł," dà·ʔìłčı̨·dìhⁿdínáʔà. "hàyàłká·łgò, kòyágò ʔìná?ìłłłdłłí ʔákà· łíní nàłʔìłkéńzı̨gò ʔáłá," dà·ʔìłčı̨·dìhⁿdínáʔà.

(12) nágò, dı̨·ʔǩé·ʔí bìǩé·ʔ, gą́hénì dádà·-ʔìžìsgò nódáhà· dàʔǹʔą́náʔà. ʔákò· ʔìťà ʔà·è· nà·náʔìłàłdłìnáʔà.

(13) ʔákò· ʔádà·gòłǯìⁿdíǹyá ʔádà·ǯìlánáʔà. łı̨dásídà·dìžáíná, ʒìłí bìčı̨·gò ʔáí gą́héí ʔìná?ìłłłdłłńí ʔákòyá gòłʔìłkéńzı̨gò ʔádà·ǯìlánáʔà. łı̨dásíʔìtìsgò dìžáí dásíʔíkèʔáńyá; ʒìłí bìčı̨·ʔáxá·néyá gòłńyánáʔà.

(14) "ḱàdì," dà·šdè·sⁿdì·gò, gą́hé dà·ʔìžìšńí ʔánágò·sdı̨·náʔà. dágòyèʔšı̨, yàhá čéʔìłłídé·lnáʔà. łı̨ʔìłkéńzı̨ńí bìyè·šxàhyá ʔìłàłdłłnáʔà. bìčı̨·łı̨dà·ǯíńtálnáʔà. łı̨ yè·šáń ʔìłàłdłłí dáʔákògò ʔìłàłdłł ná·nó·łťè·náʔà. ʒìłłčı̨·gò kà·dà·hílyè·-náʔà. dásíʔíkèʔáńyá łı̨ʔìtìsgò dìžáí gòłsìzı̨ńí dáʔáídà ťóʔédı̨ yè·ʔìnádánáʔà.

(15) ʔákò·, dáʔášı̨ ʔáxá·néšı̨ dážíkèh dà·ǯàʔı̨šı̨, ʒìłłńcà·í sìʔą́náʔà. nódágò cénáńťìnáʔà. ʔáí bìčı̨·yá, dádà·ǯìnéłʔı̨gò, hàndàʔìłàłdłłnáʔà. dìhⁿdígò ťą́yágò gòčı̨·gò náhàłyòłnáʔà. dádà·ǯìnéłʔı̨-gò, cénáńdà·ńťìnì dásíʔìłⁿdíyá nìʔìłłídé·lnáʔà. ʔášı̨ dìhⁿdígò sìzı̨náʔà. céí ʔìłčą́ʔáʒà·náʔà. ʔákà· yànáʔìłàłdé·lnáʔà.

(16) nágò ⁿdéǹí dí·ḱèh gòtál sìʔą́ǹè· ʔìnáǯíkánáʔà. dò·gòłdàǹžǫ́dàyá ʔádà·ǯíʒà·í ʔìłčı̨·bàńdà·ǯìťı̨náʔà.

(17) "dò·xàʔyágò ʔáyáhìhⁿdá ǹžǫ́dàyá ʔádà·-hì·ʒà·," dà·ǯìⁿdígò dò·gòłdàǹžǫ́dàgò bàńdà·ǯìťı̨-náʔà. "gółǯìlgò ʔìtéńlì·gò: dò·nà·hì·ʒì·dàgò, xàʔyágòdà góžǫ́gò nàhčı̨·gòⁿdánáʔà hálí. dò·ʔáyá-hì·ʒà·dà, xàʔyágòdà nàhčı̨·ǹžǫ́góìà·gòdà ʔáťı̨náʔà hálí. dánàhí, ⁿdéǹλı̨í, dò·ʔákà·dàyá ʔáhì·ʒà·,"

"It is better that something be learned about them," they said. "Therefore, this very night, when the Mountain Spirits dance here, is the time [to find out]. Then, it will be learned where [it is] that they go," they said.

(11) Then they spoke thus again: "Tonight, when dawn has come, saddle those of your horses which run the fastest," they said to one another. "As day is dawning, station yourselves on horseback at intervals along the way that those two customarily go away," they said to one another.

(12) Then, the night of the fourth night, the Mountain Spirits danced the high step[4] until the sun had risen. And the two [strangers] were still moving about there.

(13) Then they began to do what [the wise men] had told them. [Riding] only the fastest horses, they placed themselves at intervals along the way that those two Mountain Spirits had been going away toward the mountain. The horse that ran best was farthest away: he went with [his rider] close to the mountain.[5]

(14) When they had said "Ready," the Mountain Spirits who had been dancing stopped. From their midst, the two [strangers] ran out yonder. They were going close to the line of horses. [The riders] spurred their horses after them. The two who ran before the horses kept on going just so.[6] They ran toward the mountain. Even that one who had been standing farthest away with the fastest horse returned with nothing.[7]

(15) Then, right up close where everbody saw it, lay a big mountain. It was a high rock wall. Toward that, as they watched them, the two [strangers] were moving up. They kept turning back toward them [and] making a noise.[8] As they watched them, the two stopped directly at the center of the big rock wall. There they stood making a noise. The rock spread apart. The two went in there.

(16) Then all of the Indians went back to where the ceremony had been held. They did not like what they had done[9] [and] discussed it among themselves.

(17) "We have done something that it is not good to do," they said as they discussed that which they did not like. "Pray with all your power: if we had not bothered them, something good might have happened to us. If we had not done so, even something which was good to us might have

dà·ʒlⁿdígò dò·gòłdàñžǫdàgò ʔłłčǫ·bàńdà·ʒłťǫná?à.

(18) dá?áʒílǫná?à ʔádǫ́. dá?áyáťéńdàh ʔłyádíxè· kà·í gòtàńyáná?à. ʔášǫ́, dò·ʔà·ⁿdàgòdè·yádàgò, ʔáí ʒílǫgò ʔégò·sdǫ·ná?à. ʔákò· dò·dá?áyáʒílǫdàná?à.

(19) ʔádǫ́, ʔłłkłdǫ́, dí·dí· gǫ́héí nébłł?ílǫná?à. ⁿdéí ʔìnsǫná?à. ʒłłdà·dłyǫ́í błyè?šǫ́ gólǫ́, ⁿdé dà·ⁿdí. ʒłłdà·dłyǫ́í błyè?šǫ́ ʔáí ⁿdé gǫ́hé yédà·gósǫ́í błčǫ́·yádà·łtł. ʔákò·dáń nàhí, dò·nàhčǫ́·yáłtłdáíbǫ̀·, ʔáíbǫ̀·dáń dò·ʔò·λǫ̀dà·ł. dò·ʔáⁿdídà, ńⁿdídà·ł. ʔášǫ́, ʔłłdǫ́, dò·dánàhíkèh nàhčǫ́·yáłtłłè?áťédà. dò·dánàhíkèh gǫ́hé bégòñʒǫ́łè?áťédà.

21. The Mountain Spirits and the Old Woman

(1) ʔłłkłdǫ́, ⁿdéí hòkàná?à. ʔákò· łł ʒłsǫ́·néí ʔłʒàtàná?à. ʔákò·šǫ́ kà·nà·dà·ʒłńkàná?à.

(2) ʔákò·šǫ́ ʔádà·ʒłⁿdíná?à: "díń sǫ́ń dò·xà?yágò ńzǫ́dà," dà·ʒłⁿdíná?à. ʔákò· ʔádà·šdè·sⁿdł·ná?à. "díń sǫ́ń dò·xà?yágò ńžǫ́dà," dà·ʒłⁿdíná?à, "?íyǫ̀·dà, yàhá ʔłdà·hł·łťè," dà·ʒłⁿdíná?à. ʔákò· yàhá ʔłdà·gòʒł·sťèná?à.

(3) ʔákò·šǫ́ ʒłčàná?à. ʔákò· dí· gǫ́héí kà·ʒłńžò·žná?à. ʔákò· ʔádà·gò·łⁿdíná?à: "yádíbǫ̀· ńčà?" dà·gò·łⁿdíná?à.

(4) "yàhá ʔłdà·šłʒł·sťè ʔíbǫ̀· hłščà," ʒłⁿdíná?à. "dò·šʔǫ́dà, dò·dł·ščàdà, ʔášǫ́ dò·yáštłdà. ʔáíbíká, hłščà."

(5) ʔákò· káhàdà·ʔdè·sʔǫ́ná?à. ʔákò· dò·ʒàʔǫ́dàńí, gòⁿdâ·í ʔłłčǫ́ʔáʒà·ná?à. dò·šdł·čàdàńí ná·ʔšdè·sčàná?à. dò·ʒàʔǫ́dàńí ʔłʒàʔǫ́ ná·ʒł·sλǫ́ná?à.

(6) ʔákò· ʔádà·gò·łⁿdíná?à: "dí·dí· ńžǫ́ ʔádà·hł·λà·í. náńʒágò, bà·gółⁿdł," dà·gò·łⁿdíná?à.

(7) ʔákò· kádà·gòdè·sʔǫ́í dí·kèh błkéťèhyá ʔáʒłʒà·ná?à. ʔákò·, káťégò, náʒłʒáná?à.

(8) ʔákò· dí·dí· kà·hłťǫ́·í dí·kèh błkéťèhyá ʔáʒłłà·ná?à. ʔákò·, káťégò, gòtál ńnáťá gò·slǫ́ná?à.

been. We, who are only men, did wrong," they said as they discussed that which they did not like among themselves.

(18) There were many of them at that time. But some kind of a disease came among them. Then, not long afterward, many of them died. Then there were not very many of them.

(19) At that time, long ago, they respected those Mountain Spirits. The Indians worshipped them. They lived in the sacred mountains, the Indians said. From inside the sacred mountains, they talked to those Indians who knew about the Mountain Spirits. But we, because they do not talk to us, will therefore not believe [this]. They do not speak so, you will say. But then, too, they cannot speak to all of us. Not all of us can know about the Mountain Spirits.

21. The Mountain Spirits and the Old Woman

(1) Long ago, the Indians were travelling. And some old woman was among them. And it seems they did not like her.

(2) Then it seems they spoke thus: "This old woman is good for nothing," they said. Then they had spoken thus. "This old woman is good for nothing," they said, "therefore, let's abandon her," they said. Then they had abandoned her.

(3) Then it seems she wept. Then these Mountain Spirits came to her. And they spoke thus to her: "Why are you weeping?" they said to her.

(4) "I weep because they have abandoned me," she said. "I cannot see, I cannot hear, and I cannot speak. For that reason, I weep."

(5) Then they began to sing for her.[1] And she who had been blind, her eyes were made to open. She who had been deaf began to hear again. She who had been blind was made to see again.

(6) Then they spoke thus to her: "This that we have done is good. When you return, tell them about it," they said to her.

(7) Then she performed all of the ceremony they had done for her in exactly their way.[2] And in that way, she returned.

(8) Then she performed all of that which had been given to her in exactly their way. And, in this way, the ceremony came to be customarily performed.[3]

22. A Visit to the Mountain Spirits

(1) dí· ʔlsʒáń ʔłíê·kéblzą·yé ʔlčè·škéblzą·yé. díń ʔlsʒáńń ʔáłčlné bè·náʔl·sǩǫ ʒàyé·ł.

(2) šàš gǒčl·nádl·łyò. dlcl ʔédl. gòłgà. ʔákò· šàš bl·sll. ʔákò· blzó·ł ylǩéʒlńʒl·s. gòyè·sxl.

(3) ʔákò· šàš ʔáłčlné nálńłtl. ċàł šàší yó·tą. céyè·hàyó·łxà·l. gòyè·sxl. ʔáłčlné hlyè·sxl.

(4) ʔákò· gó·yą. ʔákò· ʔádíń ʔlíê·kéń ʔášl ʔlčè·škéń íô·dàgòblílà·.

(5) ʔákò· łlbáyé ʒlłšl kà·hílyò. "nô·ká," gò·łⁿdl.

(6) ʔákò· gòłnádè·skà ʒlłá. cénáńíílí blǩáh, dà·nádéńtàń yàháʔáílà·. gòłʔáhòkà dl·ń dà·nádéńtąʔ. nágò kágóíéžl čéńkà. ńⁿdé łą. dádí·ⁿdéí kèháíé.

(7) łą "yó·ščlšl!" dà·nàhl·łⁿdl.

(8) łlbáyéí "dò·dà," ⁿdl. "yó·ščlšl. šlkéšl," nàhl·łⁿdl.

(9) gòtál slʔąnáʔè· blłńkà. dádí· ʒą·è· gòtálí ǩèháíé.

(10) "dáʔákà· kò·yàní blyèʔyá sàké," nàhl·łⁿdí. dáʔákà· sl·kégò dl·ʔ hl·ską. gòtál ʔénágò·sdl·.

(11) ʔákò· "sss...! yó·ščlšl!" nàhl·łⁿdl łlbáyéí. ʒlłblzą́í sllá. "ʔákà· dè·kà," nàhl·łⁿdí.

(12) ʒlłblzą́í dl·ńšl yàháʔáíé. dáń łą ʒlłí blyèʔyá. ʔlkàń, gòłką·dí, ʔlcl·, gàxê·, ńⁿdé bldáń łą hl·łcą.

(13) ʔášl, nó·yòyá čéná·náńkà. šàš béhè·sǩǫ bé·šbè·. ʔáí bàńkà.

(14) "ʔádíń ʔánàhłłʔl," łlbáyé nàhl·łⁿdl. "ʔáíbą·, ʒą·šl dàhè·sǩǫ dáhlⁿdážl," nàhl·łⁿdl łlbáyéí.

(15) ʔášl, gòtálè· blłnáńkà.

(16) ʔákò· "dàhàhⁿdá?" nàhl·łⁿdl. "nádàhíà·š dò·dàgòdó dáʒą· sàké," nàhl·łⁿdl.

(17) ʔákò· "nàhíéké blčl·nô·íà·š," blłdlšⁿdl.

22. A Visit to the Mountain Spirits

(1) This woman [had] a little girl [and] a little boy. This woman was carrying a baby in a cradle.

(2) A bear came toward her. There were no trees. It was a plain. And she was caught by the bear. Then he tore her throat open. He had killed her.

(3) Then the bear picked up the baby. The bear took hold of the cradle. He struck a rock with it. He had killed it. He had killed the baby.

(4) Then he had killed them. And he had done nothing to this boy and girl.

(5) Then a Gray One from the mountains came to them.[1] "Come," he said to them.

(6) Then they went back with him to the mountains. Under a rock wall, a door had been opened. They went in with him [through] four doors. Then they came out into [country] like this. There were many people. They were just like these people.

(7) "Come here!" said many of them to us.[2]

(8) "No," said the Gray One. "Come on. Follow me," he said to us.

(9) We went with him to where a ceremony was being held. This was just like the ceremonies here.

(10) "Stay right there inside the wickiup," he said to us. We stayed right there for four days. The ceremony was over.

(11) Then "Sss...! Come on!" said the Gray One to us. Several little mountains lay there. "Let's go there," he said to us.

(12) The little mountains were open at four sides. Much food was inside the mountains. We saw flour, sugar, meat, coffee, [and] much Indian food.

(13) From there, we went again further on. A bear had been tied up with chains. We came to him.

(14) "This one did so to you," said the Gray One to us.[3] "Because of that, he has been tied up here for life," the Gray One said to us.

(15) From there, we went back to the ceremonial grounds with him.

(16) Then "What do you want to do?" he said to us. "You may go back [home] or you may remain here," he said to us.

(17) Then "We would like to go back to our relatives," I said to him.

(18) ʔákò· "nàłnô·škà nàhkéyà·yá."

(19) ʔákò· bɪłnádè·kà. ʔášɪ̨, ʔá·ʔè· nàhkéyà· bɪłnáńkà. dò·xàʔɪyâ·dà ʔɪⁿdà· dáłèʔé ʔá·ʔsɪdá. ʔáń bà·náńkà.

(20) "dázą̀· sàké," nàhɪ·łⁿdɪ. "nàhťéké dázą̀· nàhà·è· náká," nàhɪ·łⁿdɪ.

(21) ʔáí dáʔáyázà·. nàhɪtà·ń nàhťéké ʔá·ʔnàhà·náká.

(18) Then "I'll go back with you to your country."

(19) Then we started back with him. From there, we went back to our country with him. No one was there but one white man. We went to him.

(20) "Stay right here," he said to us. "Your relatives will come back right here to you," he said to us.

(21) That happened just so. Our father [and] our relatives came back there to us.[4]

23. The Mountain Spirits and the Cripples

(1) ʔɪłkɪdą́, ʔɪčè·škéńcà·ń bɪⁿdâ· ʔédɪ̨. łàʔń ʔɪčè·škéń bɪžádè ʔédɪ̨. bɪčą́ʔnádà·zą́. ʔákò· bɪⁿdâ·ʔédɪ̨í gàyé·ł. žàʔàš zɪłá.

(2) łɪbáyé kà·hɪłyò. ʔákò· zɪłá gòłʔɪnó·kà.

(3) ʔákò· žà·žá·dà dà·gòsɪ̨. ʔákò· ǩòs gòłnɪhéńⁿdàʔ. dò·xáńgàʔɪ̨dà sɪlɪ̨. ʔákò· žà·žá·dà dà·gòsɪ̨. ʔákò· ǩòsí yàháʔázà·.

(4) nágò gòⁿdâ· gólɪ̨. łàʔńdó, bɪžádè gólɪ̨. káťégò, gòžádè gòⁿdâ· káʔánágòyà·náʔà. ʔɪłkɪdą́, zɪłá ńⁿdéí ʔágòłʔɪ̨náʔà. káťégò, ʔɪtànážɪťá·žnáʔà.

23. The Mountain Spirits and the Cripples

(1) Long ago, [there was] a big boy [who] had no eyes. Another boy had no legs.[1] They had been abandoned.[2] And that one who had no eyes was carrying [the other]. The two were travelling to the mountains.

(2) A Gray One came to them. Then they went back to the mountains with him.

(3) Then the Mountain Spirits prayed. Then a cloud surrounded them. No one could see them. Then the Mountain Spirits prayed. And the clouds spread apart.

(4) Then he had eyes. The other one also, he had legs. In this way, his eyes [and] his legs were made again for them. Long ago, the people in the mountains did so to them. In this way, they returned to [their people].

24. The Foolish People and the Missing Pack

(1) cɪ̨łkɪžénè ⁿdé dò·ʔɪkóńzɪ̨dànáʔà.

(2) nô·sé·łnáʔà. ńnáhè·są́náʔà. xé·ł dàťyè·náʔà. dábɪkádéyá ńdà·yè·sⁿdɪlnáʔà.

(3) ńnáhè·są́gò, łɪʔ gòsdá·déyá xé·ł ńyíńʔą́náʔà. dázą̀·šɪ̨, gòsdànáʔà. cénáńťɪnáʔà. nódágò ʔákà· góńʔánáʔà.

(4) díń xé·ł ńyíńʔą́ń kòyá ńnádà·hè·zą́yá ʔò·łyònáʔà. ʔášɪ̨, zą̀·è· bɪyélè sɪʔą́è· náłyònáʔà. nágòdè·ʔą́šɪ̨ xé·łí sɪʔą́náʔà. bà·ʔɪsdàʔó·má·znáʔà. zą̀·ńè· čédà xé·łí hánáyɪńtà·náʔà. nàłkà·náʔà. ʔɪ̨·šɪ̨, gòsdànáʔà. dí·dí· xé·łí bà·ʔɪsdàʔó·má·z-

24. The Foolish People and the Missing Pack

(1) The Foolish People[1] are not clever people.

(2) They were travelling. They had stopped. They were carrying packs. They put them down just anywhere.

(3) When they had stopped, one of them had put his pack down on a slope. From right here, [the ground] dropped sharply. There was a cliff. This was high [and] there was an arroyo.

(4) This one who had put down the pack ran off to where the encampment had been made. From there, he returned to where his pack lay. The pack lay on the slope. It had rolled away from him. He searched in vain for the pack in the place

ná?à. kòyá, góń?áyá, ?ìsdà?ò·łtǫ̀ná?à. dáʒą̀·è·ná čéháyìńtáná?à.

(5) ?ákò· ?áⁿdìná?à: "ǯò·ⁿdéí, xà·ń xé·ł šà·náyìń?ą́?" ⁿdìná?à.

(6) nágò cı̨łkìžénèí bà·ǯìyè·žò·žná?à. łą́gò "?ìyâ· ńⁿdì?" dà·bì·łⁿdìná?à.

(7) "kòyá xé·ł ńní?ą́í, xáń šà·náyìń?ą́?" ⁿdìná?à.

(8) ?ákò· łą́gò dí· xé·łńí ?ı̨·šı̨ sì?ą́ńšı̨ nà·dàìłkà·ná?à. "kòyá néńgòná?à," dà·ⁿdìná?à. gòdàšı̨ ńnádàìłkà·ná?à. góń?áyá xé·łí sì?ą́ ńdàh dò·xáń góń?áyá dìyà·łná?à. ?ákò· dá?ı̨·šı̨ gòsdàšı̨ ?áʒą̀·žı̨ xé·ł sì?ą́ńžı̨ ńnádàìłkà·ná?à.

(9) ?ákò· màšgàléń ńⁿdéń dáłè?é bìtà ńlı̨́-ná?àń ?á?híłγòná?à. "kòyá néńgòná?à," dà·ⁿdìná?à. cı̨łkìžénèí. gòsdá·déžı̨ ńnádàìłkà·ná?à.

(10) ?ákò· dí· màšgàléńń gòsdá·déžı̨ ńłγò-ná?à. nágò góń?áyá dè·s?ı̨ná?à. góń?áyá, dágòłgà-yá, xé·łí sì?ą́gò yì·łcǫ́ńá?à. "?áyàhyá, góń?áyá xé·ł sì?ą́," bìłǯìⁿdìná?à. ?ákò· ?ášı̨ náyìń?ą́-ná?à.

25. The Foolish People Imitate the Crow

(1) dà·bìgò·tàná?à łą́ná?à góńtè·lyá. bánàńtáń ?áⁿdìná?à: "ǯò·ⁿdéí: yó·šč̌ìšı̨ ńdà·hká!" dà·-bì·łⁿdìná?à. ?ìdı̨·gò bà·?áⁿdì·dìhⁿdìná?à. "yá-dà·?ìtì! dánàhíkèh ⁿdénà·łı̨́í ʒą̀·è· dà·hká!" ⁿdì-gò, gòⁿdéná?à.

(2) dáxą̀hgò łè·?ésìlı̨́ná?à dáⁿdéíná. ?ì?ó·-?ą́gòná?à ?ìtà gàtı̨́gòná?à łą́ná?à. bánàńtáń bìčı̨·-hò·ʒ́ìná?à. "ǯò·ⁿdéí: gòłné·ǯı̨́gò, hàdà·hákàgò, gà·?yè dábí?dàłⁿdí," dà·bì·łⁿdìná?à.

(3) ?ákò· ?énágò·sdı̨·ná?à. ?ìnádà·ǯìyè·-žò·žná?à. gòłné·ǯı̨́ná?à, nágò, dá?ádą́, gà·?yè łì? dè·sⁿdì·ná?à. dáłè?yá góńtè·lyá bìgò·tàńí, gà·?-yè bìzà· hàgòdó·λáná?à.

where it had been. He trailed it here and there From here, [the ground] dropped off sharply. The pack had rolled down this [slope]. Over there, into the arroyo, it had fallen. He searched in vain only right here [where it had been].

(5) Then he spoke thus: "Friends, who has taken my pack from me?" he said.

(6) Then the Foolish People came to him in a body. "What did you say?" said many of them to him.

(7) "The pack that I put here, who has taken it from me?" he said.

(8) Then many of them trailed this pack from here where it had been. "It seems to have gone over here," they said. They trailed it back and forth from the edge of the slope. The pack lay in the arroyo but no one looked in the arroyo. Then they trailed it back and forth just from here on the edge of the slope to where the pack had been.

(9) Then the one Mescalero man who was said to live among them came there. "It seems to have gone over here," said the Foolish People. They trailed it back and forth on the slope.

(10) Then this Mescalero went to the slope. And he looked into the arroyo. In the arroyo, in plain sight, he saw the pack lying. "Down there, in the arroyo, the pack lies," he said to them. Then they brought it up from there.

25. The Foolish People Imitate the Crow

(1) There were many of them encamped on a flat. Their chief spoke thus: "Friends: come over here!" he said to them. They were very obedient. "There is to be a council! All of you who are men come here!" he said, shouting.

(2) Just the men hurriedly came together. The sun had set [but] one could still see that there were many. Their chief spoke to them. "Friends: at twilight, when you have intercourse, make a noise like the crow," he said to them.

(3) Then [the council] was over. They all went back. Twilight had come. Then, just at that time, some crow called. [Then,] from all their camps on the flat together, the voice of the crow was heard.[1]

26. The Foolish People and the Horse

(1) bìgò·tànáʔà łą́ǫ́náʔà. łìʔ łı̨ náyíńłíè-náʔà. bìkò·yą̀í bìyè·šxàšı̨ dàhyè·sʎǫ́náʔà. bà·dà·-žìyè·žò·žnáʔà. čédégòdà ʔádàìlánáʔà.

(2) ʎòh yáʔédı̨šı̨ dàhè·sʎǫ́náʔà. ʔákò· ʔádà·-ⁿdìnáʔà: "ʔìyā·šı̨ yìyą́šı̨ʔ" dà·ⁿdìnáʔà. yátà·ʔó·-ⁿdìlnáʔà. "bátà·ʔàhⁿdí·łı!" dà·ⁿdìgò tà·ⁿdìlèí bìčı̨·ǹžíńką́náʔà. dòìnéłʔı̨dànáʔà. nágò yàhyágò ʎòhbìzą́·yéí hŏ·łìí ʔìkèʔéńłčòžnáʔà. nágò ʔádà·-ⁿdìnáʔà: "ʔáí yìyą́náʔà!" dà·ⁿdìnáʔà.

(3) nágò łìʔń hìkèʔó·ʔànáʔà. bíčı̨í ʔìná-ʔì·síìnáʔà. łą́yágòdà hìkìdàhnè·sdánáʔà. nŏ·ʎìž-náʔà. ná·náłìʔńgò hìkìžı̨ dàhnádí·łyònáʔà. nà·-ná·nó·ʎìžnáʔà. dáłą́gò nà·bó·ⁿdìlnáʔà.

(4) nágò màsgàléń bìtàǹlı̨í ʔà·è· híłyònáʔà. łínî hìkìžı̨ dàhdì·łyònáʔà. hàǹyà·yá ʔìłčą́gò hàʔ-dà·žì·scàsgò bìłnádì·łyònáʔà. ʔà·ⁿdàšı̨ ná·názą́·-žı̨náʔà.

(5) nágò ʔádà·ⁿdìnáʔà: "žò·ⁿdéí, bìcìlèšı̨ dáhó·žà·bédè·sžì·žnáʔà!" dà·ⁿdìnáʔà.

26. The Foolish People and the Horse

(1) There was a large encampment. One of them had brought back a horse. He had tied it up near his camp. They had come to him in a body. They didn't know what to do with him.

(2) He had been tied up where there was no grass. Then they spoke thus: "What does he eat?" they said. They had made gravy for him. "Make gravy for him!" they said [and] put the gravy before him. He did not look at it. And he began to eat a bit of grass that stood up on the other side. Then they spoke thus: "He apparently eats that!" they said.

(3) Then one of them untied him. He put a rope around his nose. He sat on him backward. He fell off. Several others also got on him. They also fell off. Many were thrown off.

(4) Then a Mescalero who lived among them came there. He jumped upon the horse. He rode him down a hill whipping him alternately on both sides. From a distance [he came] back again.

(5) Then they spoke thus: "Friends, apparently pitch has been rubbed on his anus!" they said.

27. The Foolish People and the White Men

(1) bìgò·tànáʔà łą́gò ʔìⁿdà· bà·žíńžò·žnáʔà. dà·bó·łíònáʔà.

(2) ʔákò· ʔádà·ʔìłdìhⁿdìnáʔà: "dò·dà·dà·ł-ʔı̨·dà. ʔákò· dánó·yòʔò·ⁿdí·ł," dà·ʔìłdìhⁿdìnáʔà.

(3) nágò ʔìⁿdà· bìtàńžénáʔà. bìyádà·dàʔì-šì·šnáʔà. ʔìⁿdà·í nádà·yótą̀náʔà. "šìyó·yéí dàǹ-žíłʔı̨·gò gòyádàʔíšì·š!" dà·yì·łⁿdìnáʔà.

(4) ʔákò· bè·ʔìłcè·náʔà. nágò łìʔ ʔáⁿdì-náʔà: "žò·ⁿdéí, ʔìłàdà·dàhká! dò·gòdó·ʔò·dà!" dà·bì·łⁿdìnáʔà. ʔákò· łìʔ ʔìłàdà·dè·skànáʔà.

28. The Foolish People Acquire Coffee

(1) bìgò·tànáʔà. xàʔšı̨šı̨ gàxê· náyíńžà·-náʔà. čédégòdà ʔádàìlánáʔà. dáʔáťégò dà·žìyą́í dò·yédà·gósı̨dànáʔà. dádàʎìžgò ʔísà· yó·ⁿdìlnáʔà.

26. The Foolish People and the Horse

(1) There was a large encampment. One of them had brought back a horse. He had tied it up near his camp. They had come to him in a body. They didn't know what to do with him.

(2) He had been tied up where there was no grass. Then they spoke thus: "What does he eat?" they said. They had made gravy for him. "Make gravy for him!" they said [and] put the gravy before him. He did not look at it. And he began to eat a bit of grass that stood up on the other side. Then they spoke thus: "He apparently eats that!" they said.

(3) Then one of them untied him. He put a rope around his nose. He sat on him backward. He fell off. Several others also got on him. They also fell off. Many were thrown off.

(4) Then a Mescalero who lived among them came there. He jumped upon the horse. He rode him down a hill whipping him alternately on both sides. From a distance [he came] back again.

(5) Then they spoke thus: "Friends, apparently pitch has been rubbed on his anus!" they said.

27. The Foolish People and the White Men

(1) Many white men came to a big camp of theirs. They shot at them.

(2) Then they spoke thus to one another: "Don't annoy them. Then it will be worse," they said to one another.

(3) Then the white men came among them. They sabred them. They went between the white men [and their fellows]. "My uncle! What has he done to you that you sabre him!" they said to them.

(4) Then they began to be killed. And one of them spoke thus: "Friends, run away! Nothing can stop them!" he said to them. Then some of them ran away.

28. The Foolish People Acquire Coffee

(1) They had a camp. From somewhere they had brought back some coffee. They didn't [know] what to do with it. They did not know how it was eaten.

hìbé·žgò ʔìʔó·ʔą́náʔà. gàxê·í ʔìťà ñǎìznáʔà. ťô·-sìbé·ždànáʔà. ʔìyâ·ʔáťéí dò·yédà·góslìdànáʔà.

(2) ʔákò· ʔádíń màšgàléń gòtàìlíń ʔá·ʔhíł-γònáʔà. gàxê·í dádàǎìžgò dà·žìłbé·ží yì·łcą́náʔà.

(3) ʔákò· ʔáⁿdìnáʔà: "ʔáí gàxê·í łìʔ ʔìnàh-žá·š. ʔà·í dò·ʔáyáťégò dà·žìyą́dà," dà·gò·łⁿdì-náʔà.

(4) ʔákò· gàxê·í bà·žíńžà·í yì·sťénáʔà. dá-dà·žìnéłʔíìgò, hìtàʔì·sⁿdìnáʔà. cíyó·ʔą́náʔà. gà-xê· yì·sbé·žnáʔà. ʔìłčą́yì·sʔą́náʔà. sìbé·žgò, ká-yà·dàyà·ⁿdí·łnáʔà.

(5) "ʔádí·dí· káťégò dà·žìyą́," dà·gò·łⁿdì-náʔà. ʔákò· bédà·gòžò·sì·náʔà.

They had put it in a pot still green. It had boiled all day. The coffee was still hard. It had not yet been cooked. They didn't know what it was.

(2) Then this Mescalero who lived among them came there. He saw the still green coffee that they had boiled.

(3) Then he spoke thus: "Give me some of that coffee. That is not the way they eat it," he said to them.

(4) Then he roasted the coffee that they had given him. As they watched, he pounded it. He put it on the fire. He boiled coffee. He took it off the fire. Still boiling, he poured it for them.

(5) "This is the way they eat it," he said to them. Then they had learned about it.

29. The Foolish People Go to War

(1) "dà·dè·bà·," dà·ⁿdìnáʔà.

(2) łą́gò bìgò·tànáʔà. łìʔ dà·dè·sbà·náʔà. bìgò·tàí ʔáxá·néyá hòkànáʔà. ǎó·ł bìzą́·yéí ʔìł-ǎìdą́ łíìbè·ʔìłédà·sǎą́náʔàí łìʔń nálìnlánáʔà. hìł-dà·híbáí bà·łè·ʔésìlíìnáʔà. bádàìnéłʔíìnáʔà.

(3) nágò ʔádàìłⁿdínáʔà: "žò·sⁿdéí, dò·kágò-ʔì·sⁿdédàìłè·," dà·gò·łⁿdìnáʔà.

(4) ʔákò·, dáʔášíì, ťą́ʔnádè·skànáʔà.

29. The Foolish People Go to War

(1) "Let's go to war," they said.

(2) There was a big camp. Some of them went to war. They were going along close to their camp. One of them picked up a small piece of rope which had apparently been used long ago to hobble a horse. Those with whom he was going to war gathered about him. They looked at it for him.

(3) Then he spoke thus to them: "Friends, one need not share with anyone," he said to them.[1]

(4) Then, from right there, they went back [home].

30. The Foolish People Run Away

(1) nà·hè·stą́náʔà. dázą́·šíì, sìlá·dò łíìbì-čìì·dàhìñⁿdìlnáʔà. yà·ʔìłàdè·skànáʔà. gòłgànáʔà. bìzą́·yégò hànádà·sʔánáʔà. hànàñdà·gò·stè·lnáʔà. dà·dè·sʔáí ʔìtìsžìyàžòšnáʔà.

(2) nágò, bìkéžìñžìì, sìlá·dòí łíìbìłhàhà-ké·łnáʔà.

(3) nágò dò·bégònè·ʔą́dàyá dà·híkè·náʔà. sì-lá·dòí łíìbà·dà·hì·kàgò, dò·bégònè·ʔą́dàyá ʔó·kíì-náʔà.

30. The Foolish People Run Away

(1) They were sitting about. From right there, soldiers on horseback came to them. They started to run away. It was a plain. There were small hills here and there. Between were flat places. They were running over these points of land.

(2) Then, right behind them, the soldiers were running on horseback.

(3) Then the [Foolish People] were running ahead of them. The soldiers' horses becoming tired, the [Foolish People] ran out of their reach.[1]

31. Stories of the Foolish People

(1) cɭłkìžénè bìgòⁿdìdè.

(2) łągò ʔò·kànáʔà. ʔákò· łàʔń bítáyá hàñščàì dàhnè·sǯɭnáʔà. ʔákò· "ʔádí· hìnàłťò," ⁿdìnáʔà. ʔákò· bítážɭ dìłkìnáʔà.

(3) ʔákò· łàʔń bítážɭ yíńłťònáʔà. ʔákò· ʔádíń bítážɭ ʔìšdè·sťòń ʔáí ńzɭnáʔà. dáhàñščàìíná ǯì·łxé ńzɭnáʔà. ʔáíʔà bídó ǯìyè·sxɭnáʔà.

(4) ʔášɭ, łàʔñdó, nà·hè·stąnáʔà. ʔákò· xé·ł bà·ʔìsdàʔó·má·znáʔà. čéhádà·yìñtánáʔà. dáʔákà·ʔìsdàʔó·má·z. ʔákà·, dáhòťɭyá, sìʔąnáʔà. ñdàh čéhádà·yìñtánáʔà.

(5) ʔášɭ kò·γąžɭ nô·kànáʔà. ʔákò· ʔádà·ⁿdínáʔà: "náñkàgò, dánàhíkèh, ʔìkáʔsì·kágò, gà·dé dábíʔñłⁿdídà·ł. ʔákò·ná kégózɭ. dánàhíkèh ʔìkáʔsì·káí bégózɭ."

(6) ʔášɭ "łɭí bìkè·í cé ʔáťé," dà·ⁿdìnáʔà. "ʔìyâ·šɭ yìyąšɭʔ łíní ʔìyâ·dà báhàłťè·s."

(7) ʔákò· ʔìcɭ· yáyì·sťénáʔà. ʔákò· łíní yà·náìʔɭ·náʔà. ʔákò· łíní ǩòhí yì·łčòžnáʔà. ʔákò· ʔáⁿdè·yégòsɭ·náʔà ǩòh yìyąí.

32. The Apache and the Comanche

(1) nà·dà·bà·náʔà. ǩé·ʔgò bèìłkà·náʔà. gòzą·yégò ná·dà·ʔnè·sⁿdìlnáʔà. čàółxé·lgò, kò·dè·dà·ʔdè·sǯénáʔà. kò·nà·hè·stąnáʔà. ǩé·ʔgò, gàh nà·dàìscè·í bìčí·ʔ hàdà·yìⁿdí·łgò nà·hè·stąnáʔà.

(2) dí· náʔnè·sⁿdìlí ʔášɭ bìⁿdèʔšɭ gòmáńčíí bìčɭ·dà·hídǫ·snáʔà. gòmáńčíí bìʔìⁿdàʔnáʔà.

(3) nágò dí· gàhí bìyè? hàʔǯìⁿdí·łnáʔà. dí· bìčí·ʔí hàǯó·ǯà·náʔà. ʔáí kòyá yà·nážíńⁿdìlnáʔà. ʔáń gòmáńčíí yánàñtáń dásíbìⁿdì·í bè·ǯì·sⁿdìlnáʔà.

(4) nágò ʔò·λònáʔà. nágò kí, dà·ʔšdì·sćąnáʔà. bìčąʔìłàšdè·skànáʔà. ʔákò· dò·dà·gólà·dà-

31. Stories of the Foolish People[1]

(1) [These are] stories of the Foolish People.

(2) Many of them were travelling. Then a grasshopper flew onto the forehead of one of them. Then "Shoot this," he said. And he pointed to his forehead.

(3) Then another one shot at his forehead. And the one who shot at his forehead thought thus. He thought [that] he'd kill only the grasshopper. But he had killed [the man] also.

(4) Then, at another time, they were sitting about. And a pack rolled away from them. They looked for it in vain. It had rolled down there. There, where it could [plainly] be seen, it lay. But they looked for it in vain.

(5) Then they went back home. And they spoke thus: "When we return, all of us, when we have intercourse, will make a noise like a crow. Then it is known. It is known that all of us are having intercourse."

(6) Then: "The foot of a horse is a rock," they say. "What does he eat? Cook something for him."

(7) Then they cooked meat for him. And they gave it to him repeatedly. But the horse chewed grass. So they learned for the first time that [a horse] eats grass.

32. The Apache and the Comanche[1]

(1) They were on the war path. They stopped for the night. They had built a small windbreak. When darkness had fallen, they had built a fire. They were sitting about the fire. It being night, they were sitting about pulling the intestines out of the rabbits they had killed.

(2) On the other side of this windbreak the Comanche were crawling toward them. The Comanche [were] their enemies.

(3) Then [one of the Apaches] was taking the insides out of a rabbit. He had taken out a mass of these entrails. He had thrown them back out there. He had hit the Comanche chief right in the face with them.

(4) Then [the chief] laughed. And they, [the Apache] heard him. They ran away. Then nothing

ná?à.

33. The False Shaman

(1) nà·dà·ʒìbà·ná?à. ƛé·?gò kèìłkà·ná?à. nédà·ʒìłʒìná?à.

(2) "łáⁿdá bìłkégózı̨ hálíń nàhánà·łƛò. dà·gò·téí nàhábìłkégò·zı̨·." ?ákò· łì? ʒìńⁿdéí: "?ádíná bìłkégózı̨," dà·gòłʒìⁿdìná?à.

(3) ?ákò· ?áí ʒìńⁿdéí dò·háʒìťı̨dàná?à ńdàh dá?ìłké ?áɣádà·gòłʒìⁿdìná?à.

(4) ?ákò·: "?áxąh! nàhí hádà·ťı̨. ?íyą·, ?áɣàšı̨ ?ì?ó·?ą́ní bìyà·yá ?à·ⁿdàhyá, łı̨ łìkà·í dásídiʒáí, łı̨yé·ł ńʒóní ǩìdàsàh?à·gò, čìdè ńʒóní béhàhƛógò, ƛó·ł ńʒóní béhàhƛógò, ?ìłtı̨· ńʒóní sìsí ǩà·í dábìłńnáńťìgò yàhádàhàhƛó. ?ákò·, dákògò, bégò·zı̨·," ⁿdé dà·bìłʒìⁿdìná?à.

(5) nágò dá?ákà· dí·ǩèh ká?áɣádà·ʒíłà·ná?à. ƛé·?nà·?áí sì?ą́ná?à. ńʒǫ́gò gàťı̨ná?à ?ázą̀·è·. ⁿdé bìłnà·ʒìkà?é ⁿdé kà·nà·dàńƛáná?à.

(6) nágò, ǩàdì, hà?ʒìdó·?ą́ná?à. ?ìtéšdìλì·ná?à. dò·yâ·bégòʒísı̨dà ńdàh nà·náʒàłƛòná?à. čéʒìnéńgònná?à. kòyá łı̨ dàhè·sƛǫ́ńí bà·ʒíłɣòná?à. ?áši łı̨í ǩìʒı̨dàšdì·łɣòná?à. gòłnádì·łɣòná?à.

(7) ?ákò· dí· ⁿdéńí gòbà?nà·hè·stą́ná?à. ?ó·s?àhná?à. "xà?yáxè· ?ìʒàłɣò gókádàxà·ł," dà·ʒìⁿdìná?à.

(8) ?ákò· łì? ?ákà· ?ìʒàłɣòná?à. łı̨dàhè·sƛǫ́ńʒı̨ šdè·sɣàlná?à. yà?náʒìłɣòná?à.

(9) nágò ?áí ⁿdéí ?â·łʒìⁿdìná?à: "łı̨dàhè·sƛǫ́ńʒı̨ déɣàl. łı̨í dò·xà·è·dà. łı̨bìłnádì·łɣòná?à," ⁿdéí dà·bìłʒìⁿdìná?à.

34. The Woman Shaman

(1) dá?ákò? nà·náʒìséná?à. ƛé·?gò, ńnáhè·zą́ná?à. nédà·ʒìłʒìná?à. ?ákògò, dáłè·yá, ná·dà·?ʒìnè·sⁿdìlná?à. ?ákògò łì? ?ìsʒání: "nàńłƛò. dà·gò·téí xà?šı̨dà ?ìⁿdà· nàhčı̨·nô·sé·ł hálíí ǩé-

had happened to them.

33. The False Shaman

(1) They were on the war path. They stopped for the night. They were afraid.

(2) "Someone who may have power will perform a ceremony[1] for us. He will learn what is [in store] for us." Then [to] one of the men: "Only this one has power," they said to him.

(3) Then that man did not want to do it but they asked him again and again.

(4) Then: "All right! You people want it. Therefore, some distance over there to the westward, [tie up] a fat horse which is the fastest [you have], put a good saddle on him, tie a good blanket to him, tie a good rope on him, [and] a good gun [and] a belt filled all around with cartridges (you tie him up over there). Then, right away, it will be known," the man said to them.[2]

(5) Then they did everything for him exactly in that way. There was a moon. One could see well right there. The men with whom he went about did not like [that] man.

(6) Then, now, he had begun to sing. He prayed. He knew nothing about it but he had moved his arms about.[3] He ran outside. He went over there where the horse had been tied up. Then he jumped on the horse. He rode away.

(7) Then those men sat around waiting for him. A long time passed. "Where has he gone? Go search for him," they said.

(8) Then one of them went over there. He looked about where the horse had been tied up. He came back [to them].

(9) Then he spoke thus to those men: "I looked where the horse had been tied up. The horse is not there. He has apparently gone off with the horse," he said to the men.

34. The Woman Shaman

(1) They were moving about in wild country. It being night, they had stopped. They were afraid. Then, in a certain place, they had made a windbreak. Then [to] one woman: "Perform a cere-

gǒńyà·ł," dà·gǒłǯlⁿdìná?à.

(2) ?ákò· dí· ná·?nè·sⁿdìlí bìyè?yá nà·ǯì-yè·stą́ná?à. ǩé·?gǒ, nà·ǯìłxǒná?à. ?ìłčą́náǯà·ł-čį·łná?à. nà·náǯàłyǒłná?à. ná·?nè·sⁿdìlí bìtìsá gǒgànî xà?ágǒ ?áǯìł?į·ná?à. dí·: "dǒ·xàšį?ìyâ·-dà; dǒ·xà?ìyâ·dà; dí·ǩè·ǹ, góžǫ́," ǯìⁿdìgǒ ná·?-nè·sⁿdìlí bìtìsá gǒgànî xà?yágǒ ?áǯìł?į·ná?à.

(3) ?ìⁿdà· sìlá·dǒí ná·?nè·sⁿdìlí ?ášį ǹ-dà·hè·sdǫ́·zná?à. dí·dí·: "dǒ·xà?yádà," ǯìⁿdìgǒ, ná·?nè·sⁿdìlí bìtìsá dàšdìłⁿdìǹí ?ìⁿdà· hìtìs-gó·ǯį·zná?à gǒlà·cíńšį yì·sìłgǒ. ?ákò·, ǩé·?í-yą·, bà·hà?dàìǯìyè·žǒ·žná?à. dákíná gǒ·sìłná?à.

35. The Woman Who Had Horse Power

(1) łį yè·gǒⁿdì· ?ìsǯáń.

(2) ǹⁿdé ?áⁿdè·nà·yá łį yìšǫ̀·. ǩó·ł bì·s-lǒh. łį bìłnádì·łyǒ. čí·nǒ bìkǒ·yą̀í ?ágǒkǒ bìł-ǹłyǒ. dǒ·?ìkóńzį̀dàgǒ ?ábílà·. ?ìdį·gǒ dè·sⁿdìh.

(3) ?ákò· bìtà·ń díń ?ìsǯáń łįyè·dìyį́ń čì-dǒ·s?į·. ?ákò· díń ?ìsǯáńń gǒkègǒtà·ł dį·? yì·s-ką́.

(4) ?ákò· ?ádíń ?ìsǯáńń: "kǒ·yànî nà·dà·?-dìyàhⁿdìł. ?ákò· dà·gàšó."

(5) ?ákò· ?ádíń kà·sìtį́ń dá?áná ?ákà· sìtį. ?ákò· ?áń ?ìsǯáń dìyį́ń ?ágǒ·łⁿdí: "łíní ǩè?àh-?à·."

(6) ?ákò· łíní ǩè?ǯó·?à. ?ákò· łíní gǒčį·-hì·łtè·. ?ákò· gǒłⁿdà·. gǒkášį yìłⁿdà·. bíčíí yè·nágǒyàłté·ł. gǒłⁿdà·.

(7) ?ákò· łíní dìyį́ń gǒnáyà. ?ákò· hà?ì·?á-hé ?ášį gǒčį·ǹńyá. ?ášį nàǹdì?ášį, ?ášį šá?ì·-?à·šį, gǒčį·ǹńyá. ?ášį náhàkǒsí bìyà·šį gǒčį·ǹńyá. ?ákò· ?áⁿdè· gǒčą́?ǒ·łyǒ.

(8) ?ákò· nášdì·ǯá, díń ?ìsǯáńń bìǩèhgǒ.

mony.[1] See if perhaps any enemies are coming toward us from somewhere," they said to her.

(2) Then they sat about inside this windbreak. At night, she performed a ceremony. She was waving her arms about. She was moving about. She did so [with] her arms somewhere over the windbreak. This: "There is nothing anywhere; there is nothing anywhere; everywhere, it is good," she said as she did so [with] her arms somewhere over the windbreak.

(3) The white soldiers had crawled there to the windbreak. As she said this: "There is nothing anywhere," the white men caught the wrists of the arms she had been moving about over the windbreak [and] pulled her over it. Then, because it was night, [the others] ran away from them. Only she was caught.

35. The Woman Who Had Horse Power

(1) A woman had power by means of horse.[1]

(2) A young man was breaking horses. He was caught by a loop of rope. A horse ran off with him. He ran with him about as far as to Chino's house.[2] He was made unconscious. He was badly hurt.

(3) Then his father asked this woman who was holy by means of horse for help. Then this woman sang for him for four days.

(4) Then this woman: "Start taking down the wickiup.[3] And sweep it."

(5) Then this one who was sick lay there all alone. Then this woman who was holy spoke thus: "Turn the horse loose."

(6) Then they turned the horse loose. Then the horse went toward [the sick man]. And he licked him. He licked him on top. He turned him over with his nose. He licked him [on the other side].

(7) Then the horse who was holy walked around him. Then he faced him from the east. And then from the south, and then from the west, he faced him. And then he faced him from the north. Then, now he went away from him.

(8) Then [the man] arose, having been cured by this woman.

36. A Girl Is Lost

(1) ʔìłḱìdą́, nô·zé·łgò, ʔìťê·ké hàʔó·ǩìs. ʔákò· ǹnáhè·zą́. ʔákò· díń ʔìťê·kéń hádà·ʒìǹtá. ťê·nádà·šǹłtı̨dà.

(2) ʔákò· ʒìlą́gò nà·dà·ʒíłkà·. gòłgàyá dádlcı̨dà ʔédlǹyá ʔò·łγòná ʔà. ʔákà· bìkéḱèh. ʔákà·, híłγòyá, nà·ⁿdéhéná ʔà. dáʔáγáťéǹdàh, ťô·nádà·šǹłtı̨dà.

(3) ʔášı̨, ⁿdì·ʔìłḱáòλà ʔážı̨ ʔò·łγòná ʔà. ʔákò· ʔáè· nà·ⁿdéhéná ʔà. ʔášı̨, nážíká.

(4) ʔákò· ⁿdédìγı̨ń káhìké·ʔgòtà·ł. ʔákò· díń ǹⁿdéń ʔágò·łⁿdí: "dò·łàʔnáhàλáháťédà," gò·łⁿdì. ʔákò· ťô·łàʔnázádà.

37. The Girl and the Water Spirit

(1) ʔìťê·ké tó háʔó·yáná ʔà. tóè· ńyáná ʔà. tózìsí tóyè·hàìdè·sbı̨ná ʔà. ʔákò· ʔìyâ·xè· tábó·tı̨ná ʔà.

(2) ʔákò· čéhádà·ʒìǹtá. ʔákò· bìčìnéń, hìčàgò, tóyá nà·γáná ʔà.

(3) ʔákò· ʔìťê·kéń táyèʔšı̨ gòčı̨·hàóyáná ʔà. ʔákò· ⁿdéłìʔ bìyè·šxàšı̨ sìzı̨ná ʔà. ʔákò· ʔìťê·kéń ʔágò·łⁿdíná ʔà: "nó·dá, šìčìné. dò·ǹčàdà. šìtà·ń šìmáń gółⁿdì. hì·skągò ʒą̀·nánàhká," gò·łⁿdíná ʔà.

(4) ʔákò·, hì·skągò, ʔáè· nážíkàná ʔà. ʔákò·, táyèʔšı̨, gòčı̨·hàná·nô·ʒáná ʔà. ʔášı̨ ⁿdédó bìyè·šxàšı̨ hàóyáná ʔà.

(5) ʔákò·: "šìłgóžą́. ⁿdéǹzóní bìłgòǹšłı̨. ʔáíbè·, dò·nàhà·nô·šʒàʔáťédà. dáʔáγáťéǹdàh, dádí· ʒìłí bìⁿdádéè· gònàłı̨. ʔákò· nàhìʒòǹšⁿdé. xàʔgò čìⁿdáhó·γą́gò, bı̨· ǹàhàǹštè·. dò·ʔìyâ·dànàhóláháťédà. ʔíyą·, ḱàdì náhàhká. dò·nàhtànáòšʒàʔáťédà ǹdàh nàłgòšłı̨ háťé."

36. A Girl Is Lost

(1) Long ago, when they were moving, a girl was lost. Then they made camp. And they searched for this girl. They did not find her.

(2) Then many of them trailed her. She had apparently gone to the plains where there are no trees. There [were] her tracks. There, where she had gone, she had apparently played about. In spite of that, they did not find her.

(3) Then, she had apparently gone to a place where the ground was cracked open. And she had played about there, it seems. From there, [the searchers] returned.

(4) Then a shaman made a ceremony for her. Then this man spoke thus to them: "No one can bring her back," he said to them. And no one came back.

37. The Girl and the Water Spirit

(1) A girl went after water. She arrived at the water hole. She had started to fill the water bag with water. Then something had pulled her into the water.[1]

(2) Then they searched for her in vain. And her grandmother, weeping, walked about near the water.

(3) Then the girl came out to her from inside the water. And some man stood next to her. Then the girl spoke thus to her: "Please go home, my grandmother. Do not cry. Tell my father [and] my mother. All of you come back here tomorrow," she said to her.

(4) Then, the next day, they came back there. Then, from inside the water, she came out to them again. And the man also came out next to her.

(5) Then: "I am happy. I am living with good people. For this reason, I do not wish to return to you. In spite of that, you stay in the vicinity of this mountain. Then I will help you. Should you be hungry at any time, I will give you deer. Nothing can harm you. Therefore, go back now. I do not wish to go back among you but I do live with you."

38. The Old Woman's Grandson

(1) ʔłɨkłdą́, ⁿdł·ʔágǫ̀ǯílà·í ʔáxá·nédą́, są́-
ná?ą́ń błčóná?ą́ń ʔłčè·škéná?ą́ń dá?ákǫ̀ yłłnà·ʔà·š-
ná?à. ʔákǫ̀· kɨ̨slǯà·ná?à ʔáè· yłłń?á·žná?à. ʔłté-
ǯłsł·néná?à.

(2) ʔákǫ̀· díń są́ń klní ʔłyè?yá ʔǫ̀·łyǫ̀ná?à.
ʔákà· ʔłⁿdà· yátá?dłłʔè·łná?à. nà·kłžá·łí hł-
yà·łbɨ̨·łná?à łł? ǯɨ̨gǫ̀. nà·kłžá·łí náyíń?ą́ná?à.

(3) ʔákǫ̀· błčǫ́ń yà·yíń?ą́ná?à. "kɨ̨yá ńⁿdá.
báń nà·hłłⁿdł·," ył·łⁿdłná?à.

(4) ʔákǫ̀· ʔákà· ʔǫ̀·łyǫ̀ná?à. čɨ̨?báyàhá ʔǫ̀-
hǫ̀łyǫ̀ná?à. dǫ̀·xáń ʔá?słdádàná?à. ʔákǫ̀· kéǯà·błz-
ą́·yéł ʒą̀·šɨ̨ słtɨ̨ná?à. ʔábł·łⁿdłná?à: "nà·šłł-
ⁿdł·," kéǯà·í bł·łⁿdłná?à.

(5) ʔákǫ̀· ʔłⁿdà·ń bà·nà·ʔłⁿdł·ń náłyǫ̀ná?à.
ʔákǫ̀·: "dł· kéǯà·í nà·nà·hłšⁿdł·," ył·łⁿdłná?à.

(6) ʔákǫ̀· nà·kłžá·łí yà·yíń?ą́ná?à ʔákǫ̀·
bà·yíńłtɨ̨ná?à. kǫ̀·yą̀yá błčǫ́ń yà·náyíńłtɨ̨ná?à.
ʔákǫ̀· błčǫ́ń ʔábł·łⁿdłná?à:"'báń nà·hłłⁿdł·,'
ńłdłšⁿdłń."

(7) ʔášɨ̨, hł·skǫ́gǫ̀, ʔáń są́ń ʔłⁿdà· yátáná·-
dłłʔè·łná?à. ʔákǫ̀· nà·kłžá·łí náyíń?ą́ná?à. błčǫ́ń
yà·ná·yíń?ą́ná?à. "báń nà·hłłⁿdł·," ná·bł·łⁿdł-
ná?à.

(8) ʔákǫ̀· ʔłčè·škéń čɨ̨?báyàhá ʔłná·nô·łyǫ̀-
ná?à. kéǯà·błzą́·í: "ná·nà·šłłⁿdł·," bł·łⁿdłná?à.
ná·nà·yè·sⁿdł·ná?à.

(9) ʔákǫ̀·: "ǩàdł kɨ̨?ízłsí błyè?yá łà?ń ʔł-
ⁿdà·žł·gǫ̀ń błčɨ̨·ńⁿdá," bł·łⁿdłná?à.

(10)ʔákǫ̀· ʔáń ʔłčè·škéń ʔłⁿdà·žł·gǫ̀ń yàń-
yáná?à. ʔákǫ̀· ʔáył·łⁿdłná?à: "ʔłyâ·dà ńłńǯǫ́ł
nà·hàʔǫ̀·ťɨ̨·ná?à? ʔáłł nà·náńšʔɨ̨·. gǫ̀scàh nà·dàʔ-
słʔą́ł šàńʔà·," ʔłčè·škéń ⁿdłná?à.

(11) ʔákǫ̀· díń ʔłⁿdà·ń: "dǫ̀·ʔłyâ·šłłńǯǫ́ł
šà·hàʔǫ̀·ťɨ̨·dà," ⁿdłná?à.

(12) ʔákǫ̀· díń ʔłčè·škéń: "ʔłyâ·dà nà·hà-
ʔǫ̀·ťɨ̨·í ʔáťé?" ʔłčè·škéń ⁿdłná?à.

(13) ʔákǫ̀· ʔádíń ʔłⁿdà·ń ʔáⁿdłná?à: "ʔłłkłdą́,
ʔłčè·škéń ńǯǫ́ń šà·hàʔó·łłǯ dá?áyáťéńdàh ʔáń
dǫ̀·šà·nó·łtè·ʔáťédà," ʔádíń ʔłⁿdà·ń ⁿdłná?à.

(14) ʔákǫ̀· ʔłčè·škéń: "dł·ǩèhá nà·náńštè·,"
ⁿdłná?à.

(15) ʔákǫ̀· ʔłⁿdà·ń: "bé·sǫ̀ łą́gǫ̀ nàńšǯá·š.
ʔákǫ̀· šà·náńłtè·," ⁿdłná?à.

38. The Old Woman's Grandson[1]

(1) Long ago, near the time when the earth had been made, an old woman travelled about alone with her daughter's child, a boy. And the two of them came to a town. They were very poor.

(2) Then this old woman went into the town. There she washed for the white people. She earned twenty five cents that day. She brought the twenty five cents back [home].

(3) Then she gave it to her grandson. "Go to town. Buy some bread," she said to him.

(4) Then he went there. He went into the store. No one was there. But a little dog lay there. He spoke thus to him: "Buy me," the dog said to him.

(5) Then the white storekeeper returned. Then: "I'll buy this dog from you," he said to him.

(6) Then he gave him the twenty five cents and [the storekeeper] gave him [the dog]. He took it back home to his grandmother. Then his grandmother spoke thus to him: "'Buy bread,' I told you."

(7) Then, the next day, that old woman washed for the white people again. And she brought the twenty five cents back [home]. She again gave it to her grandson. "Buy bread," she said to him again.

(8) Then the boy went to the store again. The little dog: "Buy me also," he said to him. He bought him also.

(9) Then: "Now go to a certain rich white man in the big town," he said to him.

(10) Then that boy went to the rich white man. And he spoke thus to him: "What that you value has been taken away from you? I will bring that back to you. Give me the ring that you are wearing," the boy said.

(11) Then this white man: "Nothing that I value has been taken away from me," he said.

(12) Then this boy: "What is it that has been taken away from you?" the boy said.

(13) Then this white man spoke thus: "Long ago, a good boy was taken away from me but him you cannot return to me," this white man said.

(14) Then the boy: "I can certainly bring him back to you," he said.

(15) Then the white man: "I will give you much money. Then you bring him back to me," he

(16) ʔákò· ʔìčè·škéń: "gòscàhí dáʔáínà šàńʔà·. ʔákò· nà·náńštè·," ⁿdìnáʔà.

(17) ʔákò· díń ʔìⁿdà·ń: "gòscàhí dò·dàólá-ʔáťédàʔ bé·sòí łą́gò nàńšʒá·š. ʔákò· šà·náńłtè·."

(18) ʔákò· ʔìčè·škéń: "gòscàhí šàńʔà·," ⁿdìnáʔà.

(19) ʔákò· gòscàhí bà·ʒíńʔą́náʔà. ʔákò· gòscàhí náyíńʔą́náʔà. ʔákò· kéʒà·í ʔábì·łⁿdínáʔà: "ʔà·í gòscàhí ǻé·ʔgò ńtè·gò ńcì·yáhá ńńʔà·. ʔákò·: 'kı̨ńžóní bìyèʔyá sítı̨gò čínô·šʒí. ʔákò· šìčóńdó ʔáⁿdè·nà·yágò čínô·ʒí,' gòscàhí bì·łńⁿdí. ʔákò· dáʔáyáⁿdá," bì·łⁿdìnáʔà. kéʒà·bìzą́·í ʔábì·łⁿdí.

(20) ʔákò· ʔádíń ʔìčè·škéń: "ʔáʒą̀·è· kı̨ʔízìsí bìyèʔè· ⁿdéží·gòń bìyáčèʔń bìłsìšʒò·lı̨gò čínô·šʒí," ⁿdìnáʔà.

(21) ʔákò· ⁿdéží·gòń bìyáčèʔń yìłsìʒò·lgò čínáʒínáʔà. gòscàhí dáxàʔyá ʔáìłⁿdìyá ʔágòyàⁿdí·łnáʔà. "ží·šgògò čínô·šʒí," ⁿdìnáʔà. ʔákò· dáʔáyáʒà·náʔà.

(22) ʔákò· díń ʔìťê·kéń yégò·sı̨·náʔà gòscàhí. ʔákò· díń ⁿdéń ʔì·łxà·znáʔà. ʔákò· díń ʔìťê·kéń gòscàhí hàyó·ʔą́náʔà. ʔákò· bígò bìcì·yáhá ńyíńʔą́náʔà. ʔákò· ʔìťê·kéń ʔáⁿdínáʔà: "tóhígàʔí bìyèʔyá ⁿdì·bìzą́·í dàsìʔı̨·yá čínô·šʒí," ⁿdìnáʔà. ʔákò· dáʔáyáʒà·náʔà.

(23) ʔákò· díń ʔìčè·škéń gòscàh bà·háʔò·łtǫ́náʔà. ʔákò· ʔádíń ńⁿdéží·gòń bégò·sı̨·náʔà. ʔákò·: "gòscàhíʔàʔ" bì·łⁿdínáʔà.

(24) ʔìčè·škéń: "šà·hàʔò·łtǫ́," ⁿdínáʔà.

(25) ʔákò·: "dı̨·ʔ hì·skąžı̨ gòscàhí náńʔà·," bì·łⁿdìnáʔà. "ťô·náńʔą́dàgò, ʔáń ńtè· béščà·í bìyèʔyá. híyą· dı̨·ʔ hìłkà·žı̨ gòscàhí háńtá. náńʔą́gò, dò·dà·nìšłádà," ʔìčè·škéń bìłʒìⁿdìnáʔà.

(26) ʔákò· kéʒà·bìzą́·yéí dáʔìłǩèh: "gòscàhí hádàxà·ł," yì·łⁿdìnáʔà.

(27) ʔákò· kéʒà·bìzą́·yéí dáʔìłǩèh ⁿdì·bìká-è· ʔìⁿdà·dà·gólínî dí·ǩè·ń ʔìłhàʔò·łyònáʔà ńdàh ťô·nálńʔą́dànáʔà.

(28) ʔákò· dálè·ʔé hì·skąnáʔà. ʔákò· díń ⁿdéń béščà·ńcà·í ʔìyèʔšı̨ sìzı̨náʔà. bìkè·í táyè-žı̨ dàhè·šťǫ́náʔà. ʔákò· tó hàyłłťò·náʔà. ʔákò·, dò·hàyłłťò·dàgò, tóbì·łxé.

(29) ʔákò· kéʒà·bìzą́·yéí: "ńčó bà·nánàh-

said.

(16) Then the boy: "Give me just the ring. Then I'll bring him back to you," he said.

(17) Then this white man: "What can you do with the ring? I will give you much money. Then you bring him back to me."

(18) Then the boy: "Give me the ring," he said.

(19) Then he gave him the ring. And [the boy] took the ring back [home]. Then the dog spoke thus to him: "Put that ring on your pillow when you lie down tonight. Then: 'May I awake lying in a beautiful house. And may my grandmother awake being young again,' say to the ring. Then it will happen just so," he said to him. The little dog spoke thus to him.

(20) Then this boy: "May I awake lying with the daughter of the rich man who [lives] here in the big town," he said.

(21) Then he awoke lying with the daughter of the rich man. Whatever he said to the ring happened so. "May I awake rich," he said. And it happened so.

(22) Then this girl learned about the ring. Then this man fell asleep. Then this girl took out the ring. Then she put it on her pillow. And the girl spoke thus: "May I awake on an island lying in the ocean," she said. And it happened so.

(23) Then the ring had been lost to this boy. And this rich man found out about it. Then: "Where is the ring?" he said to him.

(24) The boy: "It has been lost to me," he said.

(25) Then: "Find the ring in four days," he said to him. "If you do not find it, you will be put in an iron pot. So search for the ring four days. If you find it, I'll do nothing to you," he said to the boy.

(26) Then [the boy] said to both the little dogs: "Look for the ring."

(27) Then both the little dogs went to every place that the white men lived on the earth but they did not find it.

(28) Then only one day had passed. And this man stood in a big iron pot. His feet were tied up in the water. And he was pumping out the water. And, if he does not pump out the water, he will drown.

(29) Then [to] the little dogs: "Go back to

ťà·š. bǻń nàhá?ágòlá. ?ákò· gòscàhí háná·dàhgà·ł," díń ⁿdéń ⁿdìná?à.

(30) ?ákò· kéžà·í gòscàhí háyìńtágò dí·? hì·skąná?à.

(31) ?ákò·, tóhígà?í tábą̀·yá, čí?ńšxòdé sìlá·dò sìžà·ná?à. ?ákà· kéžà·í gòscàhí yé?ìžìłkìná?à.

(32) ?ákò· łì? ?áⁿdìná?à: "?ákà· ⁿdáséyá, dò·xà?dąkìdàńí, ?ákà· łì? kì ńžóní sì?ą́," łà?ń ⁿdìná?à.

(33) ?ákò· čí?ìšxòdé yánàńtáń: "sìlá·dò šà·?ńⁿdí·ł. bìłhànàńńšká," yì·łⁿdìná?à.

(34) ?ákò· bà·?ńⁿdìlná?à. ?ákò· kì ńžóní sì?ą́í bìnážì·síìná?à. ?ákò· ló·?sċǫ̀·sé sìlá·dòí bìžò·sⁿdè·ná?à. ?ádíń ?ìťê·kéń bìłdàhdè·sǻǫ́ná?à. ?ákò· čí?ìšxòdé ló·?sċǫ̀·sé sìlá·dò čédégòdà ?ádà·ⁿdáná?à. ?ákò· dà·nádéńtàní γá?ì·?áńyá čédàhìγákáná?à.

(35) ?ákò· gô·šžìné bà·híkàná?à. gô·šžìné dà·nádéńtàń γá?ì·?áńyá ?ìγážíńžò·žná?à. ?ákò· ?ⁿdè· dà·nádéńtàń γàhá?áílà·ná?à.

(36) ?ákò· ?ìťê·kéń ?ákà· ?ìłxòšná?à. ?ákò·, cé?ìskèh bìǻáhyá, bìkáyádà, dí·ǩè·ń ló·?sċǫ̀·séí gô·šžìnéíyìł nà·nádà·žìžòšná?à gòscàhí bíká.

(37) ?ákò· ló·?sċǫ̀·sé łì? ? áⁿdíná?à: "čí·lí šà·nàh?à· hó·ǩą́í."

(38) ?ákò· bìcè·í yéìdè·šì·žná?à. gòⁿdì·yá yéìslána?à. ?ákò· ?étòné žì·slí́ná?à. ?ákò· gòscàhí gòγè?ší hàhà·tàná?à. ?ákò· kà·hànážíťąná?à.

(39) ?ákò· kéžà·í gòscàhí yìł?ìłàdè·sťá·žná?à. gògòscàhí náyíń?ąná?à. ?ádíń ⁿdéží·gòń bà·nážíń?ąná?à. ?ákò· gòǩèná?ó·?àná?à. káťégò, ?ìsdàžó·yáná?à.

39. Old Apache Customs

(1) ?ìłǩìdą́, ?ìⁿdà·í ?ìťàgò xąhé łą́ dàòlà·háťédàdą́, ⁿdéí ?ìł?àńgò ?ádà·hò·γéí dí·ǩèh žò·gòbàgò dà·hìⁿdáná?à. ?íyą̀·dà ǩàdì čìdìká·gò hò·γéí ?áští. šìńⁿdéí, bìłńⁿdéńšłí, dásídá?áťégò ?ìłǩìdą́ dà·hìⁿdáná?àí bà·nàłdà·gòšⁿdì.

(2) dà·nàhìcóyéí dáłè·žî·γè?yá dà·hìⁿdáná?à. dáǻòhná bè·kò·γąší dá?ádà·?ílà·. ǻòh bé-

your grandmother. She will make bread for you. Then search for the ring again," this man said.

(30) Then the dogs searched for the ring for four days.

(31) Then, on the shore of the ocean, there were some Frog soldiers. There the dogs asked about the ring.

(32) Then one of them spoke thus: "Over yonder, where no house has ever been before, there is [now] a beautiful house," this one said.

(33) Then [to] the Frog chief: "Give me some soldiers. I'll go across with them," [the dog] said to him.

(34) Then he gave him some [soldiers]. And they surrounded the beautiful house that lay there. Then the Mouse soldiers helped them. This girl had locked up [the house]. Then the Frog [and] Mouse soldiers didn't know what to do. And they tried in vain to go through the keyhole of the door.

(35) Then the Black Ants came to them. The Black Ants went through the keyhole of the door. And then they opened the door.

(36) Then the girl was asleep. Then, under the bed, on top of it, [and] everywhere the Mice and Black Ants ran about [searching] for the ring.

(37) Then one of the Mice spoke thus: "Give me some chili powder."

(38) Then he thrust his tail in it. And he put [his tail] against her face. Then she sneezed. Then the ring flew out from inside her.[2] And it was taken away from her.

(39) Then the two dogs ran off with the ring. They brought his ring back [home]. He gave it back to the rich man. Then he turned him loose again. In this way, he escaped.

39. Old Apache Customs

(1) Long ago, at a time long before there were many white men, all of the different ones who are called Indians lived poorly. But anyhow I am one of those called Chiricahua. My people, those people with whom I live, I shall tell you exactly how they are said to have lived long ago.

(2) Our grandfathers lived in the dirt. Their houses were made only of grass.[1] They lay

gò·s?è·lyá nà·sʒé. čìdè yá?édı̨. bè·kò·γàní yá?édı̨. dò·xà?šı̨ łà?ʒólháłédà. ?ìbàñ ?ádà·łéí gò-ǩà·žı̨ ǩédà·dè·sdìzná?à. nà·gòłtı̨gò tóí gòkìžı̨ ñkè·dàñlı̨. zàs nà·łtı̨gò, zàsí gòkážı̨ nà·dà·łtı̨. xàgò, dákǫ̀·ná dà·gòčìdè.

(3) ?ádą, dáǩà·ná. ⁿdé bìkà? ǩà·sťą. ?áí ǩà·í bìlátàhè· céí hì·skàšgò ǩádà·s?ą. dà·gòǩà? dá?áíbè·, nà·gòʒìñłʒò·. dá?áíbè·, bı̨·, nâ·?cílì, dáxà·dí dà·žìyą́í, bè·nà·dà·žìłcè·.

(4) cébè·šdìłǩı̨déí ?ìłdǫ́ ?ìʒò·ⁿdè·ná?à. céγè?sì?ą́í ?ìłdǫ́ ?ìʒò·ⁿdè·ná?à. ?ílą́·hdéí dádìcı̨í dásíñǩìzí ?ìⁿdà· bè·dà·ʒó·šì·žná?à.

(5) ǩàdì dí·dí· dá?ákòhégò ⁿdé bìkà?ná?à. ?ìⁿdà·nàłı̨í gò·stáńdìłtàłí hàh?á·łgò dí·ǩèhñyá ⁿdédáłè·ñdàsìʒà·í bè·nà·ł?à?áłádą́. ?ágòłdìšⁿdí: "nà·ł?à?ánàhàłà·í nàhí čìdìká·gò hòñgéí dò·bà-yáńʒı̨dà. xà·ń ǩà· nàhá?ágólà·ná?àń ?áńá yà·yáńʒı̨hálí. ?ákò·, dí·žı̨, ?ìⁿdà·nałı̨í ?íłtı̨ ?ìł?àńgò dà·dìłtàłí cı̨nínca·zí bé·šńǩìzí dá?áídà dí·ǩèh γádà·nì·dágò nàhá?ážílà·. ?ákò·, nàhí čìdìká·gò hòñgéí, ǩà· nàhá?ážílà·ñí ?íłàgò bìyè·šxàhyá dò·łì?nàhá?ána·žíλà·dà."

(6) góγégò ⁿdé góli̧ná?à. dí·ǩèhí yá?édı̨-ná?à. bé·š yá?édı̨ná?à. bè·?ìcè·łńcà·í yá?édı̨-ná?à. bè·?ìcè·łbìzą́·yéí yá?édı̨ná?à. dácédè·ⁿdíná gòbè·dà·?ìcè·łná?à. dácédè·ⁿdíná dà·gòbéžèná?à. bı̨·dà žìyàłxé·łgò, céíbè· ńdà·žìł?àhná?à. céí bìyè·šxàhyá, bé·šdáxà?dè·ⁿdíí góli̧ná?à. ?áí gò-γò·ínná?à. ?áí ?ìcı̨· bè·dà·žìłγàłná?à.

(7) dí·dí· dá?ákòhégò ⁿdé bìbéžè góli̧ná?à. ?áí nàhí dò·bà·yáńʒı̨dà. xáń ?áγáłégò nàháńgóń?ą́-ná?àhálíń ?áńá yàòλòdàná?àhálí.

(8) ?ìłǩìdą́, dákǫ̀·dà yá?édı̨ná?à. dìcı̨ nà·kì łì? nì·yá sìtą́gò łì? bìkášı̨ ?ó·?ágò bà·?nádà·?šdìłxìsgò bè·kǫ̀·hànádà·žì?ána?à. dìcı̨ ?áłcǫ̀·ségò dà·žìyà·ǩàší dá?áí ?ìcı̨·sbé·ží bè·hàdà·žìⁿdí·łná?à. ?ìcı̨·í cíγè?yá žìłíè·sgò ?ìłdǫ́ dá?áíbè·nábé?žìyàłcìná?à. dìcı̨ dáxà?á?áłcǫ̀·séí bìγè? hà-dà·?žìčì·ší dá?áí gòbè·?ìłⁿdédíná?à. dìcı̨ñcà·zí ?ìdà·s?áí nàñšı̨gò dìcı̨dìžò·lí bà·dàhnà·s?ą́í bì-γè? hàdà·?žìłⁿdìí dá?áí dà·gò?ìdè?ná?à. ?ìkàłí ?ìłdǫ́ dà·gò?ìdè?ná?à. dákí gòsλìš ?ísà· ?ádà·žì-

on grass that had been spread out. There were no blankets.[2] There were no tents. None could be secured anywhere. Things like deerskin were wrapped about them. When it rained, the water flowed down upon them. When it snowed, the snow fell on them. In the winter, only the fire was their blanket.

(3) At that time, there were only arrows. The Indians' arrows were feathered. Those arrows had sharpened stones set into their tips. With just those arrows of theirs, they went to war. With those only, deer, cattle,[3] [and] anything that they ate, they killed.

(4) The slingshot[4] was also a help. The stone axe was also a help. They fought the white man with spears which were [made of] very hard wood.[5]

(5) Now these were the only weapons of the Indian. You who are white men could at that time make slaves of a whole camp of Indians anywhere by means of the six-shooters you carried. I speak thus to them: "We who are called Chiricahua are not ashamed of the fact that you made us slaves. Perhaps whoever is said to have made arrows for us[6] is ashamed. Then, today, they have made for you who are white men different kinds of guns that shoot and pierce everything, even big logs and hard metals. And, [for] we who are called Chiricahua, nothing else has been made besides the arrows that were made for us in the past."

(6) The Indians lived a hard life. Everything was lacking. There was no metal. There were no big axes. There were no small axes. Only sharp stones were their axes. Only sharp stones were their knives. When they killed a deer, they butchered it with stones.[7] Besides the stones, there was an even sharper knife. That was their teeth. They ate meat with them.

(7) These were the only knives the Indians had. We are not ashamed of that. Only he who is supposed to have made it so for us probably laughs at us.

(8) Long ago, even fire was lacking. They customarily made fire with two sticks one of which lay on the ground while the other stood erect on it and was twirled in it. They took out boiled meat [from the pot] by means of a slender stick that had been pointed. With that also they turned over the meat they were broiling in the coals. Their spoons were somewhat slender sticks in which they had made a hollow. Their cups were ball shaped protuberances which lie on the side of large

láí bè·dà·ʔʒìłbé·žná?à.

(9) gàxê· yá?édìná?à. ?ádą́, ?ìkànèídà, gòłką̀·dèídà, bìxó·lèídà, dí·dí· dí·ḱèh, yá?édìná?à. ḱàdì, dá?áťégò nàhìdáń gólìí bè·ṅⁿdá?ádąí bà·ná·gòšⁿdì. dí·dí·: ?ìnà·dà, gòškàń, ńščì, ?ìγè?éłcòì, gòłčídè, číłčì, xòšʒìšóhé, ⁿdâ·žìń, ḱàhcò, ḱòhgàxê·, ?ìnà·dą́·?, ʒìłdàìskáné, nì·gòyáhé, gàhbìⁿdâ·, nà·stáné, hànó·sàń, ?ì·gà·?è, ʒé, màdá·yà, gòłⁿdì·hì, ?ìnášḱìžè·, cìłⁿdá·?łcòì bìtò?í, céłkànè·, dìgòdé ?ìťą̀·, dè·ḱòšé, dàčì·žé, dìłtàłé, dìłtàłécò, nâ·?cíłì, bì·, žìlà·hé, yó·łⁿdáhé, ʒìłátà·žè, cìnà·sdò?é, dáłdáné, čìžìšgàhè, čí·šgàgè·, dìłťòšè, cì·dè·, ló·?scò, λǫ́í, gàh, gó·čì dá?ákòdèyáí, téžółgàyé, càⁿdè·zé, łí, nâ·?cíłìdìłxìłí, dìbéhé dá?ákòdèyáí, čìstè·ł; ?ádí·dí· dí·ḱèh nàhìdáń. ?áí nàhí dò·bà·yáńʒìdà. dá?áγáťégò, nàhìdáń nàhá?ážílà·ná?à. žò·bà?éⁿdéłą́í yè·?ìsdàhó·kà.

(10) ?ádą́ ?ìłḱìdą́, žò·gòbàgò dà·žìⁿdáná?à ńdàh ⁿdéí ?ìsʒą́·yóí bìčè?škénè góžǫ́gò yà·hìhⁿdíná?à. bìčè?škénèí ⁿdédà·hàlè·łńdàh, žè·ḱęyóí ?ìsʒáńdà·hàlè·ł ńdàh, dí·ḱèh bìḱèhnà·kàná?à.

(11) "šìškè?é, dò·?žóʒìdà. dòxáń ḱèšíⁿdì·dà. dò·xáń bìčì·lóžìgòdà. dò·xáń bà·žàlòdà. dò·yâ·bà·žó?ì·lè·?áťédàń gòšìńsí. yó·sń tóbážì·ščìnéń bìčì·?ìtédàhλì·. ?áń dá?gòbíłḱèh gòḱèhgòdà·ńⁿdá. nì·gòsžáńí yáí ?ágòìł?í," dà·yì·łⁿdíná?à.

(12) žè·ḱęyóí ?ìłáyóí nà·dìń ?àńšλá·ńší ⁿdásá bè·nádà·?nàťí·ł ńdàh, bìtà·í bìmáí góžǫ́gò dà·?yéłčąná?à. ?ìⁿdà·nàłí, dákògò, dí·dí· ?ìłḱìdą́ ⁿdé dò·?ìkóńzìdàí gólí ńdàh dá?áťégò kò·yą̀ gótǫ́·yéí gò·s?ą́í bìγè?yá dá?áťégò góžǫ́gò bìčè?škénè yà·hìhⁿdíí nàhí dò·bégònàsìdà. dàńγéí, čìⁿdáí, gòḱàzí, gò·sdòí, žò·bàí, dí·ḱèh gònì·ńłťé ńdàh, yó·sń tóbážì·ščìnéń gòčè?škénèí bè·bìčì·yážìłtì. bìkò·yą̀í bà·žò·gòbá·yégò nà·gò·s?ą́ ńdàh, bìyè?sí, sà·łńžóní híⁿdíńžóní yè·yádà·łtì. yè·nà·cékè·s. yè·?à·hìhⁿdíná?à. ?ádí·dí· dí·ḱèh dá·ⁿdí. dáló·?scò téžółgàyé dà·hì·łγàł nàłdìšⁿdíí dásí?áγáťégò dá·ⁿdí.

growing trees[8] which they had hollowed out inside. Their dishes were also [of] dried hide. They cooked in clay pots which they had made themselves.

(9) Coffee was lacking. At that time, even flour, sugar, and beans, all of these, were lacking. Now, I'll also tell what food there was upon which we lived at that time. These: mescal, yucca fruit, pinons, acorns, prickly pears, sumac berries, cactus [sp.], spurge, dropseed, lip fern, corn, mountain plants, wild potatoes [sp.], wild potatoes [sp.], mesquite, stems of yucca, flowers of tree yucca, chokecherries, pitahaya cactus, honey of the ground bee, honey [var.], honey of the bumble bee, mulberries, angle-pod, salt, berries [sp.], berries of the one seeded juniper, berries of the alligator bark juniper, wild cattle, mule deer, antelopes, white tailed deer, wild turkeys, doves, quail, squirrels, robins, slate colored juncoes, song sparrows, wood rats, prairie dogs, rabbits, peccaries, burros, mules, horses, buffaloes, mountain sheep, [and] turtles: all of these [were] our food.[9] We are not ashamed of that. In that way, they made our food for us. Many poor people lived by means of it.

(10) At that time long ago, they lived poorly but the Indian women taught their children well. Even when their children became men, even when the young girls became women, all of them were obedient.

(11) "My child, one does not curse. One hates no one. One behaves foolishly to no one. One laughs at no one. One worships those to whom one can do nothing. Pray to God [and] Child of the Water. We live because of those two. They made the earth [and] the sky," they said to them.

(12) Even when the boys [and] girls were twenty five and over, they listened well to their fathers [and] mothers. You who are white people, then, do not realize that, even though these ancient people knew nothing, they taught their children in a good way inside their wretched camps. Though hardship, hunger, cold, heat, poverty all overmastered them, they talked to their children about God [and] Child of the Water. Though their camps were everywhere poor, they inside of them spoke by means of good words [and] good thoughts. They thought by means of them. They taught by means of them. All of this is true. It is true just as that which I told you [about] our eating wood rats [and] burros is true.

40. Songs of the Girls' Puberty Ceremony

(1) k̀è·ščí sàhdè ʔáǯílà·,
čí sàhdè ʔáǯílà·,
λè·ší sàhdè ʔáǯílà·,
ǯígònà·ʔáí bìǩólè sàhdè ʔáǯílà·,
bìk̀èhgóžónì,
ċìsʔàhnà·γáí! bìk̀èhgóžónì.
bíkáʔáǯłłʔą̀·.

(2) k̀è·ščíí yè·nìλè·š,
bìk̀èhgóžónì,
ċìsʔàhnà·γáí! bìk̀èhgóžónì.
číí yè·nìčí,
bìk̀èhgóžónì,
ċìsʔàhnà·γáí! bìk̀èhgóžónì.
λè·ší yè·nìλè·š,
bìk̀èhgóžónì,
ċìsʔàhnà·γáí! bìk̀èhgóžónì.

(3) ǯígònà·ʔáí tádídíń yìłdàhdàłⁿdì,
ǯígònà·ʔáí bìǩólè yìłdàhdàłⁿdì;
šá nǒ·yášą̀; ⁿdì·bìk̀ìžą̀ ǹkéńyá,
gòčą̀·ńyá.
číí yè·gòčí,
λè·ší yè·gòλè·š,
ʔìsʔàhnà·γáí! bìk̀èhgóžónì.

(4) ǯígònà·ʔáí bìǩólè yìłdàhdàłⁿdì;
ǯígònà·ʔáí, šá nǒ·yá,
ⁿdì·bìk̀ìžą̀ nǒ·yá,
gòčą̀·ńyá.
číí yè·gòčí,
ʔìsʔàhnà·γáí! bìk̀èhgóžónì.
λè·ší yè·gòλè·š,
ʔìsʔàhnà·γáí! bìk̀èhgóžónì.

(5) ǯígònà·ʔáí bìǩólè, šá nǒ·yá;
šáłłdàhdàłⁿdì;
ʒą̀·è·, gòk̀è·hì·yá,
gòčą̀·ńyá,
gòdáńyá.
dí·dí· číí, bìk̀èhgóžǫ́,
ċìsʔàhnà·γáí! bìk̀èhgóžǫ́.
λè·ší yè·gòλè·š,

40. Songs of the Girls' Puberty Ceremony[1]

(1) They have made the tipi poles of galena,[2]
They have made the tipi poles of red clay,
They have made the tipi poles of white clay,
They have made the tipi poles of the rays of the sun,
Its power is good,[3]
Long life! Its power is good.
They customarily make it so for her.[4]

(2) He will paint you with galena,
Its power is good,[5]
Long life! Its power is good.
He will paint you with red clay,
Its power is good,
Long life! Its power is good.
He will paint you with white clay,
Its power is good,
Long life! Its power is good.

(3) He is holding up his hand [painted] with sun pollen,[6]
He is holding up his hand [painted] with the rays of the sun;
The sun has come down, it has come down to the earth,[7]
It has come to her.
He will paint her with red clay,
He will paint her with white clay,
Long life! Its power is good.

(4) He is holding up his hand [painted] with the rays of the sun;
The sun, the sun has come down,
It has come down to the earth,
It has come to her.
He will paint her with red clay,
Long life! Its power is good.
He will paint her with white clay,
Long life! Its power is good.

(5) The rays of the sun, the sun has come down;
He is holding up his hand [painted] with the sun;
Here, it has come upon her,
It has come to her,
It has come before her.
This red clay, its power is good,
Long life! Its power is good.

ċìsʔàhnà·γáí! bìḱèhgóžóní.
yèàke·łḱàh.

He will paint her with white clay,
Long life! Its power is good.
By means of it, she starts to run.[8]

(6) čí, bìḱèhgóžóní,
λè·š, bìḱèhgóžóní,
ċìsʔàhnà·γáí!
ǯígònà·ʔáí, šá bìχólè, yìłdàhdàlⁿdì;
šá nǒ·yá,
nàhdáńyá,
ʔáhó·yá.
čí, bìḱèhgóžóní,
ċìsʔàhnà·γáí!
yè·nìčí,
yè·nìλè·š,
ǯígònà·ʔáí ńċísí bìnìó·yá.

(6) Red clay, its power is good,
White clay, its power is good,
Long life!
The sun, the rays of the sun, he is holding up his hand [painted] with them;
The sun has come down,[9]
It has come before you,
It has gone in.
Red clay, its power is good,
Long life!
He will paint you red with it,
He will paint you white with it,
The sun has gone into your body.

(7) ǯígònà·ʔáí, šá bìχólè, yìłdàhdàlⁿdì;
šá nǒ·yá,
gòdáńyá,
ʔáhó·yá.
čí, bìḱèhgóžóní,
ċìsʔàhnà·γáí! bìḱèhgóžóní,
yè·nìčí,
bìḱèhgóžóní, ċìsʔàhnà·γáí!
λè·š, bìḱèhgóžóní,
čí, bìḱèhgóžóní,
ċìsʔàhnà·γáí! bìḱèhgóžóní,
yè·nìčí;
λè·š, bìḱèhgóžóní,
yè·nìλè·š,
ċìsʔàhnà·γáí! bìḱèhgóžóní.

(7) The sun, the rays of the sun, he is holding up his hand [painted] with them;
The sun has come down,
It has come before her,
It has gone in.
Red clay, its power is good,
Long life! Its power is good,
He will paint you red with it,
Its power is good, long life!
White clay, its power is good,
Red clay, its power is good,
Long life! Its power is good,
He will paint you red with it;
White clay, its power is good,
He will paint you white with it,
Long life! Its power is good.

(8) hàʔó·ʔání bìyà·šı̨,
ʔìsʒánáλè·šé, hìká bìhádídíń bè·ǯàgá·łdą́,
ʔìsʒánáλè·šé yà·bìłgóžǫ́,
yà·ʔìłéńzı̨.
nàndìʔá bìyà·šı̨,
ǯígònà·ʔáí bìċíládàl bè·ǯàgá·ł;
ʔìsʔàhnà·γáí!
dí·dí·bè·, góžǫ́.
ʔìʔó·ʔání bìyà·šı̨,
dìłkǫ̀·dé bìhádídíń gòłnásé·łgò, góžǫ́;
ʔìsʔàhnà·γáí!
bè·nà·ǯìγágò, góžǫ́.
náhákòs bìyà·šı̨,
ʔìsʒánáλè·šé ʔáń bìḱìsń;
dí·dí· bè·ǯàgá·łgò, góžǫ́.

(8) In the east,
The White Painted Woman, when she is walking in accordance with the pollen of the dawn,
The White Painted Woman is happy over it,
She is thankful for it.[10]
In the south,
She is walking in accordance with the sun's tassels;[11]
Long life!
From this, there is good,[12]
In the west,
When the pollen of the abalone shell[13] moves with her,[14] there is good;
Long life!
If she lives in accordance with it, there is

gòčį·nélʔí,
bà·gòłʔà·ⁿdí,
bà·ʔìłéǯíńzį.

(9) čí bágòǯìtà·ł,
číí bè·ǯìčí,
ḱè·ščí bè·ǯìčí,
λè·ší bè·ǯìλè·š,
yè·sąhìλà·.
ʔáíbíká, ǯígònà·ʔáí bìḱèhgóžóní,
ċìsʔàhnà·yáí!
yèńkè·łʎàh.
ʔáí čí, ḱè·ščí, bìḱèhgóžóní,
ċìsʔàhnà·yáí!
yèńkè·łʎàh.
ǯígònà·ʔáí, bìḱèhgóžóní,
ċìsʔàhnà·yáí!
čí, ċìsʔàhnà·yáí! bìḱèhgóžóní,
yè·nìčí.
ǯígònà·ʔáí, ċìsʔàhnà·yáí! bìḱèhgóžóní.
čí, bìḱèhgóžóní,
ċìsʔàhnà·yáí! bìḱèhgóžóní.
čí, bìḱèhgóžóní,
ċìsʔàhnà·yáí! bìḱèhgóžóní.
ʔáí yè·nìλè·š,
ḱè·ščí, bìḱèhgóžóní,
ċìsʔàhnà·yáí!
čí, bìḱèhgóžóní,
ċìsʔàhnà·yáí! bìḱèhgóžóní.

(10) ǯígònà·ʔáí, šá bìʎólè, yìłdàhdàłⁿdì;
šá nǒ·yá
nàhḱè·hì·yá,
nàhčį·ńyá,
nàłʔáhó·yá.
λè·š, bìḱèhgóžóní,
ċìsʔàhnà·yáí!
yè·nìčí,
yè·nìλè·š,
ċìsʔàhnà·yáí! bìḱèhgóžóní.

(11) ǯígònàʔáí, šá bìʎólè, yìłdàhdàłⁿdì;
šá nǒ·yá,

good.[15]
In the north,
She is the sister of the White Painted Woman;[16]
When she is walking in accordance with this, there is good.[17]
She is looking at her,
She is happy over it,
She is thankful for it.[18]

(9) He is singing for red clay,
He will paint her with red clay,
He will paint her with galena,
He will paint her with white clay,[19]
By means of this old age has come.[20]
For this reason, the sun's power is good,[21]
Long life!
By means of it, she starts to run.
That red clay and galena, its power is good,
Long life!
By means of it, she starts to run.
The sun, its power is good,
Long life!
Red clay, long life! Its power is good,
He will paint you red with it.
The sun, long life! Its power is good.
Red clay, its power is good,
Long life! Its power is good.
Red clay, its power is good,
Long life! Its power is good.
He will paint you white with that,
Galena, its power is good,
Long life!
Red clay, its power is good,
Long life! Its power is good.

(10) The sun, the rays of the sun, he is holding up his hand [painted] with them;
The sun has come down,
It has come upon you,
It has come to you,
It has gone into you.
White clay, its power is good,
Long life!
He will paint you red with it,
He will paint you white with it,
Long life! Its power is good.

(11) The sun, the rays of the sun, he is holding up his hand [painted] with them;

nàhḱè·hì·yá,
nàhàńyá,
nàłʔáhó·yá.
čí, bìḱèhgóžóní,
ċìsʔàhnà·γáí!
yè·nìčí,
yè·nìλè·š,
ċìsʔàhnà·γáí! bìḱèhgóžóní.
ǯígònà·ʔáí, bìḱèhgóžóní,
ċìsʔàhnà·γáí!
čí, bìḱèhgóžóní,
λè·š, bìḱèhgóžóní,
yè·nìčí.
λè·š, bìḱèhgóžóní,
yè·nìλè·š.

(12) ǯígònà·ʔáí, šá bìλ̌ólè, yìłdàhdàłⁿdì;
šá nǒ·yá,
nàhḱè·hì·yá,
nàhčì·ńyá,
ʔáhó·yá.
čí, bìḱèhgóžóní,
ċìsʔàhnà·γáí!
yè·nìčí.
λè·š, bìḱèhgóžóní,
ċìsʔàhnà·γáí!
yè·nìλè·š.

(13) ǯígònà·ʔáí, šá bìλ̌ólè, yìłdàhdàłⁿdí;
dí· šá nǒ·yá,
gòḱè·hì·yá,
gòčì·ńyá,
gòłʔáhó·yá.
čí, bìḱèhgóžóní,
ċìsʔàhnà·γáí,
yè·nìčí.
yè·nìλè·š,
ċìsʔàhnà·γáí! bìḱèhgóžóní.

(14) ǯígònà·ʔáí, šá bìλ̌ólè, yìłdàhàłⁿdì:
šá nǒ·yá,
nàhḱè·hì·yá,
nàhàńyá,
ʔáhó·yá.
čí, bìḱèhgóžóní,
ċìsʔàhnà·γáí!
λè·š, bìḱèhgóžóní,

The sun has come down,
It has come upon you,
It has come to you,
It has gone into you.
Red clay, its power is good,
Long life!
He will paint you red with it,
He will paint you white with it,
Long life! Its power is good.
The sun, its power is good,
Long life!
Red clay, its power is good,
White clay, its power is good,
He will paint you red with it.
White clay, its power is good,
He will paint you white with it.

(12) The sun, the rays of the sun, he is holding up his hand [painted] with them;
The sun has come down,
It has come upon you,
It has come to you,
It has gone inside.
Red clay, its power is good,
Long life!
He will paint you red with it.
White clay, its power is good,
Long life!
He will paint you white with it.

(13) The sun, the rays of the sun, he is holding up his hand [painted] with them;
This sun has come down,
It has come upon her,
It has come to her,
It has gone into her.
Red clay, its power is good,
Long life!
He will paint you red with it.
He will paint you white with it.
Long life! Its power is good.

(14) The sun, the rays of the sun, he is holding up his hand [painted] with them;
The sun has come down,
It has come upon you,
It has come to you,
It has gone inside.
Red clay, its power is good,
Long life!

ċìsʔàhnà·γáí!
yè·nìčí,
yè·nìλè·š.

(15) žígònà·ʔáí, šá bìǩólè, yìłdàhdàłⁿdì;
šá nǒ·yá,
nàhǩè·hì·yá,
nàhčį·ńyá,
ʔáhó·yá.
čí, bìǩèhgóžónì,
ċìsʔàhnà·γáí!
yè·nìčí,
yè·nìλè·š.
žígònà·ʔáí, bìǩèhgóžónì.

(16) žígònà·ʔáí, šá bìǩólè, yìłdàhdàłⁿdì,
bìǩèhgóžónì,
yìłdàhdàłⁿdì,
ċìsʔàhnà·γáí! bìǩèhgóžónì,
ċìsʔàhnà·γáí! bìǩèhgóžónì.
yè·nàhčį·dè·yá,
nàhdáńyá,
ʔáhó·yá.
čí, bìǩèhgóžónì,
ċìsʔàhnà·γáí!
yè·nìčí.
λè·š, bìǩèhgóžónì,
ċìsʔàhnà·γáí!
yè·nìλè·š.
ⁿdì· šìłhànáyół,
ⁿdì· bè·ʔášdè·yà·.
gòkéǩáh, bìǩèhgóžónì,
ċìsʔàhnà·γáí! bìǩèhgóžónì.
dí·ǩèh, ċísí ʔìłè·łǩégò šáʔáílà·.

White clay, its power is good,
Long life!
He will paint you red with it,
He will paint you white with it.

(15) The sun, the rays of the sun, he is holding up his hand [painted] with them;
The sun has come down,
It has come upon you,
It has come to you,
It has gone inside.
Red clay, its power is good,
Long life!
He will paint you red with it,
He will paint you white with it.
The sun, its power is good.

(16) The sun, the rays of the sun, he is holding up his hand [painted] with them,
Its power is good,
He is holding up his hand [painted] with them,
Long life! Its power is good,
Long life! Its power is good.
By means of it, it has started toward you,[22]
It has come before you,
It has gone inside.
Red clay, its power is good,
Long life!
He will paint you red with it.
White clay, its power is good,
Long life!
He will paint you white with it.
The earth is breathing with me,
By means of the earth she has been made.[23]
The bottoms of her feet, their power is good,[24]
Long life! Their power is good.
All of these, participating, have made her body so for me.[25]

41. Prayer When Building the Ceremonial Tipi

(1) ⁿdì· ʔágdžílà·dą́, ždʔdł dį·ʔ łą·nábą́·zé. ždʔdłí dį·gdšį šáʔìłè·šìzìgd, ʔákd·ná ʔá·ìšá. łą·nábá·zé dį·gd ʔìłè·šìzìgdná, ʔá·ìšá.

41. Prayer When Building the Ceremonial Tipi

(1) When the earth had been created, there were four fir trees [and] aspens.[1] When fir trees of the four directions have been put together for me, only then shall I go there. Only when the four aspens have been put together, shall I go there.[2]

(2) ʔlsʒánáλè·šé, ⁿdì·bìkážı̨ dí·ž̨ı̨, bíⁿdì·gò·slı̨. bìzà· gò·slı̨. bìčís gò·slı̨. bìgálè gò·slı̨.

(3) dı̨·gò łèʔnà·hìⁿdáí, hàʔó·ʔání bìčı̨·šı̨ ñkè·ñʔáí, bìyà·, góžǫ́. ⁿdì·bìká ⁿdé dí·ḱèh bè·bìyà·góžǫ́. nàñdìʔáí bìyà·šı̨ ñkè·ñʔáí, bìyà·, góžǫ́. ⁿdì·bìká ⁿdé gòbáʔáž̨ìłʔı̨·. ʔìʔó·ʔání bìyà·šı̨ ñkè·ñʔáí, bìyà·, góžǫ́. ⁿdé gòbáʔáž̨ìłʔı̨·. náhàkòsí bìčı̨·šı̨ ñkè·ñʔáí, bìyà·, góžǫ́. ⁿdì·bìká ⁿdé gòbáʔáž̨ìłʔı̨·.

(4) hàʔó·ʔą́šı̨, kòyá ʔáʔítìñ. są́gìš cì·bàʔʒą̀·è· bè·kò·γą̀. ʔáídáʔtìñè·, ž̨ígònà·ʔáí bìx̌ólè dı̨·gòyá bè·čéʔítìñ. čìsʔàhnà·γáí! bìḱèhgóžǫ́ní.

(5) ʔìsʒánáλè·šń ⁿdì·bìkážı̨, bíⁿdì· gò·slı̨. dí·dí· yè·hànáyòłí, dí· bìčísí, dí· bìgálèí. dánàhíḱèh ʔáí bè·nàhìgálè. dò·dáłè·ʔé ž̨ı̨ góžǫ́ bíká ʔáńⁿdìdà! dí·dí· ⁿdì·í dáñhè·sťóí ʔážı̨, yáí dáñhè·sťóí ʔážı̨, dáʒą̀·è·ná dìγı̨ náʔgòʒì·. ʔáłčìnénèʔáťéyó dí·ḱèh bánàhíⁿdì·.

(6) ʔìsʒánáλè·šé, dí·ʔáyánéńłťéí ⁿdì·bìkáè·yâ·dàñtǫ́·yéʔáťéí dò·bìčı̨·nàhè·náyìłdà! ʔìsʒánáλè·šé, dánàhíḱèh ñčą́šı̨ ñⁿdéńλı̨. ʔíyą̀· káťégò, nàhà·ʔóñką́ ⁿdì·bìkáè· yádàsìʔą́í bìgìžè· ⁿdì·tádídíńí. dò·xàʔyágòʔáťédà. ʔìťàbìγèʔgòñλı̨.

42. Songs of the Mountain Spirit Ceremony

(1) hàʔó·ʔą́í bìyà·žı̨, gą́héńcòdàx̌ìžń nàhčı̨·dè·yá,
čè·łkénàñťáń.
nàñdìʔážı̨, gą́héńcòłìcòń nàhčı̨·dè·yá,
čè·łkénàñťáń nàhčı̨·dè·yá,
čè·łkédìγı̨ń nàhčı̨·dè·yá.

(2) The White Painted Woman, on the earth today, her mind has been created. Her words have been created. Her body has been created. Her strength has been created.[3]

(3) [Of] the four that will move together, that which lies extended toward the east, under it, there is good. All the people on the earth share in the good under it. That which lies extended to the south, under it, there is good. They customarily make it so for the people on the earth. That which lies extended to the west, under it, there is good. They customarily make it so for the people. That which lies extended toward the north, under it, there is good. They customarily make it so for the people on the earth.[4]

(4) From the east, a road leads here. Here the tipi is made of old age staffs [and] gray hair.[5] Right at the door, roads made of the rays of the sun go out to the four directions. Long life! Its power is good.

(5) The White Painted Woman, on the earth, her mind has been created. This is that by means of which she breathes, this is her body, this is her strength. The strength of all of us is made of that.[6] Do not say that it is good for only one day![7] On this earth which has become old, in the sky which has become old, only in this place does power remain. We want it for all of those who are children.[8]

(6) White Painted Woman, do not push us toward all of that which is evil on the earth![9] White Painted Woman, all of us were created from you.[10] Because this is so, you have brought to us the earth pollen which lies in the space between the earth and the sky. There is nothing wrong with it. We are still living in it.[11]

42. Songs of the Mountain Spirit Ceremony[1]

(1) In the east, the Big Blue Mountain Spirit has started toward us,
He is the leader of the Mountain Spirits.
In the south, the Big Yellow Mountain Spirit has started toward us,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits has started toward us,
The holy Mountain Spirit has started toward us.

ʔìʔó·ʔą́ bìyà·žı̨ ǵı̨́héńcòdłìgàń čè·łkénàńt̓áń, nàhčı̨·dè·yá,
čè·łkédìyı̨́ń nàhčı̨·dè·yá.

náhákòsí bìyà·žı̨, ǵı̨́héńcòdìłxìłń, čè·łkénàńt̓áń, nàhčı̨·dè·yá,
čè·łkédìyı̨́ń nàhčı̨·dè·yá.

kǫ̀·yé·š dìłxìłń yè·bìyą̀,
čè·łkénàńt̓áń nàhčı̨·dè·yá.

ⁿdì·bìkážı̨, dàʔìžè bè·ʔìłnágàzì bè·dìyı̨-dè·st̓ą́,
nàhčı̨·dè·yá.

(2) hàʔó·ʔą́í bìyà·žı̨ ǵı̨́héńcòdàʔìžń,
ⁿdì·bìčíládàì šìłnà·nánásé·ł,
ʒą̀·šı̨́, šìyìnè gò·slı̨́.

nàńdìʔáí bìyà·žı̨ ǵı̨́héńcòłìcòń,
čè·łkénàńt̓áń čè·łkédìyı̨,
nà·yáńžǫ́í nàháháyáłtì,
ʒą̀·šı̨́, šìyìnè nó·λı̨́.

ʔìʔó·ʔą́žı̨ ǵı̨́héńcòłìgàń,
čè·łkénàńt̓áń, čè·łkédìyìné,
dí·bą̀·, šìyìnè gò·slı̨́.

náhákòsí bìyà·žı̨ ǵı̨́héńcòdìłxìłń,
čè·łkénàńt̓áń, čè·łkédìyı̨,
dı̨́·žı̨ šìyìnè hànádò·łt̓ì.

(3) hàʔó·ʔą́í bìyà·žı̨ ǵı̨́héńcòdàʔìžń,
yálátàkò·yą̀žı̨,
čè·łkénàńt̓áń, čè·łkédìyı̨,
bìdání·yá.

nàńdìʔáí bìyà·žı̨ ǵı̨́héńcòłìcòń,
k̓òslátàbìyą̀žı̨,
bìdání·yá,
čè·łkénàńt̓áń, čè·łkédìyı̨́ń.

ʔìʔó·ʔą́žı̨ ǵı̨́héńcòłìgàń,
k̓òsłìgàʔé yè·bìkò·yą̀žı̨,
čè·łkénàńt̓áń, čè·łkèdìyı̨,
bìdání·yá.

In the west, the Big White Mountain Spirit, the leader of the Mountain Spirits, has started toward us,
The holy Mountain Spirit has started toward us.
In the north, the Big Black Mountain Spirit, the leader of the Mountain Spirits, has started toward us,
The holy Mountain Spirit has started toward us.[2]
His home is made of the black mirage,[3]
The leader of the Mountain Spirits has started toward us.
On the earth, the ceremony has begun by means of the turquoise cross,[4]
He has started toward us.

(2) Big Blue Mountain Spirit in the east,
The tassels of the earth are moving about with me,[5]
Here, my songs have been created.[6]
Big Yellow Mountain Spirit in the south,
Leader of the Mountain Spirits, holy Mountain Spirit,
He will ask for the good life for us,[7]
Here, my songs have again been created.
Big White Mountain Spirit in the west,
Leader of the Mountain Spirits, holy Mountain Spirit,
For this reason, my songs have been created.[8]
Big Black Mountain Spirit in the north,
Leader of the Mountain Spirits, holy Mountain Spirit,
My songs will go out to the four directions.

(3) The Big Blue Mountain Spirit in the east,
In a home above the skies,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit,
I have met him.[9]
The Big Yellow Mountain Spirit in the south,
In his home above the clouds,
I have met him,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit.
The Big White Mountain Spirit in the west,
In his home made of the white clouds,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit,
I have met him.

náhákòsí bìyà·žı̨ gą́hénòdìłxìłń,
kǫ̀·yé·š dìłxìł yè·bìkò·yą̀žı̨,
bìdání·yá,
čè·łkénàńťáń,
bè·hìdání·yáná?à.

The Big Black Mountain Spirit in the north,
In his home made of the black mirage,
I have met him,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits.
It is said that I met them by means of it.[10]

(4) hà?ó·?ą́ bìyà·žı̨ gą́hénòdàʎìžń,
gòłdìyı̨dè·sťą́,
čè·łkénàńťáń,
ⁿdì·bìkážı̨ dı̨́·žı̨, bè·góžǫ́ gò·slı̨́.

(4) The Big Blue Mountain Spirit in the east,
The ceremony has begun in company with him,[11]
The leader of the Mountain Spirits,
In the four corners of the earth, goodness has been created by means of him.

nàńdì?áí bìyà·žı̨ gą́hénòdìłòń,
dı̨́·gòšı̨́,
čè·łkénàńťáń,
ⁿdì·bìkážı̨, bè·góžǫ́ gò·slı̨́.

The Big Yellow Mountain Spirit in the south,
In the four directions,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits,
On the earth, goodness has been created by means of him.

?ì?ó·?ą́í bìyà·žı̨ gą́hénòdìłgàń,
dı̨́·žı̨, nàłdìyı̨dè·sťą́,
čè·łkénàńťáń,
ⁿdì·bìkážı̨, bè·góžǫ́ gò·slı̨́.

The Big White Mountain Spirit in the west,
In the four directions, the ceremony has begun in company with us,[11]
The leader of the Mountain Spirits,
On the earth, goodness has been created by means of him.

náhákòsí bìyà·žı̨ gą́hénòdìłxìłń,
čè·łkénàńťáń, čè·łkédìyı̨,
dı̨́·gòyá, bè·dìyı̨dè·sťą́,
nì·gòsʒáń bìkážı̨, bè·góžǫ́ gò·slı̨́.

The Big Black Mountain Spirit in the north,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit,
In the four directions, the ceremony has begun by means of him,[12]
On the earth, goodness has been created by means of him.

(5) hà?ó·?ą́í bìyà·žı̨ gą́hénòdàʎìžń,
čè·łkénàńťáń, čè·łkédìyı̨,
dı̨́·gòšı̨́, bà·šìł?à·ⁿdí,
šìyìnè gò·slı̨́.

(5) The Big Blue Mountain Spirit in the east,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit,
To the four directions, I am happy over him,
My songs have been created.[13]

nàńdì?áí bìyà·žı̨ gą́hénòdìłòń,
čè·łkénàńťáń, čè·łkédìyı̨,
dı̨́·gòšı̨́, bà·šìł?à·ⁿdí,
bà·šìyı̨gò·slı̨́.

The Big Yellow Mountain Spirit in the south,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit,
To the four directions, I am happy over him,
My songs about it have been created.[14]

?ì?ó·?ą́í bìyà·žı̨ gą́hénòdìłgàń,
čè·łkénàńťáń, čè·łkédìyı̨,
dı̨́·gòšı̨́, šà·bìł?à·ⁿdí, bà·šìł?à·ⁿdí,
šìyı̨ gò·slı̨́.

The Big White Mountain Spirit in the west,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit,
To the four directions, he is happy over me, I am happy over him,[15]
My songs have been created.

náhákòsí bìyà·žı̨ gą́hénòdìłxìłń,
čè·łkénàńťáń, čè·łkédìyı̨,
šà·bìł?à·ⁿdígò, bà·šìł?à·ⁿdígò,
bà·šìyı̨gò·slı̨́.

The Big Black Mountain Spirit in the north,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit,
He is happy over me, I am happy over him,

(6) hà?ó·?ą́í bìyà·žì gą́héńcòdàʎìžń,
kǫ̀·γé·š dàʎìží yè·bìčís gó·ką́ yá?ìłⁿdížì,
bà·šìγìgò·slí;
šà·gòł?à·ⁿdígò,
nì·gòsʒáń bìkážì šìγìgò·slí.

nàńdì?áí bìyà·žì gą́héńcòłìcòń,
ḱòsłìcòí yè·bìγą̀,
yè·bìčís gó·ką́,
yè·sìzà·?dì?á,
?áší nì·gòsʒáń bìkážì šìłdìγìdè·sťą́.

?ì?ó·?ą́í bìyà·žì gą́héńcòłìgàń,
yá?ìłⁿdížì ḱòsłìgàí ?ìłnô·zì,
šà·bìł?à·ⁿdígò,
nì·gòsʒáń bìkážì šìłdìγì;
?áší bà·šìγìgò·slí,
bà·šìł?à·ⁿdí.

náhákòsí bìyà·žì gą́héńcòdìłxìłń,
šà·bìł?à·ⁿdígò,
šìγìgò·slí;
dìγì šìzà·?dì?á,
bà·šìł?à·ⁿdí,
bà·šìγìgò·slí.

(7) hà?ó·?ą́í bìyà·žì gą́héńcòdàʎìžń,
čè·łkédìγìné, čè·łkénàńťáń,
yálátàkò·γą̀,
dàʎìžè bè·?ìłnágàzì,
?ážì šìłdìγìdè·sťą́;
bà·šìł?à·ⁿdígò, bà·gòł?à·ⁿdí;
gą́hé bìkélè·ž łìcòí bè·bìdè·látà,
bè·?ìłčą́yè·ťí.

nàńdì?áí bìyà·žì,
ḱòsłìcòí bè·látàkò·γą̀,
gą́héńcòłìcòń;
ḱòsłìcò?é šìłhàńyà·násé·ł,
dàʎìžè bè·?ìłnágàzì,
šìłdìγìdè·sťą́.

?ì?ó·?ą́í bìyà·žì gą́héńcòłìgàń,
ḱòsłìgàí yè·bìγą̀,

My songs about it have been created.

(6) The Big Blue Mountain Spirit in the east,
His spiritually hale body is made of the blue mirage in the center of the sky,[16]
My songs about it have been created;
He is happy over me,
My songs have been created on the earth.
The Big Yellow Mountain Spirit in the south,
His home is made of yellow clouds,
His spiritually hale body is made of it,
He customarily sings into my mouth by means of it,[17]
Then the ceremony on the earth has begun with me.
The Big White Mountain Spirit in the west,
The cross of white clouds in the center of the sky,[18]
He is happy over me,
There is a ceremony with me on the earth;
Then my songs about it have been created,
I am happy over it.
The Big Black Mountain Spirit in the north,
He is happy over me,
My songs have been created;
He customarily sings the ceremony into my mouth,
I am happy over it,
My songs about it have been created.

(7) The Big Blue Mountain Spirit in the east,
The holy Mountain Spirit, the leader of the Mountain Spirits,
The home above the sky,
The cross made of turquoise,
There the ceremony has begun with me;
I am happy over it, he is happy over it;
The tips of his horns are made of the yellow foot dust of the Mountain Spirits,[19]
By means of them, one can see in all directions.[20]
In the south,
The topmost home is made of yellow clouds,
[There is] the Big Yellow Mountain Spirit;
The yellow clouds are moving downward with me,[21]
The cross made of turquoise,
The ceremony has begun with me.
The Big White Mountain Spirit in the west,
His home is made of white clouds,

dàʎìžè bè·ʔìłnágàzì,
šìłdìyìdè·sťą́;
bà·šìłʔà·ⁿdígò, bà·gòłʔà·ⁿdí;
ʔáší ⁿdé gò·slí.
náhákòsí bìyà·žì gą́héńcòdìłxìłń,
ḱòsdìłxìłí yè·bìyą̀,
kǫ̀·γé·š dìłxìłí bìčís,
dàʎìžè bè·ʔìłnágàzì,
šìłdìyìdè·sťą́;
šà·gòłʔà·ⁿdígò, šìłʔà·ⁿdí.

(8) hàʔó·ʔą́í bìyà·žì gą́héńcòdàʎìžń,
kǫ̀·γé·š dàʎìžè yálátàkò·γą̀,
dàʎìžè ʔìłnô·zì,
šìłdìyìʔáìłʔí;
šà·gòłʔà·ⁿdígò, bà·šìłʔà·ⁿdígò,
bà·šìyìgò·slí.
hàʔó·ʔą́í bìyà·žì gą́héńcòdàʎìžń,
kǫ̀·γé·š dàʎìží yè·bìčís gó·ką́;
yálátàkò·γą̀ší,
dàʎìžè ʔìłnágàzì,
šìłdìyìʔáìłʔí;
šìłdìyìdè·sťą́,
šà·gòłʔà·ⁿdí, bà·šìłʔà·ⁿdí,
šìγìnè hànádò·łťì.

hàʔó·ʔą́í bìyà·žì gą́héńcòdàʎìžń,
kǫ̀·γé·š dàʎìží yè·bìčís gó·ką́;
yálátàkò·γą̀ší,
šìłdìyìʔáìłʔí;
šìłdìyìdè·sťą́,
šà·gòłʔà·ndí, bà·šìlʔà·ndí,
bà·šìyìhànádò·łťì.

nàńdìʔáí bìyà·žì gą́héńcòłìcòń,
ḱòsłìcòí yè·bìčís gó·ką́,
dàʎìžè ʔìłnágàzì,
šìłdìyìʔáìłʔí;
šìłdìyìdè·sťą́,
šà·gòłʔà·ⁿdí, bà·šìłʔà·ⁿdí,
bà·šìyìnègò·slí.

nàńdìʔáí bìyà·žì gą́héńcòłìcòń,
ḱòsłìcòí ḱòslátàkò·γą̀:
gą́héńcòłìcòń,
ḱòsłìcòí yè·bìčís gó·ką́,
dàʎìžè ʔìłnágàzì,
šìłdìyìʔáìłʔí;
šìłdìyìdè·sťą́,
šà·gòłʔà·ⁿdí, bà·šìłʔà·ndí,

The cross made of turquoise,
The ceremony has begun with me;
I am happy over it, he is happy over it;
There people have been created.
The Big Black Mountain Spirit in the north,
His home is made of black clouds,
His body of the black mirage,
The cross made of turquoise,
The ceremony has begun with me;
He is happy over me, I am happy.

(8) The Big Blue Mountain Spirit in the east,
The home of blue mirage above the sky,
The cross made of turquoise,
He performs the ceremony in company with me;
He is happy over me, I am happy over him,
My songs about it have been created.
The Big Blue Mountain Spirit in the east,
His spiritually hale body is made of the blue mirage;
In the home above the sky,
The cross made of turquoise,
He performs the ceremony in company with me;
The ceremony has begun with me,
He is happy over me, I am happy over him,
My songs will go out.
The Big Blue Mountain Spirit in the east,
His spiritually hale body is made of the blue mirage;
In the home above the sky,
He performs the ceremony in company with me;
The ceremony has begun with me,
He is happy over me, I am happy over him,
My songs about it will go out.
The Big Yellow Mountain Spirit in the south,
His spiritually hale body is made of yellow clouds,
The cross made of turquoise,
He performs the ceremony in company with me;
The ceremony has begun with me,
He is happy over me, I am happy over him,
My songs about it have been created.
The Big Yellow Mountain Spirit in the south
The home of yellow clouds above the clouds;
The Big Yellow Mountain Spirit,
His spiritually hale body is made of yellow clouds,
The cross made of turquoise,
He performs the ceremony in company with me;
The ceremony has begun with me,

šɪ̀ɣɪ̀nè gò·slɪ̨.

nàñdɪ̀ʔáí bɪ̀yà·žɪ̨ gą́héñcòłɪ̀còñ,
ḱòsłɪ̀còí yè·bɪ̀čɪ́s gó·ką́,
dàʎɪ̀žè bè·ʔɪ̀łnágàzɪ̀,
šɪ̀łdɪ̀ɣɪ̨ʔáłɪ̀ʔɪ̨;
šɪ̀łdɪ̀ɣɪ̨dè·sťą́,
šà·gòłʔà·ⁿdí, bà·šɪ̀lʔà·ⁿdí,
bà·šɪ̀ɣɪ̨gò·slɪ̨gò gòdè·yá.

ʔɪ̀ʔó·ʔą́í bɪ̀yà·žɪ̨ gą́héñcòłɪ̀gàñ,
kǫ̀·yé·š łɪ̀gàí yè·bɪ̀čɪ́s gó·ką́,
dàʎɪ̀žè bè·ʔɪ̀łnágàzɪ̀;
čè·łkénàñťá, čè·łkédɪ̀ɣɪ̨,
šɪ̀łdɪ̀ɣɪ̨ʔáłɪ̀ʔɪ̨;
šɪ̀łdɪ̀ɣɪ̨dè·sťą́,
šà·gòłʔà·ⁿdí, bà·šɪ̀łʔà·ⁿdí,
bà·šɪ̀ɣɪ̀nègò·slɪ̨.

ʔɪ̀ʔó·ʔą́í bɪ̀yà·žɪ̨ gą́héñcòłɪ̀gàñ,
kǫ̀·yé·š łɪ̀gàí yè·bɪ̀čɪ́s gó·ką́,
šɪ̀łdɪ̀ɣɪ̨ʔáłɪ̀ʔɪ̨;
šɪ̀łdɪ̀ɣɪ̨dè·sťą́;
čè·łkédɪ̀ɣɪ̨, čè·łkénàñťáñ,
dàʎɪ̀žè bè·ʔɪ̀łnágàzɪ̀,
šɪ̀łdɪ̀ɣɪ̨ʔáłɪ̀ʔɪ̨;
šà·gòłʔà·ⁿdí, bà·šɪ̀łʔà·ⁿdí,
bà·šɪ̀ɣɪ̀nègò·slɪ̨.

ʔɪ̀ʔó·ʔą́í bɪ̀yà·žɪ̨ gą́héñcòłɪ̀gàñ,
kǫ̀·yé·š̆ łɪ̀gàí yè·bɪ̀čɪ́s gó·ką́,
dàʎɪ̀žè bè·ʔɪ̀łnágàzɪ̀,
šɪ̀łdɪ̀ɣɪ̨ʔáłɪ̀ʔɪ̨;
šɪ̀łdɪ̀ɣɪ̨dè·sťą́;
čè·łkénàñťá, čè·łkédɪ̀ɣɪ̨,

šà·gòłʔà·ⁿdí, bà·šɪ̀łʔà·ⁿdí,
bà·šɪ̀ɣɪ̀nègò·slɪ̨.

náhákòsí bɪ̀yà·žɪ̨ gą́héñcòdɪ̀łxɪ̀łñ,
kǫ̀·yé·š dɪ̀łxɪ̀łí yè·bɪ̀čɪ́s gó·ką́,
dàʎɪ̀žè bè·ʔɪ̀łnágàzɪ̀,
šɪ̀łdɪ̀ɣɪ̨ʔáłɪ̀ʔɪ̨;
šɪ̀łdɪ̀ɣɪ̨dè·sťą́;
čè·łkédɪ̀ɣɪ̀né, čè·łkénàñťá,
šà·bɪ̀łʔà·ⁿdí, bà·šɪ̀łʔà·ⁿdí,
bà·šɪ̀ɣɪ̀nègò·slɪ̨.

He is happy over me, I am happy over him,
My songs have been created.
The Big Yellow Mountain Spirit in the south,
His spiritually hale body is made of yellow clouds,
The cross made of turquoise,
He performs the ceremony in company with me;
The ceremony has begun with me,
He is happy over me, I am happy over him,
It has happened that my songs about it have been created.
The Big White Mountain Spirit in the west,
His spiritually hale body is made of the white mirage,
The cross made of turquoise;
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit,
He performs the ceremony in company with me;
The ceremony has begun with me,
He is happy over me, I am happy over him,
My songs about it have been created.
The Big White Mountain Spirit in the west,
His spiritually hale body is made of the white mirage,
He performs the ceremony in company with me;
The ceremony has begun with me;
The holy Mountain Spirit, the leader of the Mountain Spirits,
The cross made of turquoise,
He performs the ceremony in company with me;
He is happy over me, I am happy over him,
My songs about it have been created.
The Big White Mountain Spirit in the west,
His spiritually hale body is made of the white mirage,
The cross made of turquoise,
He performs the ceremony in company with me;
The ceremony has begun with me;
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit,
He is happy over me, I am happy over him,
My songs about it have been created.
The Big Black Mountain Spirit in the north,
His spiritually hale body is made of the black mirage,
The cross made of turquoise,
He performs the ceremony in company with me;
The ceremony has begun with me;
The holy Mountain Spirit, the leader of the Mountain Spirits,

náhákòsí bìyà·žì gąhéńcòdìłxìłń,
kǫ̀·γé·š dìłxìłí yè·bìčís gó·ką́,
dàǰìžè bè·ʔìłnágàzì,
šìłdìγìʔáìłʔí;
šìłdìγìdè·sťą́;
šà·gòłʔà·ⁿdí,
čè·łkédìγìné, čè·łkénàńťá,
bà·šìłʔà·ⁿdí, šà·gòłʔà·ⁿdí,
bà·šìγìgò·slí.

náhákòsí bìyà·žì gąhéńcòdìłxìłń,
kǫ̀·γé·š yè·bìčís gó·ką́,
dàǰìžè bè·ʔìłnágàzì,
šìłdìγìʔáìłʔí;
šìłdìγìdè·sťą́;
čè·łkédìγìné, čè·łkénàńťá,
šà·bìłʔà·ⁿdí, bà·šìłʔà·ⁿdí,
bà·šìγìgò·slí.

(9) hàʔó·ʔą́í bìyà·žì gąhéńcòdàǰìžń,
kǫ̀·γé·š dàǰìžè yè·bìčís gó·ką́;
yálátàkò·γą̀,
nàłdìγìʔáìłʔí,
bè·dìγìʔáìłʔí.

nàńdìʔáí bìyà·žì gąhéńcòłìcòń,
ǩòslátàkò·γą̀,
nàłdìγìʔáìłʔí.
nàńdìʔáí bìyà·žì gąhéńcòłìcòń,
ǩòslátàkò·γą̀,
šìłdìγìʔáìłʔí,
šà·bìłʔà·ⁿdí, bà·šìłʔà·ⁿdí,
šìγì gò·slí.
ʔìʔó·ʔą́í bìyà·žì gąhéńcòłìgàń,
kǫ̀·γé·š łìgàí yè·bìčís gó·ką́;
čè·łkénàńťáń, čè·łkédìγìné,
šà·bìłʔà·ⁿdí, bà·šìłʔà·ⁿdí,
šìłdìγìʔáìłʔí.

náhákòsí bìyà·žì gąhéńcòdìłxìłń,
kǫ̀·γé·š dìłxìłń yè·bìčís gó·ką́,
šìłdìγìʔáìłʔí;
čè·łkénàńťáń, čè·łkédìγìné,
bà·šìγìgò·slí.

He is happy over me, I am happy over him,
My songs about it have been created.
The Big Black Mountain Spirit in the north,
His spiritually hale body is made of the black mirage,
The cross made of turquoise,
He performs the ceremony in company with me;
The ceremony has begun with me;
He is happy over me,
The holy Mountain Spirit, the leader of the Mountain Spirits,
I am happy over him, he is happy over me,
My songs about it have been created.
The Big Black Mountain Spirit in the north,
His spiritually hale body is made of the mirage,
The cross made of turquoise,
He performs the ceremony in company with me;
The ceremony has begun with me;
The holy Mountain Spirit, the leader of the Mountain Spirits,
He is happy over me, I am happy over him,
My songs about it have been created.

(9) The Big Blue Mountain Spirit in the east,
His spiritually hale body is made of the blue mirage;
[In] the home above the sky,
He performs the ceremony in company with us,
He performs the ceremony by means of it.
The Big Yellow Mountain Spirit in the south,
[In] the home above the clouds,
He performs the ceremony in company with us.
The Big Yellow Mountain Spirit in the south,
[In] the home above the clouds,
He performs the ceremony in company with me,
He is happy over me, I am happy over him,
My songs have been created.
The Big White Mountain Spirit in the west,
His spiritually hale body is made of the white mirage;
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit,
He is happy over me, I am happy over him,
He performs the ceremony in company with me.
The Big Black Mountain Spirit in the north,
His spiritually hale body is made of the black mirage,
He performs the ceremony in company with me;
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy

(10) hàʔó·ʔą́í bìyà·žı̨ gą́héńcòdàʔìžń,
kǫ̀·γé·š dàʔìžè yè·bìćís gó·ką́,
yè·ćà·nà·t̨ı̨·;
čè·łkénàńt́áń, čè·łkédìγìné.

nàńdìʔáí bìyà·žı̨ gą́héńcòłìcòń,
čè·łkénàńt́áń, čè·łkédìγìné.
nàńdìʔáí bìyà·žı̨ gą́héńcòłìcòń,
ńgóží, šìgóží,
čè·łkénàńt́áń, čè·łkédìγìné.

ʔìʔó·ʔą́í bìyà·žı̨ gą́héńcòłìgàń,
nìgóží, šìgóží,
čè·łkénàńt́áń, čè·łkédìγìné.

náhákòsí bìyà·žı̨ gą́héńcòdìłxłìń,
nìgóží, šìgóží,
čè·łkénàńt́áń, čè·łkédìγìné.

(11) hàʔó·ʔą́žı̨
šìłdìγı̨,
bè·šìłʔà·ⁿdí,
bà·šìγìnègò·slı̨.
hàʔó·ʔą́žı̨
šìłdìγı̨dè·st́ą́,
bè·šìłʔà·ⁿdí,
bà·gòłʔà·ⁿdí,
bè·šìγìnègò·slı̨.
nàńdìʔáí bìyà·žı̨, kǫ̀·γé·š łìcòí,
šìłdìγı̨ʔáìłʔı̨;
šìłdìγı̨dè·st́ą́,
šà·gòłʔà·ⁿdí,
bè·šìłʔà·ⁿdí,
dı̨·gòyá šìłhànádà·st́ì.
nàńdìʔáí bìyà·žı̨, kǫ̀·γé·š łìcòí,
šìldìγı̨ʔáyà·;
šìłdìγı̨dè·st́ą́,
šà·gòłʔà·ⁿdí, bà·šìłʔà·ⁿdí,
dı̨·gòyá šìγìnè hànó·łt́ì.

ʔìʔó·ʔání bìyà·žı̨ gą́héńcòłìgàń,
šìłdìγı̨ʔáìłʔı̨;
šìłdìγı̨dè·st́ą́,

Mountain Spirit,
My songs about it have been created.

(10) The Big Blue Mountain Spirit in the east,
His spiritually hale body is made of the blue mirage,
He motions ritually by means of it;[22]
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit.
The Big Yellow Mountain Spirit in the south,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit.
The Big Yellow Mountain Spirit in the south,
They are calling you, they are calling me,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit.
The Big White Mountain Spirit in the west,
They are calling you, they are calling me,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit.
The Big Black Mountain Spirit in the north,
They are calling you, they are calling me,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit.

(11) In the east
The ceremony accompanies me,
By means of it, I am happy,
My songs about it have been created.
In the east
The ceremony has begun in company with me,
By means of it, I am happy,
He is happy over it,
By means of it, my songs have been created.
In the south, the yellow mirage,
He performs the ceremony in company with me;
The ceremony has begun in company with me,
He is happy over me,
By means of it, I am happy,
It has gone out to the four directions in company with me.
In the south, the yellow mirage,
The ceremony has been performed in company with me;
The ceremony has begun in company with me,
He is happy over me, I am happy over him,
My songs have gone out to the four directions.
The Big White Mountain Spirit in the west,
He performs the ceremony in company with me;
The ceremony has begun in company with me,

šà·gòł?à·ⁿdí, bà·šìł?à·ⁿdí.
?ì?ó·?ání bìyà·žį̀ gą́héńcòłìgàń,
k̀òsłìgàyé yè·šìłdìyį̀?áìł?į́,
yè·šìłdìyį̀dè·sį́ą́,
šà·gòł?à·ⁿdí, bà·šìł?à·ⁿdí,
dį́·gòyá šìyìnè hànó·łt́ì.

náhákòsí bìyà·žį̀,
šìłdìyį̀?áìł?į́;
čè·łkénàńt́áń, čè·łkédìyìné,
šà·gòł?à·ⁿdí, bà·šìł?à·ⁿdí,
bè·šìyìnè hànó·łt́ì.
náhákòsí bìyà·žį̀ gą́héńcòdìłxìłń,
šìłdìyį̀?áìł?į́,
šìłdìyį̀dè·sį́ą́,
šà·gòł?à·ⁿdí, šà·bìł?à·ⁿdí, bà·šìł?à·ⁿdí,
bà·šìyìnè hànádà·sį́ì.

(12) hà?ó·?ání bìyà·žį̀, k̀òsdàʎìží yà·ń?á,
?ášį̀, k̀òsdàʎìží yè·bìyą̀;
hà?ó·?ání bìyà·žį̀, k̀òsdàʎìží yà·ń?á,
hà?ó·?áńí bìyà·žį̀ gą́héńcòdàʎìžń,
k̀òsdàʎìží yà·ń?á.
nàńdì?áí bìyà·žį̀ gą́héńcòłìcòń,
k̀òsłìcòí yà·ń?á.
nàńdì?áí bìyà·žį̀ gą́héńcòłìcòń,
k̀òsłìcòí yà·ń?á.
?ì?ó·?ą́ bìyà·žį̀ gą́héńcòłìgàń,
čè·łkénàńt́á, čè·łkédìyìné,
k̀òsłìgàí yà·ń?á.
?ì?ó·?ání bìyà·žį̀ gą́héńcòłìgàń,
čè·łkénàńt́áń, čè·łkédìyìné,
k̀òsłìgàí yà·ń?á.

náhákòsí bìyà·žį̀ k̀òsdìłxìłí yè·bìyą̀,
čè·łkénàńt́á, čè·łkédìyìné.
náhákòsí bìyà·žį̀ gą́héńcòdìłxìłń,
k̀òsdìłxìłí yè·bìyą̀,
čè·łkénàńt́áń, čè·łkédìyìné,
k̀òsdìłxìłí yà·ń?á.

(13) hà?ó·?ání bìyà·žį̀ gą́héńcòdàʎìžń,
čè·łkénàńt́áń, čè·łkédìyìné.

He is happy over me, I am happy over him.
The Big White Mountain Spirit in the west,
By means of the white cloud, he performs the ceremony in company with me,
By means of it, the ceremony has begun in company with me,
He is happy over me, I am happy over him,
My songs have gone out to the four directions.
In the north,
He performs the ceremony in company with me;
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit,
He is happy over me, I am happy over him,
By means of it, my songs have gone out.
The Big Black Mountain Spirit in the north,
He performs the ceremony in company with me,
The ceremony has begun in company with me,
He is happy over me, it is happy over me, I am happy over him,
My songs about it have gone out.

(12) In the east, a blue cloud stands upright,
There, his home is made of blue clouds;
In the east, a blue cloud stands upright,
The Big Blue Mountain Spirit in the east,
A blue cloud stands upright.
The Big Yellow Mountain Spirit in the south,
A yellow cloud stands upright.
The Big Yellow Mountain Spirit in the south,
A yellow cloud stands upright.
The Big White Mountain Spirit in the west,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit,
A white cloud stands upright.
The Big White Mountain Spirit in the west,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit,
A white cloud stands upright.
In the north, his home is made of black clouds,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit.
The Big Black Mountain Spirit in the east,
His home is made of black clouds,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit,
A black cloud stands upright.

(13) The Big Blue Mountain Spirit in the east,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy

hàʔó·ʔáníˑ bìyà·žį̨ gą́héńcòdàʎìžń,
čè·łkénàńtáń, čè·łkédìyìné.

nàńdìʔáí bìyà·žį̨ gą́héńcòłìcòń,
kǫ̀·yé·š łìcòí yè·bìčís gó·ką́,
čè·łkénàńtáń, čè·łkédìyìné.

nàńdìʔáí bìyà·žį̨ gą́héńcòłìcòń,
čè·łkénàńtáń, čè·łkédìyìné,
ḱòsłìcòí yà·ńʔá.

ʔìʔó·ʔáńí bìyà·žį̨ gą́héńcòłìgàń,
čè·łkénàńtáń, čè·łkédìyìné,
ḱòsłìgàí yà·ńʔá.

ʔìʔó·ʔáníˑ bìyà·žį̨ gą́héńcòłìgàń,
ḱòsłìgàí yè·bìyą̨,
čè·łkénàńtáń, čè·łkédìyìné,
ḱòsłìgàí yà·ńʔá.

náhákòsí bìyà·žį̨, kòsdìłxìłí gą́héńcòdìłxìłń
yè·bìyą̨.
náhákòsí bìyà·žį̨ gą́héńcòdìłxìłń,
ḱòsdìłxìłí yè·bìyą̨,
čè·łkénàńtáń, čè·łkédìyìné,
ḱòsdìłxìłí yà·ńʔá.

(14) hàʔó·ʔáníˑ bìyà·žį̨ gą́héń bà·šìyį̨gò·slį̨;
hàʔó·ʔáníˑ bìyà·žį̨ gą́héńcòdàʎìžń,
bà·šìyį̨gò·slį̨;
hàʔó·ʔáníˑ bìyà·žį̨ gą́héńcòdàʎìžń,
bà·šìyį̨gò·slį̨.
dį̨·gòyá šìyį̨nè hànádò·łtì,
bà·šìyį̨gò·slį̨.
hàʔó·ʔáníˑ bìyà·žį̨ gą́héńcòdàʎìžń,
čè·łkénàńtáń, čè·łkédìyìné,
bà·šìyį̨gò·slį̨.

nàńdìʔáí bìyà·žį̨ gą́héńcòłìcòń
čè·łkénàńtáń, čè·łkédìyìné,
bà·šìyį̨gò·slį̨,
bà·šìyìnè hànádò·łtì.
nàńdìʔáí bìyà·žį̨ gą́héńcòłìcòń,
čè·łkénàńtáń, čè·łkédìyìné,
bà·šìyìnè hànádò·łtì.
nàńdìʔáí bìyà·žį̨ gą́héńcòłìcòń,

Mountain Spirit.
The Big Blue Mountain Spirit in the east,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit.
The Big Yellow Mountain Spirit in the south,
His spiritually hale body is made of the yellow mirage,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit.
The Big Yellow Mountain Spirit in the south,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit,
The yellow cloud stands upright.
The Big White Mountain Spirit in the west,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit,
The white cloud stands upright.
The Big White Mountain Spirit in the west,
His home is made of white clouds,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit,
The white cloud stands upright.
In the north, the home of the Big Black Mountain Spirit is made of black clouds.
The Big Black Mountain Spirit in the north,
His home is made of black clouds,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit,
The black cloud stands upright.

(14) My songs about the Mountain Spirits in the east have been created;
The Big Blue Mountain Spirit in the east,
My songs about him have been created;
The Big Blue Mountain Spirit in the east,
My songs about him have been created.
My songs will go out to the four directions,
My songs about him have been created.
The Big Blue Mountain Spirit in the east,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit,
My songs about him have been created.
The Big Yellow Mountain Spirit in the south,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit,
My songs about him have been created,
My songs about him will go out.
The Big Yellow Mountain Spirit in the south,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit,

čè·łkénàńtáń, čè·łkédìyìné,
bà·šìyìnè hànádò·łtì.

My songs about him will go out.
The Big Yellow Mountain Spirit in the south,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit,
My songs about him will go out.

ʔìʔó·ʔáníˊ bìyà·žì gąhéńcòłìgàń,
ḱòsłìgàí yè·bìyą̀,
čè·łkénàńtáń, čè·łkédìyìné,
bà·šìyìgò·slí,
bà·šìyìnè hànádò·łtì.
ʔìʔó·ʔáníˊ bìyà·žì gąhéńcòłìgàń,
ḱòsłìgàí yè·bìyą̀,
čè·łkénàńtáń, čè·łkédìyìné,
bà·šìyìgò·slí,
bà·šìyìnè hànádò·łtì.

The Big White Mountain Spirit in the west,
His home is made of white clouds,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit,
My songs about him have been created,
My songs about him will go out.
The Big White Mountain Spirit in the west,
His home is made of white clouds,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit,
My songs about him have been created,

náhákòsí bìyà·žì gąhéńcòdìłxìłń,
ką̀·yé·š dìłxìłí yè·bìčís gó·ką́,
čè·łkénàńtáń, čè·łkédìyìné,
bà·šìyìgò·slí.
náhákòsí bìyà·žì gąhéńcòdìłxìłń,
ką̀·yé·š dìłxìłń yè·bìčís gó·ką́,
čè·łkénàńtáń, čè·łkédìyìné,
bà·šìyìgò·slí.

My songs about him will go out.
The Big Black Mountain Spirit in the north,
His spiritually hale body is made of the black mirage,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit,
My songs about him have been created.
The Big Black Mountain Spirit in the north,
His spiritually hale body is made of the black mirage,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit,
My songs about him have been created.

(15) hàʔó·ʔáníˊ bìyà·žì gąhéńcòdàǰìžń.
čè·łkénàńtáń, čè·łkédìyìné.

hàʔó·ʔáníˊ bìyà·žì gąhéńcòdàǰìžń,
čè·łkénàńtáń, čè·łkédìyìné.

hàʔó·ʔáníˊ bìyà·žì gąhéńcòdàǰìžń,
čè·łkénàńtáń, čè·łkédìyìné.

nàńdìʔáí bìyà·žì gąhéńcòłìcòń,
čè·łkénàńtáń, čè·łkédìyìné.

nàńdìʔáí bìyà·žì gąhéńcòłìcòń,
čè·łkénàńtáń, čè·łkédìyìné.

ʔìʔó·ʔáníˊ bìyà·žì gąhéńcòłìgàń,
čè·łkénàńtáń, čè·łkédìyìné.

náhákòsí bìyà·žì gąhéńcòdìłxìłń,
ḱòsdìłxìłí yè·bìyą̀.

(15) The Big Blue Mountain Spirit in the east,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit.
The Big Blue Mountain Spirit in the east,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit.
The Big Blue Mountain Spirit in the east,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit.
The Big Yellow Mountain Spirit in the south,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit.
The Big Yellow Mountain Spirit in the south,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit.
The Big White Mountain Spirit in the west,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits. the holy Mountain Spirit.
The Big Black Mountain Spirit in the north,
His home is made of black clouds,

čè·łkédìɣìné, čè·łkénàǹťáń,
bà·šìɣı̨gò·slı̨.

náhákòsí bìyà·žı̨ gı̨́héńcòdìłxìłń,
ǩòsdìłxìłí yè·bìɣı̨,
čè·łkédìɣìné, čè·łkénàǹťáń,
bà·šìɣı̨gò·slı̨.

(16) hà?ó·?ı̨́í bìyà·žı̨ gı̨́héńcòdàǹìžń,
?áɣážìťı̨lè·! góžǫ́gò ?ážìťı̨lè·!
hà?ó·?ı̨́í bìyà·žı̨ gı̨́héńcòdàǹìžń,
čè·łkénàǹťáń, čè·łkédìɣìné,
?áɣážìťı̨lè·! góžǫ́gò ?ážìťı̨lè·!

nàǹdì?áí bìyà·žı̨ gı̨́héńcòłìcòń,
čè·łkédìɣìné, čè·łkénàǹťáń,
góžǫ́gò ?ážìťı̨lè·! ?áɣážìťı̨lè·!
nàǹdì?áí bìyà·žı̨ gı̨́héńcòłìcòń,
čè·łkédìɣìné, čè·łkénàǹťáń,
góžǫ́gò ?ážìťı̨lè·! ?áɣážìťı̨lè·!

?ì?ó·?ání bìyà·žı̨ gı̨́héńcòłìgàń,
čè·łkénàǹťáń, čè·łkédìɣìné,
?áɣážìťı̨lè·! góžǫ́gò ?ážìťı̨lè·!

náhákòsí bìyà·žı̨ gı̨́héńcòdìłxìłń,
kǫ̀·ɣé·š dìłxìł yè·bìčís gó·ką́,
čè·łkédìɣìné, čè·łkénàǹťáń,
góžǫ́gò ?ážìťı̨lè·!

(17) hà?ó·?ání bìyà·žı̨ gı̨́héńcòdàǹìžń,
šà·bìł?à·ⁿdí sìlı̨,
čè·łkénàǹťáń, čè·łkédìɣìné,
bà·šìɣı̨gò·slı̨.

hà?ó·?ání bìyà·žı̨ gı̨́héńcòdàǹìžń,
čè·łkénàǹťáń, čè·łkédìɣìné,
bà·šìɣı̨gò·slı̨.

hà?ó·?ání bìyà·žı̨ gı̨́héńcòdàǹìžń,
čè·łkédìɣìné, čè·łkénàǹťáń,
bà·šìɣı̨gò·slı̨.

nàǹdì?áí bìyà·žı̨ gı̨́héńcòłìcòń,
čè·łkédìɣìné, čè·łkénàǹťáń,
bà·šìɣı̨gò·slı̨.

The holy Mountain Spirit, the leader of the Mountain Spirits,
My songs about him have been created.
The Big Black Mountain Spirit in the north,
His home is made of black clouds,
The holy Mountain Spirit, the leader of the Mountain Spirits,
My songs about him have been created.

(16) The Big Blue Mountain Spirit in the east,
He is so! He is good!
The Big Blue Mountain Spirit in the east,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit,
He is so! He is good!
The Big Yellow Mountain Spirit in the south,
The holy Mountain Spirit, the leader of the Mountain Spirits,
He is good! He is so!
The Big Yellow Mountain Spirit in the south,
The holy Mountain Spirit, the leader of the Mountain Spirits,
He is good! He is so!
The Big White Mountain Spirit in the west,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit,
He is so! He is good!
The Big Black Mountain Spirit in the north,
His spiritually hale body is made of the black mirage,
The holy Mountain Spirit, the leader of the Mountain Spirits,
He is good!

(17) The Big Blue Mountain Spirit in the east,
He has become happy over me,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit,
My songs about him have been created.
The Big Blue Mountain Spirit in the east,
The leader of the Mountain Spirits, the holy Mountain Spirit,
My songs about him have been created.
The Big Blue Mountain Spirit in the east,
The holy Mountain Spirit, the leader of the Mountain Spirits,
My songs about him have been created.
The Big Yellow Mountain Spirit in the south,
The holy Mountain Spirit, the leader of the Mountain Spirits,

nàńdı̀ʔáí bı̀yà·žı̨ gą́héńcòłı̀cońí,
čè·łkédı̀yı̀né, čè·łkénàńťáń,
bà·šı̀łʔà·ⁿdí,
bà·šı̀yı̨́gò·slı̨́.

ʔı̀ʔó·ʔáníí bı̀yà·žı̨ gą́héńcòłı̀gàń,
šà·bı̀łʔà·ⁿdí,
čè·łkédı̀yı̀né, čè·łkénàńťáń,
bà·šı̀łʔà·ⁿdí, šà·bı̀łʔà·ⁿdí,
bà·šı̀yı̀nè gò·slı̨́.

ʔı̀ʔó·ʔáníí bı̀yà·žı̨ gą́héńcòłı̀gàń,
čè·łkédı̀yı̀né, čè·łkénàńťáń,
šà·bı̀łʔà·ⁿdí, bà·šı̀łʔà·ⁿdí,
bà·šı̀yı̀nè gò·slı̨́.

náhákòsí bı̀yà·žı̨ gą́héńcòdı̀łxı̀łń,
čè·łkédı̀yı̀né, čè·łkénàńťáń,
šà·bı̀łʔà·ⁿdí, bà·šı̀łʔà·ⁿdí,
bà·šı̀yı̀nè gò·slı̨́,
bà·šı̀yı̀nè hànádò·łťı̀.

náhákòsí bı̀yà·žı̨ gą́héńcòdı̀łxı̀łń,
čè·łkédı̀yı̀né, čè·łkénàńťáń,
šà·bı̀łʔà·ⁿdí, bà·šı̀łʔà·ⁿdí,
bà·šı̀yı̀nè gò·slı̨́.

My songs about him have been created.
The Big Yellow Mountain Spirit in the south,
The holy Mountain Spirit, the leader of the Mountain Spirits,
I am happy over him,
My songs about him have been created.
The Big White Mountain Spirit in the west,
He is happy over me,
The holy Mountain Spirit, the leader of the Mountain Spirits,
I am happy over him, he is happy over me,
My songs about him have been created.
The Big White Mountain Spirit in the west,
The holy Mountain Spirit, the leader of the Mountain Spirits,
He is happy over me, I am happy over him,
My songs about him have been created.
The Big Black Mountain Spirit in the north,
The holy Mountain Spirit, the leader of the Mountain Spirits,
He is happy over me, I am happy over him,
My songs about him have been created,
My songs about him will go out.
The Big Black Mountain Spirit in the north,
The holy Mountain Spirit, the leader of the Mountain Spirits,
He is happy over me, I am happy over him,
My songs about him have been created.

43. Prayer Before Singing Mountain Spirit Songs

(1) gą́hécòdàǩı̀žń, gą́hécòłı̀cońí, gą́hécòdı̀łgàń, gą́hécòdı̀łxı̀łń: hàʔó·ʔą́ ʔážı̨ kò·yą̀, nàńdı̀ʔá ʔážı̨ kò·yą̀, ʔı̀ʔó·ʔą́ ʔážı̨ kò·yą̀, náhákòsí ʔážı̨ kò·yą̀.

43. Prayer Before Singing Mountain Spirit Songs

(1) The Big Blue Mountain Spirits, the Big Yellow Mountain Spirits, the Big White Mountain Spirits, the Big Black Mountain Spirits: their homes are in the east, their homes are in the south, their homes are in the west, their homes are in the north.

44. Prayers Recited While Preparing the gą́hé

(1) hàʔó·ʔą́í bı̀yà·žı̨ gą́hécòdàǩı̀žń,
kǫ̀·yé·š dàǩı̀ží bégò·stè·l,
ʔáí bè·kò·yą̀ yóⁿdı̀;
ńćísdı̀yı̀né,
ʔáí bè·kò·yą̀.
čè·łkédı̀yı̀né, čè·łkénàńťáń,

44. Prayers Recited While Preparing the gą́hé

(1) Big Blue Mountain Spirit in the east,
The blue mirage has been spread out,
Of that, the inside of [your] home is made;
You, whose body is holy,[1]
Of that, [your] home is made.
Holy Mountain Spirit, leader of the Mountain

šà·ńł?à·ⁿdí, nà·šłł?à·ⁿdí,
nłhłⁿdáí nà·hłhⁿdá.

kǫ̀·yé·š łłcòł bégò·stè·l,
?áí bè·kò·yą ?áí yóⁿdłšǫ;
čè·łkédłylné, čè·łkénàńťáń,
šà·ńł?à·ⁿdí, nà·šłł?à·ⁿdí.

?ł?ó·?ání błyà·žǫ gą́hécòłłgàń,
k̀òsłłgàí bè·ńćís gó·ką́;
čè·łkédłylné, čè·łkénàńťáń,
šà·ńł?à·ⁿdí, nà·šłł?à·ⁿdí,
bà·šłłgóžǫ́.

náhákòsí błyà·žǫ gą́hécòdłłxłłń,
kǫ̀·yé·š dłłxłłí bè·ńćís gó·ką́;
čè·łkédłylné, čè·łkénàńťáń,
ńćís dłyǫ.
čè·łkénàńťá, žłⁿdíń,
čè·łkédłylné.
šà·ńł?à·ⁿdí, nà·šłł?à·ⁿdí.

(2) hà?ó·?ání błyà·žǫ,
k̀òsdàłłží bè·ńćís gó·ką́;
čè·łkédłylné, čè·łkénàńťáń,
šà·ńł?à·ⁿdí, nà·šłł?à·ⁿdí,
?áyáťégò, góžǫ́.

gą́hécòłłcòń nàńdł?áí błyà·žǫ,
čè·łkénàńťáń, čè·łkédłylné,
šà·ńł?à·ⁿdí, nà·šłł?à·ⁿdí,
?áyáťégò, góžǫ́.

gą́hécòłłgàń ?ł?ó·?ą́í błyà·žǫ,
k̀òsłłgàí bè·ńćís gó·ką́;
čè·łkédłylné, čè·łkénàńťáń,
šà·ńł?à·ⁿdí, nà·šłł?à·ⁿdí,
?áyáťégò, góžǫ́.

gą́hécòdłłxłłń náhákòsí błyà·žǫ,
kǫ̀·yé·š dłłxłłí bè·ńćís gó·ką́;
čè·łkédłylné, čè·łkénàńťáń,
?áyáťégò, góžǫ́.
bà·?łłéńsǫ,

Spirits,
You are happy over me, I am happy over you,
Your life is shaking.[2]
The yellow mirage has been spread out,
Of that, the inside of [your] home is made;
Holy Mountain Spirit, leader of the Mountain Spirits,
You are happy over me, I am happy over you.
Big White Mountain Spirit in the west,
Your spiritually hale body is made of white clouds;
Holy Mountain Spirit, leader of the Mountain Spirits,
You are happy over me, I am happy over you,
I am happy over it.
Big Black Mountain Spirit in the north,
Your spiritually hale body is made of the black mirage;
Holy Mountain Spirit, leader of the Mountain Spirits,
Your body is holy.
He is leader of the Mountain Spirits, they have said,
A holy Mountain Spirit.
You are happy over me, I am happy over you.

(2) In the east,
Your spiritually hale body is made of blue clouds;
Holy Mountain Spirit, leader of the Mountain Spirits,
You are happy over me, I am happy over you,
That being so, it is good.
Big Yellow Mountain Spirit in the south,
Leader of the Mountain Spirits, holy Mountain Spirit,
You are happy over me, I am happy over you,
That being so, it is good.
Big White Mountain Spirit in the west,
Your spiritually hale body is made of white clouds;
Holy Mountain Spirit, leader of the Mountain Spirits,
You are happy over me, I am happy over you,
That being so, it is good.
Big Black Mountain Spirit in the north,
Your spiritually hale body is made of the black mirage;
Holy Mountain Spirit, leader of the Mountain Spirits,

nà·šłł?à·ⁿdí, šà·nłł?à·ⁿdí.

That being so, it is good.
I am grateful for it,
I am happy over you, you are happy over me.

(3) gą́hécòdàǰłžń hà?ó·?ánî błyà·žł,
kǫ̀·γé·š dàǰłžî bè·ńčîs gó·ką;
čè·łkédłγłné, čè·łkénàńťáń,
šà·ńł?à·ⁿdí, nà·šłł?à·ⁿdí,
dî·dî· bè·góžǫ́,
bà·?łłéńsł.

(3) Big Blue Mountain Spirit in the east,
Your spiritually hale body is made of the blue mirage;
Holy Mountain Spirit, leader of the Mountain Spirits,
You are happy over me, I am happy over you,
Of this, there is good,
I am grateful for it.

nàńdł?áî gą́hécòłłcòń,
ǩòsłłcòî bè·ńčîs gó·ką;
čè·łkédłγłné, čè·łkénàńťáń,
šà·ńł?à·ⁿdí, nà·šłł?à·ⁿdí,
bè·góžǫ́,
bà·?łłéńsł.

Big Yellow Mountain Spirit in the south,
Your spiritually hale body is made of yellow clouds;
Holy Mountain Spirit, leader of the Mountain Spirits,
You are happy over me, I am happy over you,
Of this, there is good,
I am grateful for it.

nàńdł?áî gą́hécòłłcòń,
kǫ̀·γé·š łłcòî bè·ńčîs gó·ką;
čè·łkédłγłné, čè·łkénàńťáń,
šà·ńł?à·ⁿdí, nà·šłł?à·ⁿdí,
bà·šłłgóžǫ́,
bà·?łłéńsł.

Big Yellow Mountain Spirit in the south,
Your spiritually hale body is made of the yellow mirage;
Holy Mountain Spirit, leader of the Mountain Spirits,
You are happy over me, I am happy over you,
I am happy over it,
I am grateful for it.

?ł?ó·?ą́žł gą́hécòłłgàń,
kǫ̀·γé·š łłgàî bè·ńčîs gó·ką;
čè·łkédłγłné, čè·łkénàńťáń,
šà·ńł?à·ⁿdí, nà·šłł?à·ⁿdí,
bà·šłłgóžǫ́,
bà·?łłéńsł.

Big White Mountain Spirit in the west,
Your spiritually hale body is made of the white mirage;
Holy Mountain Spirit, leader of the Mountain Spirits,
You are happy over me, I am happy over you,
I am happy over it,
I am grateful for it.

náhákòsî błyà·žł gą́hécòdłłxłłń,
kǫ̀·γé·š dłłxłłî bè·ńčîs gó·ką;
čè·łkédłγłné, čè·łkénàńťáń,
šà·ńł?à·ⁿdí, nà·šłł?à·ⁿdí,
bà·šłłgóžǫ́,
bà·?łłéńsł.

Big Black Mountain Spirit in the north,
Your spiritually hale body is made of the black mirage;
Holy Mountain Spirit, leader of the Mountain Spirits,
You are happy over me, I am happy over you,
I am happy over it,
I am grateful for it.

(4) hà?ó·?ánî błyà·žł gą́hécòdàǰłžń,
kǫ̀·γéš dàǰłžî bè·ńčîs gó·ką;
čè·łkédłγłné, čè·łkénàńťáń,
šà·ńł?à·ⁿdí, nà·šłł?à·ⁿdí,
bà·šłłgóžǫ́,

(4) Big Blue Mountain Spirit in the east,
Your spiritually hale body is made of the blue mirage;
Holy Mountain Spirit, leader of the Mountain Spirits,

bà·ʔłłéñsǫ.

nàñdłʔá błyà·žǫ́ gą́hécòłłcòń,
kǫ̀·γé·š łłcòí bè·nłčís gó·ką́;
čè·łkédłγłné, čè·łkénàñťáń,
šà·ñłʔà·ⁿdí, nà·šłłʔà·ⁿdí,
ʔáγáťégò, bà·šłłgóžǫ́,
bà·ʔłłéñsǫ.

You are happy over me, I am happy over you,
I am happy over it,
I am grateful for it.
Big Yellow Mountain Spirit in the south,
Your spiritually hale body is made of the yellow mirage;
Holy Mountain Spirit, leader of the Mountain Spirits,
You are happy over me, I am happy over you.
That being so, I am happy over it.
I am grateful for it.

ʔłʔó·ʔání błyà·žǫ́ gą́hécòłłgàń,
kǫ̀·γé·š łłgàí bè·nłčís gó·ką́;
čè·łkédłγłné, čè·łkénàñťáń,
šà·ñłʔà·ⁿdí, nà·šłłʔà·ⁿdí,
bà·šłłgóžǫ́,
bà·ʔłłéñsǫ.

Big White Mountain Spirit in the west,
Your spiritually hale body is made of the white mirage;
Holy Mountain Spirit, leader of the Mountain Spirits,
You are happy over me, I am happy over you,
I am happy over it,
I am grateful for it.

náhákòsí błyà·žǫ́ gą́hécòdłłxłłń,
kǫ̀·γé·š dłłxłłí bè·nłčís gó·ką́;
čè·łkédłγłné, čè·łkénàñťáń,
šà·ñłʔà·ⁿdí, nà·šłłʔà·ⁿdí,
bà·šłłgóžǫ́,
bà·ʔłłéñsǫ.

Big Black Mountain Spirit in the north,
Your spiritually hale body is made of the black mirage;
Holy Mountain Spirit, leader of the Mountain Spirits,
You are happy over me, I am happy over you,
I am happy over it,
I am grateful for it.

(5) hàʔó·ʔání błyà·žǫ́ gą́hécòdàťłžń,
kǫ̀·γé·š dàťłží yè·błčís gó·ką́;
čè·łkédłγłné, čè·łkénàñťáń,
šà·gołʔà·ⁿdí, bà·šłłʔà·ⁿdí,
bà·šłłgóžǫ́,
bà·ʔłłéñsǫ.

(5) The Big Blue Mountain Spirit in the east,
His spiritually hale body is made of the blue mirage;
The holy Mountain Spirit, the leader of the Mountain Spirits,
He is happy over me, I am happy over him,
I am happy over it,
I am grateful for it.

nàñdłʔá błyà·žǫ́ gą́hécòłłcòń,
kǫ̀·γé·š łłcòí yè·błčís gó·ką́;
čè·łkédłγłné, čè·łkénàñťáń,
šà·błłʔà·ⁿdí, bà·šłłʔà·ⁿdí,
bà·šłłgóžǫ́,
bà·ʔłłéñsǫ.

The Big Yellow Mountain Spirit in the south,
His spiritually hale body is made of the yellow mirage;
The holy Mountain Spirit, the leader of the Mountain Spirits,
He is happy over me, I am happy over him,
I am happy over it,
I am grateful for it.

ʔłʔó·ʔání błyà·žǫ́ gą́hécòłłgàń,
kǫ̀·γé·š łłgàí yè·błčís gó·ką́;
čè·łkédłγłné, čè·łkénàñťáń,
šà·błłʔà·ⁿdí, bà·šłłʔà·ⁿdí,
bà·šłłgóžǫ́,
bà·ʔłłéñsǫ.

The Big White Mountain Spirit in the west,
His spiritually hale body is made of the white mirage;
The holy Mountain Spirit, the leader of the Mountain Spirits,
He is happy over me, I am happy over him,

náhákòs bɪyà·žɪ̨ gą́hécòdɪ́łxɪ́łń,
kǫ̀·γé·š dɪ́łxɪ́łɪ́ yè·bɪ̀ɛ́ís gó·ką́;
čè·łkédɪ́γɪ́né, čè·łkénàńt́áń,
šà·gòł?à·ⁿdí, bà·šɪ́ł?à·ⁿdí,
bà·šɪ́łgóžǫ́,
bà·?łłéńsɪ̨.

I am happy over it,
I am grateful for it.
The Big Black Mountain Spirit in the north,
His spiritually hale body is made of the black mirage;
The holy Mountain Spirit, the leader of the Mountain Spirits,
He is happy over me, I am happy over him,
I am happy over it,
I am grateful for it.

(6) hà?ó·?ání bɪyà·žɪ̨ gą́hécòdàǎɪ́žń,
kǫ̀·γé·š dàǎɪ́žɪ́ yè·bɪ̀ɛ́ís gó·ką́;
čè·łkédɪ́γɪ́né, čè·łkénàńt́áń,
šà·bɪ́ł?à·ⁿdí, bà·šɪ́ł?à·ⁿdí,
bà·šɪ́łgóžǫ́,
bà·?łłéńsɪ̨.

(6) The Big Blue Mountain Spirit in the east,
His spiritually hale body is made of the blue mirage;
The holy Mountain Spirit, the leader of the Mountain Spirits,
He is happy over me, I am happy over him,
I am happy over it,
I am grateful for it.

nàńdɪ?á bɪyà·žɪ̨ gą́hécòłɪ́cońń,
kǫ̀·γé·š łłcòí yè·bɪ̀ɛ́ís gó·ką́;
čè·łkédɪ́γɪ́né, čè·łkénàńt́áń,
šà·bɪ́ł?à·ⁿdí, bà·šɪ́ł?à·ⁿdí,
bà·šɪ́łgóžǫ́,
bà·?łłéńsɪ̨.

The Big Yellow Mountain Spirit in the south,
His spiritually hale body is made of the yellow mirage;
The holy Mountain Spirit, the leader of the Mountain Spirits,
He is happy over me, I am happy over him,
I am happy over it,
I am grateful for it.

?ɪ?ó·?ą́ bɪyà·žɪ̨ gą́hécòłɪ́gàń,
kǫ̀·γé·š łłgàí yè·bɪ̀ɛ́ís gó·ką́;
čè·łkédɪ́γɪ́né, čè·łkénàńt́áń,
šà·bɪ́ł?à·ⁿdí, bà·šɪ́ł?à·ⁿdí.
náhákòsí bɪyà·žɪ̨ gą́hécòdɪ́łxɪ́łń,
kǫ̀·γé·š dɪ́łxɪ́ł yè·bɪ̀ɛ́ís gó·ką́;
čè·łkédɪ́γɪ́né, čè·łkénàńt́áń,
šà·bɪ́ł?à·ⁿdí, bà·šɪ́ł?à·ⁿdí,
bà·šɪ́łgóžǫ́,
bà·?łłéńsɪ̨.

The Big White Mountain Spirit in the west,
His spiritually hale body is made of the white mirage;
The holy Mountain Spirit, the leader of the Mountain Spirits,
He is happy over me, I am happy over him.
The Big Black Mountain Spirit in the north,
His spiritually hale body is made of the black mirage;
The holy Mountain Spirit, the leader of the Mountain Spirits,
He is happy over me, I am happy over him,
I am happy over it,
I am grateful for it.

45. Prayers Recited After Singing gą́hé Songs

(1) gą́héńcòdàǎɪ́žń,
k̀osdàǎɪ́žɪ́ bè·kò·γą̨,
kǫ̀·γé·š dàǎɪ́žɪ́ bè·?łłnágàzɪ,
?ášɪ̨ gòdéńlɪ́,

45. Prayer Recited After Singing gą́hé Songs

(1) Big Blue Mountain Spirit,
The home made of blue clouds,
The cross made of the blue mirage,
There, you have begun to live,

ʔášı̨, nà·γá bè·góžónı́,
ʔášı̨ bè·góžǫ́ı bà·ʔłłéńsı̨.

(2) nàńdłʔážı̨ gą́hécòłłcòń,
ḱòsłłcòı bè·ńc̀ıs gó·ką́;
čè·łkénàńt́áń, čè·łkédłγìné,
dı· nà·γáı góžǫ́gò bè·ńⁿdá.

(3) ʔłʔó·ʔą́žı gą́hécòłłgàń,
kǫ̀·γé·š łłgàı bè·ńc̀ıs gó·ką́;
čè·łkédłγìné, čè·łkénàńt́áń,
ńzà·ı bà·šłłʔà·ⁿdı́,
šłzà·ı bà·ńłʔà·ⁿdı́.

(4) náhákòsı błyà·žı̨ gą́hécòdłłxłłń,
ḱòsdłłxłłı bè·ńc̀ıs gó·ką́;
káťégò, gą́hécòdłłxłłń,
čè·łkédłγìné, čè·łkénàńt́áń,
ńzà·ı bà·šłłʔà·ⁿdı́,
šłzà·ı bà·ńłʔà·ⁿdı́,
ḱàdł ńžǫ́.

46. A Prayer Addressed to the Mountain Spirits

(1) gą́hé, čè·łkéń ńc̀ıs dłγı̨. bè·ńžǫ́gò ʔánágóλá. gòc̀ısè ʔádè·nágóλá. gògálèı káʔánágóλá.

(2) gòc̀ısè dı·ḱèh bè·nášdò·ʒàʔ. ʔıyą̀· ńnáʔ-ǯılé. ʔáłı dáxàʔyá ʔáńłǯıdó·ⁿdł·yá ʔágólá.

(3) ʔłłḱıdą́, gòǯádè gòⁿdâ· káʔánágóńλà·-náʔà. ǯłⁿdıńı. ʔıyą̀·, dò·xàʔyákà·dàhgò·sʔą́dàgò ʔánágóλá. ʔáłbą̀· ʔáńłdłšⁿdı́.

There, is the life of goodness,
I am grateful for that made of goodness there.

(2) Big Yellow Mountain Spirit in the south,
Your spiritually hale body is made of yellow clouds;
Leader of the Mountain Spirits, holy Mountain Spirit,
You live by means of the good of this life.

(3) Big White Mountain Spirit in the west,
Your spiritually hale body is made of the white mirage;
Holy Mountain Spirit, leader of the Mountain Spirits,
I am happy over your words,
You are happy over my words.

(4) Big Black Mountain Spirit in the north,
Your spiritually hale body is made of black clouds;
In that way, Big Black Mountain Spirit,
Holy Mountain Spirit, leader of the Mountain Spirits,
I am happy over your words,
You are happy over my words,
Now it is good.

46. A Prayer Addressed to the Mountain Spirits[1]

(1) Mountain Spirit, leader of the Mountain Spirits, your body is holy. By means of it, make him well again. Make his body like your own. Make him strong again.

(2) He wants to get up with all of his body. For that reason, he is performing this ceremony. Do that which he has asked of you.

(3) Long ago, it seems you restored someone's legs and eyes for them. This has been said. In the same way, make him free again from disease. That is why I am speaking to you.

II. LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

A. Introduction

Since no grammatical treatment of Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache is as yet available, it is necessary to preface the linguistic notes with a brief grammatical outline. Unless otherwise stated, the remarks following apply equally to both languages. The examples quoted are, for the most part, from Chiricahua Apache. Mescalero examples are used only when it is necessary to illustrate a point of difference between the two languages.

The orthography employed has already been described (see p. 8). One additional convention requires definition, however. In the grammatical discussions that follow, some morphemes are represented with pitch accent and others are not. The latter are to be understood as possessing neutral (variable) tone as contrasted with the inherent (invariable) tone of the former. When combined into words, the neutral toned elements ordinarily assume a low tone but, when they are followed by an inherently toned element, they assimilate to it in tone. Inherently toned morphemes never vary in tone regardless of the tones of the morphemes with which they are combined.

1. Chiricahua and Mescalero words may be divided into four principal form classes: pronouns, nouns, verbs, and particles. The criteria for this division are as follows: the structure of the word, its inflection, the nature of its prefixes, and its function in the sentence.

Pronouns are generally composed either of a single free stem or of a bound stem plus an enclitic. The pronominal stem is never inflected and, except for the distributive prefix dà·-, takes no prefixes.

Nouns fall into three major groups: the basic or "primitive" nouns, noun compounds, and nouns formed from verbs. Nouns of the first classification are composed of a theme (a stem or a stem plus prefix) which may, in some cases, be inflected for the possessive. Noun compounds vary considerably in complexity from simple combinations of two noun stems to complex constructions involving words of two or more form classes. Nouns formed from verbs may consist either of an unmodified verb functioning as a noun or of a verb form plus relative enclitic. Finally, nouns are characterized by the fact that they may take only one set of prefixes, those denoting the possessive pronoun.

Verbs have a far more complex structure. Verb themes have essentially the same construction as noun themes but differ from the latter in two important respects: first, the verb theme is always a bound morpheme whereas some nouns themes may be free forms, and, secondly, the verb theme, with few exceptions, is inflected for mode and aspect. The verb also differs from the noun in the number and variety of prefixes which may be included in its structure. Two classes of verb prefix, the derivational and paradigmatic prefixes, do not occur with nouns at all, and a third class, the pronominal objects, have a different meaning when combined with noun themes.

The fourth form class, the particle, includes a variety of forms. Some particles have a structure similar to that of the noun, others resemble verb forms. All particles, however, have this characteristic in common: their essential structure is not variable. Particles function as adverbs, numerals, conjunctions, and occasionally as adjectives.

It is clear from what has been said that Apache words are built up of two principal classes of glosseme: prefixes and themes. Prefixes may be classed as possessive and objective pronouns, used with either nouns or verbs; and as derivational

and paradigmatic prefixes, which are combined only with verb themes. Themes are structurally of two types: those composed of a stem alone, and those composed of a prefix plus stem. The latter type occurs only in nouns and verbs; the former in all form classes.

In addition to these two classes of glosseme, however, there is another less important class, the proclitics and enclitics. Proclitics may be distinguished from prefixes by the fact that they always occur before any prefix also included in a word, and because they may occur with words of any form class whereas prefixes are generally confined to words of a single form class. Enclitics always follow the stem, and, like the proclitics, may occur in words of any form class. Proclitics function as adverbial or adjectival modifiers, and enclitics as postpositions, relatives, and tense-modal indicators.

2. Pronouns are of two kinds: the independent personal pronouns and the demonstrative, interrogative, and indefinite pronouns. The former are composed either of a single free stem, monosyllabic in the singular and disyllabic in the dual, or of a stem plus the distributive prefix dà·-. The forms are identical in both languages.

Person	Singular	Dual	Distributive
1	ší	nàhí	dà·nàhí
2	ⁿdí		
3	bí	góbí	dà·bí or dà·góbí
3a	kí	kí	dà·kí

As may be seen from the above table, four persons are recognized in the singular. The 3a person is used when it is necessary to distinguish between two third persons or to refer to individuals with whom a respect relationship is maintained.[1] In the dual, there are but two forms, one denoting either the first or the second person, and the other the third person. The third person dual is, however, rarely used; most often the singular form is employed everywhere, number being inferred from the context.

It should also be pointed out that the distinction between dual and distributive is not solely a distinction of number. As a matter of fact, the dual is frequently employed in contexts in which it is obvious that a greater number than two are being referred to. When the distributive is used, there is not only the denotation of a plural but also the implication that every individual of the group participates in the action.

The pronouns are not inflected; their syntactic function may be indicated by their position in the sentence or may be inferred from the context.

3. Demonstrative pronouns are composed of a bound stem plus an enclitic. There are eight principal demonstrative stems: ʔɩ̨·- 'here (position nearest the speaker)'; ʒą̨·- 'here'; ʔá- (or ʔà·-) 'there'; yà- (yàh-) 'there, yonder'; kò- 'hereabout, thereabout'; dí- 'this'; ʔá- 'that' (related to ʔá-, ʔà·- preceding?); and ʔáyá- (ʔáyà-) 'that yonder' (related to yà- preceding?). The first five refer to places, the last three to persons or things. The former are usually found in combination with one of the following postpositions: -è· 'at, in, on'; -šɩ̨ 'from'; -žɩ̨ 'to'; and -yá, a generalized postposition functioning to link the verb with the indirect object. The latter three demonstrative stems are always combined either with the relative enclitic -í referring to things, actions, and collectivities or the corresponding relative -ń referring to persons. The following table summarizes the more frequently occurring demonstratives.

Stems	-è·	-šɩ̨	-žɩ̨	-yá
ʔɩ̨·-	ʔɩ̨·-è·	ʔɩ̨·-šɩ̨		
ʒą̨·-	ʒą̨·-è·	ʒą̨·-šɩ̨	ʒą̨·-žɩ̨	
ʔá-	ʔá-è·	ʔá-šɩ̨	ʔá-žɩ̨	
ʔà·-	ʔà·-è·	ʔà·-šɩ̨		
yà-	yà-è·	yà-šɩ̨	yà-žɩ̨	yàh-yá
kò-		kò-šɩ̨		kò-yá or kòʔ-yá

Stems	-í	-ń
dí-	dí·	díń
ʔá-	ʔáí	ʔáń
ʔáyá-	ʔáyáí	ʔayáń
ʔáyà-	ʔáyàí	ʔáyàń

[1] See Morris Edward Opler, "Chiricahua Apache Social Organization" in F. Eggan (ed.), Social Anthropology of North American Tribes (Chicago, 1937), pp. 214 et seq.

4. The interrogative and indefinite pronouns are expressed by identical forms, a context being required to distinguish them. Four of the stems, xàʔ-, xá-, xà·-, and xà·d-, occur only with enclitics; the fifth, ʔɪyâ· (also heard yâ·) may occur alone. Examples:

xàʔ-šɪ̨ gàxê· náyíńʒà· from somewhere they had brought back coffee.

xàʔ-yá-xè· ʔɪɬyà·łdɪ̀ł they went away somewhere (-xè· dubitative enclitic).

xàʔ-yá-xè· ʔɪʒàłγò where has he gone?

xá-ń šà·náyɪ̀ʔą̨ who has taken it from me?

dò·-xá-ń-yégósɪ̨-dà no one knows about them (dò·-...-dà negative; yégósɪ̨ they know about them).

xá-ń bɪ̀ḱèhgòdà·ⁿdáń whoever is in charge of our lives.

dò·-xá-dą̨-dà·ʔɪ̨-dà-í that which they had never seen before (dò·-...-dà negative, -dą̨ at that time, dà·ʔɪ̨ they see it, -í relative enclitic).

dò·-xá-šɪ̨-łàʔʒóláháťé-dà it was impossible to get one from anywhere (xá-šɪ̨ from anywhere).

dá-xá-žɪ̨ always (literally: to just any time).

xà·-è· cénà·γáná where is there a rolling stone?

dá-xà·-è· ʔɪɬyàłcé·łè· wherever you see one another.

xà·d-ń xé·ł šà·náyɪ̀ńʔą̨ who has taken the pack from me?

dá-xà·d-ń ḱè·šńⁿdɪ̀·ń anyone whom one hates.

xà·d-í ńkàʔgò what are your arrows?

dá-xà·d-í dà·ʒɪ̀yą̨í anything that they eat.

ʔɪyâ·-šɪ̨ yɪ̀yą̨šɪ̨ what does he eat? (-šɪ̨ dubitative enclitic).

ʔɪyâ· ʔáťéí whatever it was.

ʔɪyâ· ʔɪsťèńníʔɪ̨·í something that I have left over there.

ʔɪyâ· ńⁿdí what did you say?

5. The nouns may be divided into the following groups: basic nouns, nouns with constant possessor, thematic nouns, verbal abstracts, and compound nouns.

Basic nouns are those composed of a single free theme: ʔá 'fog'; ʔé·ʔ 'coat'; ḱòs 'cloud'; tó 'water'; ḱà· 'arrow'.

Included in this class are certain nouns composed of a stem plus a suffix which cannot be isolated: tà·žè 'chicken'; tàłé 'cedar'; gą̨hé 'supernaturals of the mountains'; kéhè· 'stick (or moccasin) game'.

When basic nouns are preceded by a possessive pronoun prefix, they sometimes alter in form. Such alternations are as follows: an initial voiceless spirant may become voiced, a final voiceless spirant may become voiced, final consonants other than voiceless spirants may change, and a vocalic suffix may be added. Examples: ʔé·ʔ 'coat', bɪ̀-ʔéd-è 'his coat' (bɪ̀- 'his'); ťá 'feather', bɪ̀-ťàʔ 'his feather'; ḱà· 'arrow', bɪ̀-ḱàʔ 'his arrow'; bé·š 'knife', bɪ̀-béž-è 'his knife'; xè·ł 'pack', bɪ̀-γé·ł 'his pack'; łɪ̀ 'smoke', bɪ̀-lɪ̀d-è 'his smoke'.

Nouns with constant possessor are composed of a single bound stem (generally monosyllabic but also disyllabic) plus a possessive pronoun prefix. Nouns of this classification fall into three sub-groups.

a. Body part nouns: šɪ̀-cɪ̀· 'my head' (šɪ̀- 'my'); šɪ̀-žádè 'my leg'; šɪ̀-kè· 'my foot'; šɪ̀-ⁿdâ· 'my eye'. With nouns of this group it is possible to distinguish between alienable and inalienable possession. Thus, for example, šɪ̀-cɪ̀· 'my head' refers to the head which is a part of my body but šɪ̀-ʔɪ̀-cɪ̀· 'my head' (ʔɪ̀- indefinite possessor) refers to a head originally a part of someone's body but now in my possession.

b. Kinship terms: šɪ̀-má 'my mother'; šɪ̀-tà· 'my father'; šɪ̀-ḱɪs 'my sibling of same sex'; šɪ̀-bé·žè 'my stepfather'.

c. Nouns denoting locality (the independent postpositions): bɪ̀-γɛ̀ʔ 'its inside, inside of it'; bɪ̀-čɪ̨· 'toward it'; bɪ̀-čą̨ 'away from it'; bɪ̀-ká 'its top, surface; on top of it'.

In compounds, nouns with constant possessor sometimes occur without the prefix: cɪ̀·-ťá 'top of the head' (cɪ̀·- 'head', -ťá 'top'); dá-γɛ̀ʔ 'region of the throat' (dá- 'chin', found only in compounds; -γɛ̀ʔ 'inside'); dá-γà· 'beard' (-γà· 'hair'). Some compounds of this sort, however, also require a constant possessor: šɪ̀-ⁿdɪ̀·-čɪ̀ń 'my malar bones' (ⁿdɪ̀·- 'face', -čɪ̀ń 'bone'); šɪ̀-ⁿdá-čɪ̀ń 'my supraorbitals' (ⁿdá- 'eye'. Note that the form of the word for eye is different when it occurs outside the compound; cf. šɪ̀-ⁿdâ· 'my eye').

Thematic nouns are composed of a prefix plus

a stem. The prefix cannot be isolated from the stem in meaning. Examples: dì-béhé 'sheep'; yá-tì 'talk, conversation'; ná-ťòh 'tobacco'; gò-tál 'ceremony'; kò·-γą̀ (also gò·-γą̀) 'tipi', | wickiup, home'; kò·-tà (also gò·-tà) 'an encampment'. These nouns do not alter their forms in the possessive: šì-dìbéhé 'my sheep'; šì-kò·γą̀ 'my home'; šì-náťòh 'my tobacco'.

Some verbal abstracts are verb forms which function as nouns; others are verb forms plus a relative enclitic. Examples: nà·ťá 'chief, leader; he leads, directs'; ʔéñťı̨ 'witch; he is a witch'; gòłgà 'plain, clearing; place is white'; dìγı̨ 'shaman, ceremony, spiritual power; it is holy'; šìłnà·ʔà·š 'my spouse; he (or she) lives with me'; łìbá-ń 'a class of supernaturals' (lì-bá 'he is gray', -ń relative); hàʔdì·ʔá-ń 'singer' (hàʔdì·ʔá 'he customarily sings'). Some nouns of this class are formed by adding a postposition to a verb form: hàʔì·ʔáh-yá 'east' (hàʔì·ʔá 'the sun customarily moves upward'; -yá 'place where'; -h- ?); nàñdìʔáh-yá 'south' (nàñdìʔá 'the sun customarily starts to turn').

Noun compounds are very common in both languages and occur in a wide variety of forms. In this brief discussion, only a few of the more frequently occurring types can be described.

a. Noun plus noun: cì·-ťá 'top of the head' (cì·- 'head', -ťá 'top'), dá-γà· 'beard' (dá- 'chin', -γà· 'hair'), łı̨-γèʔ 'underground' (łı̨- 'ground', -γèʔ 'inside'), tó-zìs 'water bag' (tó 'water', -zìs 'bag'), bé·š-ċà· 'bucket' (bé·š 'metal', ċà· 'basket'), ǩà·-kàł 'skirt' (ǩà·- 'buttocks', -kàł 'leather').

b. Noun plus verb: cı̨-skà· 'place name' (cı̨ 'wood', -skà· > sìkà· 'a clump (e.g. of trees) lie', tó-sìkı̨ 'lake' (tó 'water', sìkı̨ 'something in a container lies'), tó-ńlı̨ 'river' (ńlı̨ 'it flows'), cı̨-ñǩìz 'species hard wood' (ñǩìz 'it is hard').

c. Noun plus verb plus relative enclitic. In compounds of this type, three relative enclitics occur: -í and -ń which have been discussed before (see § 2) and -é, an archaic relative. Compounds employing -é frequently involve archaic forms of the verb as well. tó-nò·gày-é 'Dripping Springs (a place name)' (tó 'water', nò·gày-, an archaic form of the verb nò·gà 'whiteness moves downward'), łı̨γèʔ-nà·ʔìⁿdìl-é 'gopher' (łı̨γèʔ 'underground', nà·ʔìⁿdìl 'he scatters it about'), màì-dàǩìž-é 'fox' (màì 'coyote', dàǩìž 'it is blue, gray'), cé-ñtè·l-í 'flat rock' (cé 'rock', ñtè·l 'it is flat'), ʔísà·-dìhⁿdí-í 'drum' (ʔí-sà· 'pot', dìhⁿdí 'a noise is made'), nà·dà-hà·sʔá-í 'a sacred mountain' (nà·dà 'mescal', hà·sʔá 'it extends upward'), ⁿdé-nà·góńłťé-ń 'devil' (ⁿdé 'person', nà·góńłťé 'he is bad').

Other and more complex compounds exist in addition to those described above. Numerous examples of these are analyzed in the notes.

6. Only one set of prefixes may be combined with the noun. These are the possessive pronoun prefixes.

Person	Singular	Dual	Distributive
1	ši-	nàhi-	dà·nàhi-
2	ni-	nàh-	dà·nàh-
3	bi-	bi-	dà.bi-
3a	go-	go-	dà·go-
Indef.	ʔi-	ʔi-	dà·ʔi-

It is clear that these forms differ in only two respects from the independent personal pronouns (see § 2): the possessive prefixes are all bound forms whereas the independent pronouns are free morphemes, and the possessive prefixes have neutral tone whereas the independent pronouns have inherent tone. In addition, one of the persons recognized in the possessive series, the indefinite third person, does not occur independently. This prefix is used either of an unknown third person possessor or where it is not necessary to emphasize the possessor.

The variation between nàhi- and nàh- in the first and second persons dual and distributive cannot be explained. As indicated, the dual third person is generally expressed by the third person singular prefix bi-. In some cases, however, a separate dual prefix is found, góbi-.

7. The verb may be divided into two parts: the theme, which is composed either of a classifier plus stem or of a thematic prefix plus classifier plus stem; and the prefix complex.

The thematic prefixes do not vary in form but remain the same in all the forms of the verb. Stems, however, are inflected for mode and aspect. Voice distinctions are made primarily by change

of classifier, a prefixed element appearing just before the initial consonant of the stem. Four such classifiers are discernible: zero, -ł-, -d-, and -l-.

Verbs with zero classifiers may be neuter intransitive, neuter transitive, active intransitive or active transitive. Thus, sì?ą́ 'a round object has position' (si- perfective prefix, -?ą́ neuter intr. stem), yà?ı̨ 'he sees it' (yà- > yi- third person object plus the progressive mode prefix, -?ı̨ neuter tr. stem), ?ìdì?à· 'a round object starts to move' (?i- deictic prefix, di- inceptive, -?à· imperfective stem, act. intr.), yìdì?à· 'he starts to carry a round object' (yi- third person object, di- inceptive, -?à· imperfective stem, act. tr.) all have the zero classifier.

Some zero class intransitives may be transitivized by the addition of the -ł- classifier. Compare: sì?ą́ 'a round object has position' with sí ł?ą́ 'I have a round object in position' (sí- perfective first person); sítı̨ 'I lie' with sí ł-tı̨ 'I have an animate object in position'; ńtè· 'he lies down' (ń- terminative prefix, -tè· imperfective stem, act. intr.) with nàłtè· 'he carries a living object about' (nàł- > nà·- 'about' plus yi- third person object, -ł-tè· imperfective stem, act. tr.); hìbé·ž 'it boils' (hi- peg prefix, -bé·ž imperfective stem, act. intr.) with yìłbé·ž 'he boils it' (yi- third person object, -ł-bé·ž imperfective stem, act. tr.).

This, however, is not true in all cases. Some transitives formed from intransitives do not add the -ł- classifier but retain the zero classifier. Compare: ?ìdì?à· 'a round object begins to move' with yìdì?à· 'he starts to carry a round object'; sìtą́ 'a long slender object has position' (-tą́ neuter intr. stem) with ńyíńtą́ 'he has put a long slender object down' (ń- 'down', yi- third person object, n- perfective, -tą́ perfective stem, act. tr.). Furthermore, there are a number of intransitive verbs with -ł- classifier: hìłkà· 'day is dawning', ?ìłxòš 'he is sleeping', ?ì·łxá·š 'he is about to fall asleep'.

All passive verbs have either the -d- or the -l- classifier. Those derived from zero class transitives employ the former, and those derived from -ł- class transitives employ the latter.

In Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache, however, the -d- classifier has been lost as such. Its presence can only be detected in verbs whose stems begin with ?-, d-, y-, γ-, z-, ž-, or l-. In these verbs, the -d- has combined with the initial stem consonant as follows:

-d- classifier plus:	?-	>	ť-
	ⁿd-	>	hⁿd-
	y-	>	d-
	γ-	>	ǵ-
	z-	>	ʒ-
	ž-	>	ǯ-
	l-	>	λ-

The -l- classifier, on the other hand, has become -ł- in Chiricahua and Mescalero. Consequently, most passives in these languages would be formally indistinguishable from zero and -ł- class verbs were it not for the fact that other alternations characterize them. One is that the passive form does not include the third person pronoun object required in all third persons of transitive verbs. Another is that all -d- and -l- class verbs take the same subject pronoun series in the perfective paradigm that they take in the other paradigms whereas zero and -ł- class verbs have a distinctive set of subject pronouns in the perfective paradigm.

Examples: hìťà·ł 'it is being chewed' (cf. yì?à·ł 'he chews it'), nè·sťı̨ 'it has been stolen' (cf. yìnè·s?ı̨ 'he has stolen it'), hìhⁿdìž 'it is being plucked' (cf. yìⁿdìž 'he plucks it'), dà·hìhⁿdí·ł 'several objects are being scattered about' (cf. dà·yìⁿdí·ł 'he scatters several objects about'), hìdą́ 'it is being eaten' (cf. yì-yą́ 'he eats it'), hìǵą́ 'he is being killed' (cf. yìγą́ 'he kills him'), hàʒǫ́·s 'it is being pulled out' (cf. hàlzǫ́·s 'he pulls it out'), hóǯí 'he is named' (cf. yóží 'he names him'), ?áλà· 'it has been made so' (cf. ?áyílà· 'he has made it so'), nílì?àh 'it is being butchered' (cf. ńyìłì?àh 'he butchers it').

Not all -d- and -l- class verbs are passives. There are a number of prefixes which require the -d- or -l- form of the stem regardless of the voice of the verb. Examples: nádìšdá 'I start to go again and again' (cf. dìšá < dì-š-yá 'I'm about to start'; the prefix ná- iterative, requires the -d- class), ?ìłǵóǯǫ́ 'they love one another' (cf. bìłńžǫ́ 'he loves you'; ?ìł-, reciprocal prefix requires the -d- class), ná·dìš-

gá·ł 'I'll look again' (cf. dlšxá·ł 'I'll look'; ná·- 'again' requires the -d- class), náñšgè· 'I'll carry it back' (cf. ñšxè· 'I'll bring it'; ná- 'back' requires the -d- class).

The classifiers and their functions may, then, be summarized as follows:

I. Zero class verbs.
  A. Intransitive.
  B. Transitive.
II. -ł- class verbs.
  A. Transitives derived from verbs of class I A.
  B. Intransitives.
III. -d- class verbs.
  A. Passives derived from verbs of class I B.
  B. Verbs having -d- form because of the prefix complex.
IV. -l- class verbs.
  A. Passives derived from verbs of class II A.
  B. Verbs having -l- form because of the prefix complex.

8. The verb stem is generally composed either of a consonant plus vowel or of a consonant plus vowel plus consonant. Variations in the final consonant and in the quality, pitch accent, and length of the stem vowel indicate differences in mode and aspect. Five modes are distinguished: the imperfective, perfective, progressive, iterative, and optative. In addition, four aspects may be distinguished: the momentaneous, continuative, repetitive, and semelfactive. No stem, however, has a distinct form for each of these modes and aspects. In the first place, most stems are conjugated only for the five modes and, of those that are conjugated for aspect, few distinguish between more then two aspectival forms. Secondly, many verbs have the same stem form in each conjugation. In general, then, the number of stem forms for any given verb rarely exceeds eight.

The stem variations are highly irregular and it will be impossible to list here all of the possible variations. A few examples will suffice to illustrate the commoner types. In the following examples, the stems are listed in this order: imperfective, perfective, progressive, iterative, and optative. Where variant forms for aspect are found, these are marked.

-ʔàh; -ʔàh; -ʔàh; -ʔàh; -ʔàh 'to butcher' (-ł- class, act. tr.)

-ťè·; -ťè·; -ťè·ł; -ťè·; -ťè· 'to handle a board-like object' (-ł- class, act. tr.)

-ʔà·; -ʔá; -ʔá·ł; -ʔá; -ʔà· 'a noise is heard' (zero class, act. intr.)

-ká (mom.), -kà (cont.); -kà; -kàł; -kà; -ká 'several move' (zero class, act. intr.)

-γè· (mom.), -γò (cont.); -γò; -γòł; -γò; -γè· 'to move quickly, to run' (-ł- class, act. intr.)

-lé; -lá; -lé·ł; -lé; -lé (mom.), -là? (cont.) 'to handle a rope-like object' (zero class, act. tr.)

-čǫ·; -čą·; -čǫ·ł; -čǫ·; -čǫ· 'to defecate' (zero class, act. intr.)

-ǩó; -ǩǫ; -ǩó·ł; -ǩó; -ǩó 'to tie, bind' (zero class, act. tr.)

-ʔà· (mom.), -ʔá (cont.); -ʔą; -ʔá·ł; -ʔá; -ʔà· 'to handle a round object' (zero class, act. tr.)

-γé; -γǫ; -γé·ł; -γé; -γé 'to kill one' (-ł- class, act. tr.)

-zé; -zą; -zé·ł; -zé; -zà? 'a movement of people takes place' (zero class, act. intr.)

-γè· (mom.), -γé (cont.); -γǫ; -γé·ł; -γé; -γè· 'to carry a burden' (zero class, act. tr.)

-bǫ· (mom.), -bǫ? (cont.); -bą; -bǫ·ł; -bǫ; -bǫ· 'to win a game' (-ł- class, act. tr.)

-tàł; -tàł; -tàł; -tàł; -tàł 'to burst, explode' (-ł- class, act. intr.)

-ʔòł; -ʔè·l; -ʔòł; -ʔòł; -ʔòł 'to spread out' (-ł- class, act. tr.)

-dè·s; -dè·z; -dls; -dls; -dè·s 'to singe' (-ł- class, act. tr.)

-ʔè·š; -ʔè·ž; -ʔlš; -ʔlš; -ʔè·š 'to string beads' (zero class, act. tr.)

-bà·ł; -bà·l; -bàł; -bàł; -bà·ł 'to hang suspended' (zero class, act. intr.)

-bą·s; -bą·z; -bąs; -bąs; -bą·s 'to become round' (zero class, act. intr.)

-ʔà·š; -ʔá·ž; -ʔàš; -ʔàš; -ʔà·š 'two move' (zero class, act. intr.)

-ʔè·ł; -ʔé·l; -ʔòł; -ʔòł; -ʔè·ł 'to float' (zero class, act. intr.)

-ʔé·s; -ʔè·z; -ʔls; -ʔls; -ʔé·s 'to step about' (-ł- class, act. intr.)

-ǩá·š (mom.), -ǩàš (cont.); -ǩà·ž (mom.), -ǩàš (cont.); -ǩàš; -ǩàš; -ǩá·š (mom.), -ǩàš (cont.) 'to sharpen' (zero class, act. tr.)

-?ɩ·ɬ; -?ɩ·l; -?ɩ·ɬ; -?ɩ·ɬ; -?ɩ·ɬ 'to copulate' (zero class, act. tr.)

9. The prefix complex of the verb includes three types of prefix: derivational prefixes, object pronoun prefixes, and paradigmatic prefixes. These occur in the following order:

1. Derivational prefixes. Only a few derivational prefixes occur in this position. Most of them are found in position 3.

2. Object pronouns when they are followed by postpositions.

3. Derivational prefixes including the postpositions. The latter precede all other prefixes except those occurring in position 1.

4. The paradigmatic prefix for the iterative mode.

5. The distributive prefix dà·-. This may refer either to the subject or the object pronoun. The reference is made explicit by the context.

6. Object pronouns when functioning as direct objects.

7. The deictic prefixes: ʒi- 'a person subject', go- 'place subject', and ?i- 'indefinite subject'.

8. Two or three derivational prefixes occur in this position. These are rather generalized in meaning and contrast sharply with the derivational prefixes of positions 1 and 3.

9. The paradigmatic prefix for the future tense. This is always followed by the prefix for the progressive mode.

10. Modal prefixes for the perfective, progressive, and optative modes. The so-called peg element (see §13) also occurs in this position.

11. Subject pronoun prefixes.

12. The classifier followed by the stem. Thematic prefixes, when present, occur in position 3.

10. Derivational prefixes, as the name implies, add a measure of concrete significance to the theme. They differ from thematic prefixes in that they are not indissolubly a part of the theme but may be found with a variety of themes. There are probably as many derivational prefixes and prefix combinations as there are stems. To illustrate their use, let us take the theme -?à·, -?á, -?á·ɬ, -?á, -?à· 'to handle a round object' (zero class, act. tr.) and see the variety of meanings obtainable by altering its derivational prefixes.

0-à· -ni-... 'to give a round object to someone' (0 'any object pronoun', à·- 'to', ni- 'completive')

?áh-... 'to put a round object into (e.g., a hole)' (?áh- 'in, into')

dàh-... 'to put a round object up' (dàh- 'up, on top')

di-... 'to begin to carry a round object' (di- inceptive)

nà·-... 'to carry a round object about' (nà·- 'about, here and there')

ná-di-... 'to pick up a round object' (ná-di- 'upward')

ná-ni-... 'to bring a round object back' (ná- 'back', ni- completive)

nɩ-ni-... 'to put a round object down' (nɩ- 'down', ni- completive)

hà-... 'to take a round object out' (hà- 'out')

cé-... 'to put a round object in the fire' (cé- 'in the fire')

Though the derivational prefixes are not conjugated, they do have some relational significance. Thus, certain derivational prefixes require the conjunct form of the imperfective paradigm, and others the disjunct form (see §13). Similarly, the derivational prefixes seem to determine, in part at least, which of the three perfective paradigms the verb is to employ. Thus, for example, the prefix di- 'inceptive' causes the verb to which it is attached to take the si- perfective whereas the prefix di- employed with certain themes referring to speaking or making a noise requires the hi- perfective (see §14). Finally, the question of aspect seems definitely bound up with the derivational prefixes. The di- 'inceptive' always requires the momentaneous aspect of the verb (e. g., yɩdɩ?à· 'he starts to carry a round object'; -?à· mom. imperfective stem) and the prefix nà·- 'about' the continuative aspect (e. g., nàɩ?á 'he carries a round object about'; -?á cont. imperfective stem).

11. The object pronoun prefixes are as follows:

Person	Singular	Dual	Distributive
1	ši-	nàhi-	dà·nàhi-
2	ni-		
3	bi-	góbi-	dà·bi-, dà·góbi-
	yi-	góyi-	dà·yi-, dà·góyi-
3a	go-	go-	da·go-
Indef.	ʔi-	ʔi-	dà·ʔi-

The reflexive pronoun is ʔá- or ʔád-, the former preceding a consonant, the latter a vowel. The reciprocal prefix is ʔɪ̀ɬ-.

The two third person prefixes are distinguished as follows. The third person object is ordinarily indicated by zero when the subject is other than third person, and by yi- when the subject is also third person. Some verbs, however, require the third person to be expressed in all forms; in these, the prefix bi- is employed when the subject is other than third person.

When any of the prefixes are followed by a vocalic suffix, they lose their vowels. The 3a prefix, under such circumstances, becomes k-.

12. There are two series of subjective pronouns, as follows:

	Chiricahua		Mescalero	
Person	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)
Sg. 1	š-	í-	š-	í-
Sg. 2	ñ-	ñ-	ñ-	ñ-
	ɣ́-		ɣ̨́-	
Sg. 3	zero	zero	zero	zero
Du. 1	ɣ̀· (d)-	ɣ̀· (d)-	ɣ̨̀· (d)-	ɣ̨̀· (d)-
Du. 2	àh-	à·-	àh-	à·-

Series (b) is employed in the perfective mode of all but -d- and -l- class verbs, and series (a) in all other modes and in the perfective mode of -d- and -l- class verbs. Of the two forms for the second person singular, ñ- is used only in the disjunct paradigm of the imperfective mode (see § 13). In all other paradigms the second person is indicated by a high tone on the vowel of the preceding prefix (a high tone and nasalization in Mescalero).

As may be seen from the table, the mark of the first person dual is a lengthening and low tone on the vowel of the preceding prefix followed by the consonant -d-. This consonant, however, never occurs as such but either becomes -h- or zero or merges with the classifier or stem consonant which follows it.

First person dual plus:	Chiricahua	Mescalero
Classifier -ɬ-	ɣ̀·ɬ-	ɣ̨̀·ɬ-
Stem consonant ʔ-	ɣ̀·t-	ɣ̨̀·t-
y-	ɣ̀·d-	ɣ̨̀·d-
ɣ-	ɣ̀·g-	ɣ̨̀·g-
z-	ɣ̀·ʒ-	ɣ̨̀·ʒ-
ž-	ɣ̀·ǯ-	ɣ̨̀·ǯ-
l-	ɣ̀·λ-	ɣ̨̀·λ-

The first person dual plus any other stem consonant results in either ɣ̀·h- plus stem consonant (ɣ̨̀·h- plus stem consonant in Mescalero) or in ɣ̀·- plus stem consonant (ɣ̨̀·- plus stem consonant in Mescalero).

The 3a person, place, and indefinite subjects are expressed by the deictic prefixes ǯi- (či- in Mescalero), go-, and ʔi-, respectively.

13. The imperfective paradigm is ordinarily characterized by the absence of a modal prefix. When a verb form includes other prefixes, then, these are united directly with the subject pronoun prefixes to form the conjunct imperfective paradigm. In the table that follows, v stands for the vowel of the preceding prefix.

Person	Chiricahua	Mescalero
Sg. 1	-ɣ̀š-	-ɣ̀š-
Sg. 2	-ɣ́-	-ɣ̨́-
Sg. 3	-ɣ̀-	-ɣ̀-
Sg. 3a	-vǯɪ̀-	-včɪ̀-
Place	-vgò-	-vgò-
Indef.	-vʔɪ̀-	-vʔɪ̀-
Du. 1	-ɣ̀· (d)-	-ɣ̨̀· (d)-
Du. 2	-vàh-	-vàh-

When the verb has no thematic or derivational prefixes, it takes the disjunct imperfective paradigm.

Person	Chiricahua	Mescalero
Sg. 1	hɪ̀š-	hɪ̀š-
Sg. 2	ñ-	ñ-
Sg. 3	hɪ̀-	hɪ̀-
Sg. 3a	ǯɪ̀-	čɪ̀-
Place	gò-	gò-
Indef.	ʔɪ̀-	ʔɪ̀-
Du. 1	hɪ̀· (d)-	hɪ̨̀· (d)-
Du. 2	hàh-	hàh-

As may be seen from the above table, this para-

digm requires a prefix hi- (called the peg element) in all but the second and 3a persons and when the place and indefinite pronouns are used. Note also that the second person singular pronoun is ñ- in this paradigm. In transitive verbs, a prefixed object pronoun will replace the peg element. Thus, for example, hì-š-bé·ž 'I boil it' (3rd person pronoun is zero), nì-š-bé·ž 'I boil you' (ni- second person object), ší-ł-bé·ž 'you boil me' (note that ši-, the first person object, requires the conjunct form of the second person subject), yì-ł-bé·ž 'he boils him' (yi- third person object).

A third imperfective paradigm is found in verbs with derivational prefixes which require the disjunct form.

Person	Chiricahua	Mescalero
Sg. 1	-ỳ·š-	-ỳ·š-
Sg. 2	-vñ-	-vñ-
Sg. 3	-ỳ·-	-ỳ·-
Sg. 3a	-vǯì-	-včì-
Place	-vgð-	-vgð-
Indef.	-vʔì-	-vʔì-
Du. 1	-ỳ· (d)-	-ỵ· (d)-
	-vhì· (d)-	-vhỵ· (d)-
Du. 2	-à·h-	-à·h-

In this paradigm, the vowel of the prefix is lengthened, presumably because of the disappearance of the peg element hi-, in all but the second and 3a persons singular and when the place and indefinite pronouns are used. Here, too, when the verb is transitive, a prefixed pronoun object will cause the paradigm to go over to the conjunct form.

Neuter verbs denoting states or qualities undefined as to time are conjugated in the imperfective paradigm. Examples: łi-ni-...-gàì 'to be white', łi-ni-...-čí 'to be red', łi-ni-...-ḱà· 'to be fat', ni-...-ⁿdè·z 'to be long, tall', ʔá-ni-...-ťé 'to be thus, so'.

The imperfective mode of the active voice also takes the imperfective paradigm. This mode denotes activities in the process or activities about to fulfill themselves. Examples: ḱìdàsàhʔà· 'you two tie a fabric on him' (ḱì- 'on', dàs- > dàh- 'top', àh- second person dual, -ʔà· 'to handle a fabric', imperf. stem), ñḿʔà· 'put the round object down' (ñ- 'down', ḿ- > ni- completive plus second person singular pronoun, -ʔà· 'to handle a round object', imperf. stem), šàḿ-ʔà· 'give the round object to me' (šà- > ši- first person object plus à·- 'to', ḿ- > ni- completive plus second person subject).

14. There are three perfective paradigms, the si- perfective, the hi- perfective, and the ni- perfective. Zero and -ł- class verbs employ a distinctive set of subject pronouns in the perfective mode (see §12) but -d- and -l- class verbs use the same pronouns as in the other modes.

The si- perfective paradigm is as follows:

Person	Zero or -ł- class	-d- and -l- class
Sg. 1	sí-	sìš-
Sg. 2	síñ-	síñ-
Sg. 3	sì-	sì-
Sg. 3a	ǯì·s- (Mesc. čì·s-)	ǯì·s- (Mesc. čì·s-)
Place	gð·s-	gð·s-
Indef.	ʔì·s-	ʔì·s-
Du. 1	sì· (d)-	sì· (d)-
	sỵ· (d)- (Mesc.)	sỵ· (d)- (Mesc.)
Du. 2	sà·-	sàh-

In the 3a person and when the place and indefinite pronouns are used, the perfective prefix si- loses its vowel causing the vowel of the preceding element to lengthen compensatively. The same thing occurs in the third persons of transitive verbs: yi- third person object plus si- > yì·s-. There are numerous other instances where prefixes combine with the si- perfective prefix to produce irregularities in form. These will be explained in the notes in the texts.

The hi- perfective paradigm:

Person	Chiricahua		Mescalero	
Sg. 1	hó·-	hðš-	hó·-	hðš-
Sg. 2	hóñ-	hóñ-	hóñ-	hóñ-
Sg. 3	hó·-	hó·-	hǫ́·-	hǫ́·-
		hà-		hà-
Sg. 3a	ǯó·-	ǯà-	čǫ́·-	čà-
Place	gó·-	gà-	gǫ́·-	gà-
Indef.	ʔó·-	ʔà-	ʔǫ́·-	ʔà-
Du. 1	hð· (d)-	hð· (d)-	hǫ· (d)-	hǫ· (d)-
Du. 2	hà·-	hà·h-	hà·-	hà·h-

As may be seen in the case of the 3a person and in the place and indefinite pronouns, the initial h- of this prefix is lost when it is preceded by another prefix. I cannot explain the variant form hà- in the third persons of the -d- and -l- verbs. Other variant forms also occur but

these will be treated in the notes to the texts.

The ni- perfective paradigm:

Person	Chiricahua		Mescalero	
Sg. 1	ní-	nìš-	ní-	nìš-
Sg. 2	ñ·-	ñ·-	ñ·-	ñ·-
Sg. 3	ń -	ń-	ń-	ń-
		ǵ-		ǵ-
Sg. 3a	ǯíń-	ǯíń-	číń-	číń-
		ǯí-		čí-
Place	ǵóń-	ǵóń-	ǵóń-	ǵóń-
Indef.	ʔíń-	ʔíń-	ʔíń-	ʔíń-
Du. 1	ñ·(d)-	ñ·(d)-	ñ·(d)-	ñ·(d)-
Du. 2	nà·-	nàh-	nà·-	nàh-

The above is the regular form of the ni- perfective paradigm. There are, however, numerous variant forms depending upon the nature of the preceding prefix. These will be explained as they occur in the notes to the texts.

The perfective paradigms, like those for the imperfective, serve two functions: to form neuter verbs and to form the perfective mode of active and passive verbs. The imperfective neuters, it will be remembered, defined states or qualities without reference to time or preceding action. Perfective neuters, however, define states or qualities which have resulted from preceding action. The si- perfective is used when a durative static notion is implied. Thus: sìʔą́ 'a round object lies, has position' (-ʔą́ 'a round object moves'), sìdá 'he is sitting, is seated' (-dá 'one person sits'), sìzą́ 'he is standing' (-zą́ 'to stand'). The hi- perfective is employed when an inceptive static notion is implied: dìcą́-ʔó·-ʔá-í 'a standing tree' (ìcą́ 'tree', ʔó·- > ʔi- indefinite subject plus hi- perfective, -ʔá 'a rigid object has extension', -í relative), zà·-hǒ·-ʔá-í 'bit (of a bridle)' (zà·- 'mouth', hǒ·- > ha- 'out' plus perfective prefix). Finally, the ni- perfective is used when a completive static notion is to be expressed: nà·-ʔń-ʔá 'bridge' (nà·- 'across', ʔń- > ʔi- indefinite subject plus ni- perfective, -ʔá 'a rigid object has exension), ǵóń-ʔá 'an arroyo' (ǵóń- is the ni- perfective, place subject; -ʔá 'a rigid object has extension')

The perfective mode of the active and passive verb distinguish an action that has become complete. The form of the perfective paradigm is determined by the meaning of the derivational prefixes and the theme. Thus, nà·-sí-yá 'I have moved about' (nà·- 'about', -yá 'one person moves') may be contrasted with hà-ó·-yá 'I have come out (e.g., of a hole)' (hà- 'out') and ñ-ní-yá 'I have arrived, I have stopped moving' (nì- 'to an end').

15. The progressive paradigm is formed by a prefix ho-. The subject pronouns are the same as those of the conjunct imperfective paradigm.

Person	Chiricahua	Mescalero
Sg. 1	hðš-	hðš-
Sg. 2	hó-	hǫ́-
Sg. 3	hð-	hð-
Sg. 3a	ǯà-	čà-
Place	gà-	gà-
Indef.	ʔà-	ʔà-
Du. 1	hð·(d)-	hǫ·(d)-
Du. 2	hàh-	hàh-

The progressive paradigm functions primarily in the progressive mode of active and passive verbs. Here it signifies action carried on while going along. Examples: hðšʔá·ł 'I am carrying a round object' (-ʔá·ł, progressive stem 'to handle a round object'), hðłγðł 'I am running' (-γðł, prog. stem 'to run'), hðžà 'he is hunting' (-žà, prog. stem 'to hunt').

16. The future paradigm is based upon the progressive. It is apparently formed by adding a prefix di- to the progressive forms. The resulting combinations, however, are irregular and cannot be explained in terms of the present day languages.

Person	Chiricahua	Mescalero
Sg. 1	dð·š-	dð·š-
Sg. 2	dó·-	dǫ́·-
Sg. 3	dà-	dà-
Sg. 3a	ǯìdà-	čìdà-
Place	gðdà	gðdà
Indef.	ʔìdà-	ʔìdà-
Du. 1	dð·(d)-	dǫ·(d)-
Du. 2	dà·h-	dà·h-

The future is the only obligatory tense form in Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache. All other tense variations are expressed periphrastically by means of enclitics (see §20).

17. The iterative paradigm is formed by pre-

fixing ná- to the conjunct form of the imperfective.

Person	Chiricahua	Mescalero
Sg. 1	náš-	náš-
Sg. 2	ná-	ną-
Sg. 3	ná-	ná-
Sg. 3a	nážì-	náčì-
Place	nágò-	nágò-
Indef.	náʔì-	náʔì-
Du. 1	nâ·(d)-	náhı̨·(d)-
	náhì·(d)-	
Du. 2	náh-	náh-

Note that the iterative prefix precedes the deictic prefixes. Other modal elements follow the deictic prefixes (see §9).

The iterative paradigm is used only in the iterative mode of active and passive verbs. This mode denotes repeated activity. Where there is a distinct stem form for the iterative mode, it is possible to form another mode, the usitative, by combining the prefix complex of the imperfective with the stem of the iterative. This mode denotes habitual, usual or customary activity.

18. The optative paradigm is formed by prefixing an element ho- to the subject pronouns of the conjunct form of the imperfective.

Person	Chiricahua	Mescalero
Sg. 1	hóš-	hóš-
Sg. 2	hó·-	hą́·-
Sg. 3	hó-	hó-
Sg. 3a	žó-	čó-
Place	gó-	gó-
Indef.	ʔó-	ʔó-
Du. 1	hò·(d)-	hą̀·(d)-
Du. 2	hà·h-	hà·h-

This paradigm is employed in forming the optative mode of active and passive verbs. Examples: nò·ká 'would that we go', xą̀hò·ká 'would that we go quickly', gòdóyàʔ 'would that it begin'.

19. The particle exhibits a variety of forms, from the monosyllabic structure characteristic of some numerals to the polysyllabic constructions of the adverbs. Particles may not be inflected or otherwise altered in structure. They function as numerals, introductory particles, connectives, adverbs, and adjectives. Examples: dáłè·ʔé 'one', nà·kì 'two', tá 'three', dı̨·ʔ 'four', ʔákò· 'and, then', ʔáńdè·dà 'and so, just then', nágò 'then and', ʔìlkìdą́ 'long ago', xą̀h 'hurry, in a hurry', ńdàh 'but', dá·ⁿdí 'truly, certainly'. Many other examples will be discussed in the notes.

20. Proclitics and enclitics are bound forms which may be added to words of any form class. The commoner proclitics are as follows: dá- 'just, only, alone', dò·-, always used with the enclitic -dà to express the negative, dásí-, an intensifier, 'very much, exceedingly'.

Enclitics are more numerous and may be divided into three groups: postpositional enclitics, relative enclitics, and tense-modal enclitics. Examples: -è· 'at, in, on', -šı̨ 'from', -í relative enclitic referring to things, actions and collectivities, -ń relative enclitic referring to persons, -nè 'people of ... group', -ń past tense, -gò subordinating enclitic, -náʔà narrative enclitic.

B. Notes to the Texts

The following analytical notes are numbered to correspond to the paragraphs of text analyzed in them. Thus 1:1 means text 1, paragraph 1. The smaller numbers in parentheses mark the paragraphs of the analysis.

Each word is analyzed completely only the first time it occurs in the texts. Whenever it occurs after that, it is not referred to in the notes unless its form exhibits a significant variation.

The following abbreviations and conventions have been employed in the notes:

act.	active
adj.	adjectival
conj.	conjunct
cont.	continuative
cust.	customary
demonst.	demonstrative
disj.	disjunct
encl.	enclitic
fut.	future
imp.	imperfective
indef.	indefinite
indep.	independent

interrog.	interrogative
intr.	intransitive
iter.	iterative
mediopas.	mediopassive
mom.	momentaneous
neut.	neuter
O	any object pronoun
obj.	object
opt.	optative
pp.	postposition
part.	particle
pass.	passive
perf.	perfective
poss.	possessive
procl.	proclitic
prog.	progressive
rep.	repetitive
semelf.	semelfactive
subj.	subject
subord.	subordinating
tr.	transitive
>	is derived from
<	from which is derived

| following a prefix (e.g., di-|) means that the prefix requires the disjunct imperfective.

When active or passive verbs are quoted, the derivational and thematic prefixes are given first in the order of their occurrence in the form. Following this are three dots to represent the incompleteness of the form, a parenthesis within which is stated the type of perfective required, the classifier (if the classifier is zero, nothing appears here), and the stem for the imperfective mode. In parentheses following the quotation is a statement as to the voice and transitivity of the verb followed by a definition of its prefixes where this is possible.

The same procedure is followed for neuter verbs, save that the stem quoted is the neuter stem (neuter verbs do not vary in stem form). In the parenthesis following the quotation is indicated the type of neuter perfective, whether imperfective, si- perfective, ni- perfective, or hi- perfective.

1:1.

(1) ʔíłcéšɩ̨ 'at the beginning'. ʔíłcé 'the first, the beginning, first' (part.), -šɩ̨ 'from' (pp.)

(2) blḱèhgòʔi·ⁿdáń 'the Creator'. A compound of blḱèhgò 'being by reason of him', ʔì·ⁿdá 'there is life', and -ń relative enclitic referring to persons (see II A, §20). blḱèh 'his spiritual power, in his charge, by reason of him', a noun with third person possessive pronoun; -gò subordinating enclitic. ʔì·ⁿdá 'there is life, life' a verb (apparently imp. neut. and with prefix ʔì-|) found only in the third person.

(3) gólɩ̨náʔà 'he lived, it is said'. gólɩ̨, third person of: go-ni-...-lɩ̨ 'to live, to exist' (imp. neut. intr.). The prefix go- is often found as a derivational prefix but it is difficult to isolate its meaning. Cf. ǹlɩ̨ 'he is' and ⁿdéǹlɩ̨ 'he is a man' (ⁿdé 'man'). ni- is a prefix found with verbs defining adjectival notions. In the third person, it disappears leaving a high tone on the vowel of the preceding prefix.

-náʔà is the narrative enclitic which is generally suffixed to every principal (i. e., non-subordinated) verb in myths or stories which recount events that the narrator has not personally witnessed. In order to save space and to avoid repetition, I have not translated -náʔà in the translations to the texts.

(4) dáǯíḱèh 'all of them' (part.). Cf. dánàhí-ḱèh 'all of us, all of you' and dá-gó-ḱèh 'all of them'. From these can be isolated the proclitic dá- 'just, only', the pronouns ǯi- 3a subject, nàhi- first or second person object, and go- 3a object. The stem appears to be -ḱeh and, since it is always preceded by a high tone, an element ni- may be assumed. The inflection, however, is irregular and it is impossible to class this as either verb or noun.

(5) bédà·gǒǯísɩ̨ 'they knew about him'. 3a person distributive of : Oé-go-ni-...-ł-zɩ̨ 'to know about, to possess knowledge of ' (imp. neut. intr.). -é 'about' (pp.); go- derivational prefix, meaning uncertain; ni- adjectival prefix. ni- disappears in the 3a person leaving a high tone on ǯi-. The classifier -ł- and the initial stem consonant combine to form s-. The indirect object bi- combines with the postposition -é to form bé-.

(6) ʔákò· 'then, and' (part.)

(7) ʔìsʒánáłè·sé 'White Painted Woman', the mother of the culture hero (see III, note 1:2). Apparently a compound of ʔìsʒáń 'woman', náłè·š 'she is being painted white again', and -é an archaic relative enclitic.

This word, which is used to refer to the mother of the culture hero and to the adolescent girl at the time of the girls' puberty ceremony (see III, note 40:1), probably owes its etymology to the fact that the girl is painted with white clay at the time of the ceremony. Except for the verb, the word is cognate to Nav. ʔàsʒą́·náλè·hé 'Changing Woman' which may be analyzed as ʔàsʒą́· 'woman', náλè·h 'she is born again and again', and the relative -é. It is quite possible that the Chiricahua form is a borrowing from Navaho which has been altered to adapt it to Chiricahua religious beliefs.

(8) ʔłłdǫ́ 'also' (part.). Cf. -dó 'also' (encl.).

1:2.

(1) błkéšłgò 'afterwards'. -ké 'next to, after, behind' (indep. pp.). bi- third person pronoun, -šł 'from' (pp. encl.), -gò subord. encl. Literally: 'being from after it'--'it' referring to the preceding events.

(2) tóbážł·ščłné́ń 'Child of the Water'. tóbážł·ščłné 'Child of the Water' is a compound of tó 'water', -bážł·ščłn-, and the archaic relative -é. -bážł·ščłn- is evidently a bound 3a person si- perfective form of the verb Oá-...-čí 'to be born for, to be born by reason of' (act. intr.). -á 'for, by reason of' (pp.). Therefore, the literal meaning of the compound is 'he who is born by reason of the water', an etymology which is confirmed by the text.

(3) The relative enclitic -ń, when suffixed to a noun, serves essentially the same function as the definite article in English. Generally this enclitic is added only when the individual is mentioned a second time in the text, presumably to indicate that the same person is being referred to.

(4) gò·slłná?à 'he was born, it is said'. Third person si- perfective of go-...(si- perf.) -là· 'to be born, become alive' (act. intr.). The theme by itself means 'to become'; the meaning of go-, however, is not clear. Cf. note 1:1 §3.

(5) nà·γé·?nè·sγáné 'Killer of Enemies'. This noun is unanalyzable in Chiricahua. From comparative data, however, it appears that it is a compound of nà·γé·? 'monsters'; -nè·sγán-, a bound third person perfective form with a prefix ni- of the theme -γą́ 'to kill several' (act. tr.); and the relative -é. nà·γé·? may also be a compound of nà·- 'enemy' and -γé·?, a compounded form of the theme -γé 'to be dangerous' (imp. neut. intr.). This analysis results in the literal meaning 'he who kills monsters'. This meaning is, however, rejected by the Apaches whose conception of this culture hero is not in accord with it (see III, note 1:3).

1:3.

(1) dłł·? ʒłłťégò 'they, being four in number'. dłł·? 'four'; ʒłłťé, 3a person of -ł-ťé 'to be a certain number' (imp. neut. intr.); -gò subordinating enclitic.

(2) gòʒílłná?à 'they were living, it is said. 3a person of the verb go-ni-...-łł 'to live, to exist' (imp. neut. intr.). Cf. note 1:1, §3. Note that the 3a subject has here a plural referent.

(3) dá?łłcégòdè·yášł 'from the very beginning'. dá- 'just, only' (procl.); ?łłcé 'first' (part.; cf. note 1:1, §1); gòdè·yá 'time has begun to move'; -šł 'from' (pp.). gòdè·yá is a third person si- perfective with place pronoun of di-...(si- perf.)-yá 'one begins to move' (act. intr.; di- inceptive prefix). From this form, it is clear that the place pronoun may refer to time as well as place. dè·- is a combination of the inceptive prefix di- and the perfective prefix si- which, in most cases, results in dè·s-. Before a stem consonant y-, however, the final -s is lost.

1:4.

(1) błžà·ná?à '[was] her child, it is said'. -žà· 'child, little one', bi- third person possessive. Note that this sentence requires no verb. This type of sentence is quite common in Chiricahua.

(2) ⁿdé dò·ñžǫdàšégò 'being evil people'. ⁿdé 'people'. ñžǫ, third person of ni-...-žǫ 'to be good' (imp. neut. intr.; ni- adjectival prefix). dò·-...-dà negative; -šé 'side, group' (pp.); -gò subordinating enclitic.

(3) ⁿdé ?áťłná?à 'he is such a person, it is said'. Note that ⁿdé has a singular referent here (cf. §2 above). ?áťł, third person of ?á-ni-...-ťł 'to be so, thus' (imp. neut. intr.). ?á- 'so, thus'; ni- adjectival prefix. The latter prefix has disappeared in the third person; cf. ?áñšťł 'I am so' and ?áñťł 'you are so'.

1:5.

(1) γé·ʔyè 'giant'. An unanalyzable noun. The first syllable (i. e., γé·ʔ-) may be cognate with the -γé·ʔ- of nà·γé·ʔnè·syáné 'Killer of Enemies' (see note 1:2 §5). The element -yè can not be explained.

(2) hò·γéń 'he who is called'. hò·γé 'he is called, named', third person of ho-ni-...-γé 'to be called, named' (imp. neut. intr.). ho- cannot be defined but ni- is probably the adjectival prefix. The conjugation is somewhat irregular, however, since ni- drops out in the third person and causes the vowel of ho- to lengthen compensatively. -ń is the relative enclitic.

(3) ⁿdéí 'people'. ⁿdé 'person, people' plus the relative enclitic -í. Note that -í functions here as a definite article (see note 1:2, §3) and is used instead of -ń because the reference is to a collectivity.

(4) dò·báńgólà·dàná?à 'he did not permit them to live, it is said'. dò·-...-dà negative. báńgólà·, third person optative of Oáń-go-...(si-perf.) -là· 'to permit to live' (act. intr.). The prefixes are indefinable but cf. notes 1:1, §3 and 1:2, §4.

(5) gòyàlè·łná?à 'they were being born'. Third person progressive mode of go-yi-...(si-perf.)-là· 'to be born, to come into existence' (act. intr.). Cf. note 1:2, §4.

(6) ?łťà (also heard ?łťàh) 'still, before' (part.).

(7) bìzą·yégò 'they, being small'. bìzą·yé may be classed as a noun with constant possessor and it may occasionally be used as such and translated 'his little one'. More often, however, it is used as in this context, defining an attribute of the preceding noun. Cf. note 1:4, §1.

(8) kà·yìńłⁿdéná?à 'he ate them from her, it is said'. Third person imperfective mode of Oà·-ni-...(si- perf.)-ł-ⁿdé 'to eat something of someone's' (act. tr.). à·- 'from' (pp.); ni- terminative (?).

1:6.

(1) čà·łnà·γáná?à 'she went about weeping'. čà·ł is a form of the theme -čà 'to weep' (act. intr.) plus a suffix -ł 'while--ing'. nà·γá is the third person imperfective mode of nà·-...(si-perf.)-yá 'one person moves about' (act. intr.). nà·- 'about'. The imperfective stem of this verb varies with the person (nà·šá 'I go about', nàń-ⁿdá 'you go about', nà·ʒìγá 'he goes about') presumably because the pronoun has combined in various ways with the initial stem consonant.

(2) xà?yágònáxé 'how, in what way'. xà?-, the interrogative pronoun stem (see II A §4) plus -yá, postposition, and -gò subordinating enclitic give the interrogative or indefinite pronoun xà?yágò 'how, somehow'. -ná is an enclitic denoting emphasis and -xé (also heard -xè·) is an interrogative enclitic.

(3) góžǫ́gò 'it, being good'. Third person with place pronoun of ni-...-žǫ́ 'to be good' (imp. neut. intr.). ni- disappears in the third person leaving a high tone on go-. In this context, góžǫ́gò loses its literal meaning and simply adds emphasis to the preceding interrogative pronoun.

(4) nì·gòsʒání 'the earth'. A compound of ⁿdì·- 'earth' (compounded form nì·-) and gòsʒáń meaning unknown. This compound refers to the whole earth or to the universe in general whereas ⁿdì· is used when the reference is merely to the surrounding country.

(5) bìkážį 'on its surface'. -ká 'surface, top' (indep. pp.); -žį 'to' (pp.); bì- third person possessive; referent, earth.

(6) gólà·ná 'would they be created!' gólà· third person optative mode of go-...(si- perf.) -là· 'to be born, created' (act. intr.). -ná emphatic enclitic.

(7) ⁿdíná?à 'she said, it is said'. Third person imperfective mode of di-...(hi- perf.)-ⁿdí 'to say' (act. intr.). di- is a prefix employed with verbs of saying, speaking, making a noise, etc. The third person form is irregular, the prefix having been lost.

(8) The part of this sentence within the quotation marks is meant to be an intensified exclamatory interrogative. The use of the enclitics -ná and -xé, the use of góžǫ́gò, and the selection of the optative mode for the principal verb all serve to give this meaning. White Painted Woman is in despair; her children are all being destroyed by the giant; she is seeking to circumvent him and populate the earth.

1:7.

(1) dà?ò·ką·ná?à 'she prayed, it is said'. Third person imperfective mode of dà-?i-ho-|...(si- perf.)-ką· 'to pray' (act. intr.). The pre-

fixes are indefinable; cf. ho-|...(si- perf.) with the same theme 'to beg, to plead' (act. tr.). It is likely that the prefix ʔi- of the text form is the indefinite object pronoun.

(2) nágò 'and, then' (part.).

(3) nà·gòłtɩ̨ná?à 'it rained, it is said'. Third person with place subject of nà·-|...-ł-tɩ̨ 'to rain' (imp. neut. intr.).

(4) tóí 'the water'. to 'water'; -í relative enclitic. See notes 1:2, §3 and 1:5, §3 for a discussion of the relative enclitic with nouns.

(5) yádà?nè·stɩ̨ná?à 'she lay face upward for it'. Third person perfective mode of Oá-dà?-ni-...(si- perf.)-tè· 'to lie face upward for' (act. intr.). The theme alone means 'an animate being moves'; the prefixes á- 'for' (pp.), dà?- 'face up', ni- terminative. y- is yi- (vowel lost before a vocalic prefix) third person object pronoun referring to the water.

(6) yábłžà·gò·slɩ̨ná?à 'her child was born of it'. yá- > yi- third person object plus the postposition á- 'for, of'. błžà· 'her child' is here incorporated into the verb (see note 1:4, §1). gò·slɩ̨ 'he was born (see note 1:2, §4).

1:8.

(1) ?ádíń 'this one'. Demonstrative stem dí- plus the proclitic ?á- and the relative enclitic -ń. See II A, §8.

(2) błzą́·yéń 'little one'. Note that here this word is to be translated as a noun without possessive prefix. See note 1:5, §7.

(3) hò·yédà·ł 'he will be called'. hò·yé 'he is called' is a third person imperfective neuter verb (see note 1:5, §2). -dà·ł is the future tense enclitic. Since neuter verbs are not conjugated for mode and tense, these variations are expressed by means of enclitics.

(4) błžà· gò·slɩ̨ 'the birth of her child'. Literally 'her child has been born'. This phrase functions as a noun and the indirect object of the following verb.

(5) yà·?łłéńzɩ̨ná?à 'she was happy over it'. Third person of Oà·-?łłé-ni-...-zɩ̨ 'to be happy about something' (imp. neut. intr.). à·- 'from, to, about' (pp.); ?łłé- 'happy, thankful, grateful'; cf. ni-...-zɩ̨ 'to feel, to think' (imp. neut. intr.). I do not know why the ni- prefix has a high tone in the third person nor can that prefix be defined.

1:9.

(1) díń 'this'. Demonstrative stem dí- plus the relative enclitic -ń. Cf. note 1:8, §1.

(2) šłškè?ń 'my child'. -škè? 'child', ši- first person possessive pronoun, -ń relative enclitic.

(3) xà?yágòxé 'what, in what way'. See note 1:6, §2.

(4) ?ášłágò 'I, doing so'. First person imperfective mode of ?á-...(? perf.)-lá 'to do so' (act. tr.). ?á- 'thus, so'. Note that the initial stem consonant assimilates in voice to the subject pronoun š- preceding it.

(5) ǹsáná 'I rear it'. ǹsá, first person imperfective mode of ni-...(si- perf.)-ł-yá 'to raise, rear; to cause to grow' (act. tr.). ni- terminative prefix. In this form, the first person pronoun š-, the classifier -ł-, and the initial stem consonant y- assimilate to s-; cf. ǹšyá 'I grow' (imp. mode, act, intr.). -ná is the emphatic enclitic.

(6) ǯłⁿdínà?à 'she said, it is said'. 3a person imperfective mode of di-...(hi- perf)-ⁿdí 'to say' (act. intr.). In the 3a person, the prefix disappears. See note 1:6, §7.

1:10.

(1) dá?àłcò ǯɩ̨dà 'every day'. dá-...-dà 'absolutely, even'; ?àłcò 'all, every' (part.); ǯɩ̨ 'day'.

(2) kà·nádáná?à 'he customarily came to her, it is said'. Third person iterative mode of Oà·-ni-...(ni- perf.)-yá 'one person goes to someone' (act. intr.). à·- 'to' (pp.); ni- completive prefix. The ni- completive occurs only in the imperfective mode. The stem in the text form is -dá because of the fact that the iterative prefix requires the -d- class (see II A, §7) and -d- plus y- gives d-. Notice how the two third persons are distinguished; the subject is indicated by the third person pronoun, the indirect object by the 3a person pronoun (see II A, §2).

(3) ?áłčłné 'baby'. Unanalyzable noun.

(4) káháyłǹtágò 'he, looking for it of her'. Third person imperfective mode of Oá-há-ni-...(si- perf.)-tá 'to look for something (belonging to) someone' (act. tr.). á- 'for, of' (pp.); há- 'for'; ni- terminative.

(5) dò·xà?łyâ·dàí 'that there was no one'. dò·-...dà negative; xà?łyâ· 'someone', a combina-

tion of the two pronoun stems xà?- and ?lyâ·; -í relative enclitic.

(6) góžǫ́gò bìłkégòyà·zı̨·łgò 'having learned about it for certain'. góžǫ́gò has been analyzed in note 1:6, §3. Here it means 'certainly, for certain'. bìłkégòyà·zı̨·ł is the third person progressive mode of O-ł-Oé-go-...-zı̨· 'knowledge about something comes to someone' (act. intr.). ł- 'with, to' (pp.); -é 'about' (pp.); go- deictic prefix referring to knowledge (?).

(7) ?ánděˈdà 'then, now' (part.).

(8) gòčą?ìnáhàdá·łná?à 'he was going away from her again, it is said'. gòčą 'away from her'; -čą independent postposition, go- 3a object pronoun. ?ìnáhàdá·ł 'he is going off again' (third person, prog. mode). Prefixes: ?ì- 'off, away'; ná- (sometimes heard ná·-) 'again'. Stem -dá·ł, -d- form of -yá·ł, progressive stem of -yá 'one moves' (act. intr.). ná- 'again' requires the -d- form.

1:11.

(1) kǫ̀·dàsìkąí 'the fire that lay there'. kǫ̀· 'fire'. dàsìką, third person of dàh-...-ką 'something in a container lies upon' (si- perf. neut. intr.). dàh- 'on, upon' unites with the si-perfective prefix to form dàsì-. -í relative enclitic.

(2) bìʔáhyá 'under it'. -ʔáh 'under' (indep. pp.); bi- third person possessive; -yá indicating the relation between the verb following and kǫ̀·-sìkąí bìʔáh-.

(3) báʔgòžó·čìná?à 'she had dug a hole for him, it is said'. Third person continuative hi-perfective of Oá-ʔi-go-...(hi- perf.)-čì· 'to dig a hole for someone' (act. intr.). á- 'for' (pp.); ?ì- and go-, meanings unknown.

(4) ?ákà· 'there'. An invariable demonstrative.

(5) ?ìnážìłtè·ná?à 'she customarily put him away, it is said'. 3a person iterative mode of ?ì-|...(hi- perf.)-ł-tè· 'to put an animate object away' (act. tr.). The theme alone means 'to handle an animate object'; ?ì-| 'away, off'.

(6) žìnsáná?à 'she reared him, it is said'. 3a person imperfective mode of ni-...-ł-yá 'to rear, cause to grow' (act. tr.). See note 1:9, §5.

1:12.

(1) dáxà·è· 'just when'. xà·- indefinite pronoun stem;-è· 'at' (pp.); dá- 'just, only'. xà·- here refers to time rather than place or thing.

(2) tà·nážìgìsgòná 'only as she washed him'. tà·nážìgìs, 3a person imperfective mode of tà·-ná-...(si- perf.)-gìs 'to wash' (act. tr.). The prefixes may be tà·-, an incorporated form of tó 'water'; and ná- 'around'. -gìs is probably a continuative imperfective form of the stem -gìz 'to twist' (cf. ?ìł-ḱé-ná-...(si- perf.)-gìz 'to twist about one another'; act. tr.; ?ìł- reciprocal pronoun, -ḱé 'on', pp.). -gò subordinating enclitic; -ná 'only' (emphatic encl.).

(3) hànážìłtè·ná?à 'she took him out again and again, it is said'. 3a person iterative mode of hà-|...(hi- perf.)-ł-tè· 'to take an animate object out' (act. tr.). Theme: 'to handle an animate object'; hà-| 'out'. Cf. note 1:11, §5.

(4) ?áši̧ 'then, at that point, from then on' (part.). This particle may be the demonstrative stem ?á- 'there' plus the postposition -ši̧ 'from' which has become generalized in meaning.

(5) tà·nážìyàgìsgò 'she having been washing him'. 3a person progressive mode of tà·-ná-...(si- perf.)-gìs 'to wash' (act. tr.). See §1 of this note.

(6) bì?žìyàsı̨·łgò 'she, having been feeding him'. 3a person progressive mode of O-?ì-|...(hi-perf.)-ł-yą 'to feed' (act. tr.). Theme -yą 'to eat' (act. intr.), -ł-yą 'to feed' (act. tr.); prefix ?ì-| meaning unknown. The -ł- classifier unites with the initial stem consonant y- (γ- in the progressive stem -γı̨·ł) to give s-.

(7) dásí 'just, exactly, just then' (part. and procl.).

(8) ?ìná·žìyàłté·łgò 'she, having been putting him in again'. 3a person progressive mode of ?ì-ná·-...(hi- perf.)-l-tè· 'to put an animate object in again' (act. tr.). With the exception of the prefix ná·- 'again' (which requires the -l- class) this is the same as the verb analyzed in note 1:11, §5.

(9) kà·ná·hàdá·łná?à 'he was coming to her again'. kà·- > gò- 3a object pronoun plus à·- 'to' (pp.); ná·- 'again' (requires the -d- class); hà- progressive prefix, third person; -dá·ł, -d- form of -yá·l, progressive stem of -yá 'one person moves' (act. intr.). See note 1:10, §§2 and 8.

1:13.

(1) kàdì 'now, soon' (part.).

(2) nà·γá sìlíná?à 'he became able to walk, it is said'. nà·γá 'he walks about here and there' (see note 1:6, §1); sìlí, third person perfective mode of -là· 'to become' (act. intr.).

1:14.

(1) hànná·ʒó·łtíná?à 'she had taken him out again, it is said'. 3a person perfective mode of hà-ná·-...(hi- perf.)-l-tè· 'to take an animate object out again' (act. tr.). Theme: 'to handle an animate object'; prefixes: hà- 'out'; ná·- 'again' (requires the -l- class). Cf. note 1:12, §3.

(2) ?áń bìzą·yéń 'that little one'. ?áń, demonstrative stem ?á- plus the relative enclitic -ń (see II A, §3). Note that bìzą·yéń is here translated without the possessive (see note 1:5, §7.

(3) bìłgóžǫ́gò 'he, being happy'. góžǫ́ 'there is good, happiness', third person place subject of ni-...-žǫ́ 'to be good, happy' (imp. neut. intr.; ni- adjectival prefix). Cf. note 1:6, §8. góžǫ́ is prefixed by the object pronoun bi- 'him' and the postposition ł- 'with, accompanying'.

(4) cíbą̀.è. 'at the side of the fire'. cí (also heard cídí) 'fire, glowing coals', followed by the independent postposition -bą̀· 'border, edge, and the postpositional enclitic -è· 'at'.

(5) ?ákà· hìkéḱèná?à 'there [were] his tracks, it is said'. This is the same type of verb-less sentence remarked in note 1:4, §1. ?á-kà· 'there' (demonstr.); -kéḱè 'trail, tracks', a compound of -ké- 'foot' (non-possessed form) and -ḱe occurring only in this compound. The prefix hi- is a variant third person possessive which is apparently of commoner occurrence in the speech of the older people.

1:15.

(1) dásí ?ákà· ?ìná·ʒó·łtíǫ̀gò means, literally, 'just as she had put him away again there'. 'There' refers to the hole under the fire. dásí 'just, exactly' (part.); ?ákà· 'there' (demonst.); ?ìná·ʒó·łtí, 3a person perfective mode of ?ì-ná·-...(hi- perf.)-l-tè· 'to put an animate object away again' (act. tr.). See notes 1:11, §5 and 1:12, §8.

(2) kà·ná·nážáná?à 'he had come to her again'. Third person perfective mode of Oà·-ná·ná-...(ni- perf.)-dá 'one person comes again to someone' (act. intr.). -dá is the -d- form of the theme -yá 'one moves'. The prefix ná·ná- 'again' requires the -d- form of the theme.

Since this theme 'one moves' is so irregular in stem form, it may be useful to list the stems.

Mode	Zero classifier			-d- class
	Sg. 1	Sg. 2	Sg. 3	
Imperf.	-šá	-ⁿdá	-γá	-dá
Perf.	-yá	-yá	-yá	-ʒá
Prog.	-šá·ł	-ⁿdá·ł	-ǵá·ł	-dá·ł
Iter.	-dá	-dá	-dá	-dá
Opt.	-šà?	-ⁿdà?	-yà?	-ʒà?

(3) ?áìłⁿdíná?à 'he spoke thus to her, it is said'. Third person imperfective mode of ?á-Oł-di-...(hi- perf.)-ⁿdí 'to speak thus to someone' (act. intr.). ?á- 'thus, so'; ł- 'with, to'; di- a prefix used with verbs of speaking etc. di- drops out in the third person sometimes causing the pronoun yi- (in this form, reduced to -i-) to lengthen its vowel (?áyì·łⁿdí). See note 1:16, §7.

(4) ?ádí·dí· 'these'. This is apparently the demonstrative stem dí- plus the relative enclitic -í, reduplicated and with the proclitic ?á-. Reduplication is very rare in Chiricahua, this form and dídíń 'these (referring to persons)' being the only examples.

(5) ?ìyádí 'what'. Interrogative stem ?ìyád- plus the relative enclitic -í.

(6) bìčìyð·łką̀·nì 'something good to eat'. An unanalyzable noun used, according to the informant, only in myths having to do with the Giant.

(7) kðyá 'here'. kð-, demonstrative stem, plus the postposition -yá. kð- refers to places within the neighborhood of the speaker and listener and is probably best translated by the English 'hereabout, thereabout'.

(8) bìkéḱè 'his tracks'. The compound -kéḱè 'trail, tracks' with the third person possessive pronoun. See note 1:14, §5. Note that this sentence also lacks a verb--see note 1:14, §1.

(9) gð·łⁿdíná?à 'he said to her, it is said'. Third person imperfective mode ⁿdí 'he says' (see note 1:6, §7) prefixed by the 3a object pronoun go- referring to White Painted Woman and the postposition ł- 'with, to'. go- is lengthened to compensate for the loss of the prefix di-; cf. gðł-dìšⁿdí 'I said to her'. See also §8, this note.

The verb 'to say' requires the prefix ʔá- 'thus, so' (see §3) except when it is preceded by a quotation.

1:15.

(1) The significance of word order in Chiricahua is well illustrated by comparing the first sentence of this paragraph, i. e., ʔákò· ʔlsʒánáλè·šéń γé·ʔyèń ʔálɬⁿdínáʔà 'then White Painted Woman spoke thus to the Giant', with the first part of the second sentence of paragraph 15: ʔákò· γé·ʔyèń ʔlsʒánáλè·šéń ʔálɬⁿdínáʔà 'then the Giant spoke thus to White Painted Woman. This order--subject, object, verb--is rarely violated.

(2) dí·dí·ʔ 'these?' See note 1:15, §4. Here the proclitic ʔá- is lacking. The interrogative connotation is given by the sentence tone.

(3) béńdà·ščà·gò 'I, longing for it'. First person imperfective mode of Oéń-dà·-|...(si- perf.)-cà· 'to long for, yearn after' (act. intr.). I cannot define the prefixes. Cf., however, dà·-|...(si- perf.)-cà· 'to die' (act. intr.).

(4) ʔánágòšʔl̨· 'I customarily make them so'. First person iterative mode of ʔá-...(ʔ perf.)-lá 'to make, to do' (act. tr.). Prefix ʔá- 'thus, so'. go- is the 3a object pronoun referring to the tracks. The iterative theme of this verb is irregular not only in stem form but also in the fact that it requires the -ɬ- classifier whereas the other paradigms have the zero classifier.

1:17.

(1) hàńšą̀ 'well then; very well'. An interjection indicating doubt.

(2) šlⁿdâ·ɬ ʔáγálá 'do so before my eyes'. šlⁿdâ· 'my eyes' plus the postposition -ɬ 'before, with'. ʔáγálá, second person imperfective mode of ʔáγá-...(ʔ perf.)-lá 'to do so, to make so' (act. tr.). The prefix ʔáγá- 'thus, so'. Cf. note 1:16, §4. There is no specifically imperative form in Chiricahua; the second person imperfective is always used to express the imperative.

(3) ʔákò·ná 'only then'. The particle ʔákò· followed by the enclitic -ná 'only'.

(4) nò·šλą́ 'I'll believe you'. First person imperfective mode of ho-|...(si- perf.)-λą́ 'to believe' (act. tr.). nò·- > ni- second person object plus the prefix ho-. The latter cannot be defined.

1:18.

(1) goⁿda·ɬ 'before his eyes'. See note 1:17, §2; gò- 3a person possessive.

(2) káʔágólà·náʔà 'she had made them so for him, it is said'. Third person perfective mode of the verb ʔá-...(ʔ perf.)-lá 'to make, do' (act. tr.). ká- > go- 3a object pronoun plus the postposition á- 'for'.

(3) ʔáⁿdè· 'now'. Also heard ʔíⁿdè·. Here this word functions adverbially. In structure, however, it is the third person of ʔi-ni-...-ⁿdè· 'to be new, recent, young' (imp. neut. intr.). ʔi- is possibly the indefinite deictic prefix; ni-, the adjectival prefix, disappears in the third person, leaving a high tone.

(4) ʔò·λą́ 'he believes it'. Third person imperfective mode of ho-|...(si- perf.)-λą́ 'to believe' (act. tr.). See note 1:17, §4; here the indefinite object ʔi- is used.

1:19.

(1) blčldènáhí 'those blankets of his'. čldè 'blanket'; bi- third person possessive; -náhí apparently a demonstrative enclitic. It is possible, however, that I misheard -náhí for -náí, the emphatic enclitic -ná plus the relative -í.

(2) čą̀·náʔáťégò 'they, being so [with] excrement'. čą̀· 'excrement'; -ná emphatic enclitic; ʔáťé, third person of ʔá-ni-...-ťé 'to be so' (imp. neut. intr.). Prefixes: ʔá- 'thus, so'; ni- adjectival.

(3) kà·ná·yl·łcą́náʔà 'he saw them from her also, it is said'. kà·- > go- 3a object plus à·- 'from, to, about' (pp.). ná·yl·łcą́, third person perfective of ná·-hi-|...(ni- perf.)-ɬ-cé 'to see again, to see also' (act. tr.). Prefixes: ná·- 'again, also'; hi-| ʔ. ná·- should require the -l- class but it does not in this verb. The perfective is irregular.

(4) ʔlyâ·hè· 'what'. Should read: ʔlyâ·xè·. ʔlyâ·, interrogative pronoun plus the interrogative enclitic -xè· (also heard -xé).

(5) člyò·łką̀· 'something good to eat'. Cf. note 1:15, §6.

(6) blčą̀·nè 'his excrement'. -čą̀·nè is the possessed form of čą̀· 'excrement'. See II A, §5. This sentence is another without a verb. See note 1:4, §1.

1:20.

dí·dí·ʔą̀· 'these?' dí·dí· 'these' (see note 1:15, §4) plus the interrogative enclitic -ʔą̀·.

1:21.

(1) ʔáná·gòłdìhⁿdíná?à 'he spoke thus to her again, it is said'. Third person imperfective mode of ʔá-ná·-Oł-di-...(hi- perf.)-d-ⁿdí 'to speak thus to someone again' (act. intr.). Prefixes: ʔá- 'thus'; ná·- 'again'; ł- 'with, to' (pp.); di- noise. The -d- class, signified by the -h- before the stem (see II A, §7) is required by the prefix ná·- 'again'.

(2) ʔáγálášą̀ 'do so, make it so'. ʔáγálá is analyzed in note 1:17, §2; -šą̀ exclamatory enclitic.

1:22.

(1) nálìłcò·zná?à 'she had picked up a fabric-like object, it is said'. Third person perfective mode of ná-di-|...(ni- perf.)-ł-có·s 'to pick up a fabric-like object' (act. tr.). The theme alone 'to handle a fabric-like object' (act. tr.). ná-di-| 'upward'. nálìł- > ná-yi-di-ni-ł-. yi- third person object loses its vowel and becomes -i-; di- becomes -n- and combines with the -n- of the ni- perfective prefix. The low tone in the third person of the ni- perfective is irregular.

(2) ʔìnásǎlzè 'wild honey' plus the relative -í. The noun cannot be analyzed.

(3) yélsǯò·lná?à 'she smeared it on it, it is said'. Third person perfective mode of Oé-...(si- perf.)-ł-ǯòł 'to rub, smear on' (act. tr.). -é 'onto, against' (pp.). yéls- > yé-yi-si-ł-. yi- third person object becomes -i-; si becomes -s-; and -ł- assimilates to the preceding -s-.

(4) dásí ʔáγáťená?à 'it was just exactly so, it is said'. That is, the blanket she smeared with honey looked just like the one smeared with excrement. dásí 'just, exactly'. ʔáγáťé, third person of ʔáγá-ni-...-ťé 'to be so' (imp. neut. intr.). ʔáγá- 'thus, so', ni- adjectival.

(5) ʔò·sλą̀·ná?à 'he had believed it, it is said'. Third person perfective mode of ho-|...(si- perf.)-λą 'to believe' (act. tr.). ʔi- indefinite pronoun plus ho- plus si- perfective gives ʔò·s-. See note 1:17, §4.

2:1.

(1) ʔìťàgò ǹłʒ̀ìl hìlà·dàdą́ 'when he was still growing up'. ʔìťà 'still' (part.), -gò subordinating enclitic. ǹłʒ̀ìl, third person of ni-...-ł-ʒ̀ìl 'to be strong' (imp. neut. intr.; ni- adj.). hìlà·, third person imperfective of -là· 'to become' (act. intr.; hi- peg element, see II A, §13). -dà 'even, just as' (encl.); -dą́ 'at such a time, when' (encl.). Literally 'when he was just becoming stronger'.

(2) ʔáná·ⁿdená?à 'he was already a man'. Third person of ʔá-ná·-ni-...-ⁿdé 'to be already a man' (imp. neut. intr.). Cf. ni-...-ⁿdé 'to be a man, to be mature, virile' (imp. neut. intr.) and ⁿdé 'man'. ʔá-ná·- 'already' (?); ni- adj.

(3) ʔìnážàná?à 'he often hunted, it is said'. Third person iterative of ʔì-|...(hi- perf.)-žá 'to go off hunting' (act. intr.). ʔì-| 'away, off'.

(4) bı̨· 'deer'.

(5) nàìłcè·ná?à 'he killed them, it is said'. Third person imperfective of nà·-|...(si- perf.) -ł-cè· 'to kill several' (act. tr. with plural object only). nàì- > nà·-| 'about' plus yi- third person object.

(6) dásígóžǫ́gò 'just as'. dásí- 'just, exactly' (part.). góžǫ́gò, see note 1:6, §8.

(7) yìyàłxé·łgò 'he, killing it'. 3rd person prog. of si-...(si- perf.)-ł-γé 'to kill one' (act. tr.). The prefix si- referring to killing becomes yi- when preceded by a pronoun object or the deictic elements. Thus yi- 3rd person obj. plus si- plus hà- 3rd person prog. plus -ł- classifier becomes yìyàł-. The initial consonant of the stem assimilates in voice to the preceding -ł-.

In this paragraph, the number of the noun is determined by the verb. bı̨· 'deer', in the preceding sentence, is plural because its verb requires a plural object. In this sentence, it is singular because its verb requires a singular object.

(8) bà·hàgá·łná?à 'he was coming to him, it is said'. bà·- > bi- third person object plus à·- 'to' (pp.). Ordinarily yi- rather than bi- should be used here since the subject is also third person (see II A, §11). hàgá·ł, third person progressive of -yá 'one moves' (act. intr.). For the stem, see note 1:15, §2.

By employing the progressive mode in this sentence and the two following, the informant conveys the impression that this happening was a customary

one with Killer of Enemies.

(9) bà·hàyàłté·łná?à 'he was taking it away from him, it is said'. bà·- > bi- third person object plus à·- 'from' (pp.). Here, again, bi- is used instead of yi- (see §8 above). Note also the variety of meanings associated with the postposition ą̀·- : 'to' in §8, 'from' in this example. See also notes 1:15, §8; 1:8, §5; and 1:19, §3.

hàyàłté·ł, third person progressive of hà-|...(hi- perf.)-tè· 'to take an animate object away' (act. tr.; hà-| 'away, out').

(10) dò·yâ·dàgò '[having] nothing'. yâ· 'something'; dò·-...-dà negative.

(11) ńnáhàdá·łná?à 'he was coming back home, it is said'. Third person prog. of nł-ná-ni-... (ni- perf.)-dá 'one returns (home)' (act. intr.). nł- 'to an end, to a stop'; ná- 'back' (requires the -d- form); ni- completive (occurs only in the imp. mode). For the stem. see note 1:15, §2.

(12) bìgè· 'because of him'. -gè· 'because of' (pp.), bi- third person pronoun.

2:2.

(1) dáxà?yá ńłʒìl sìlı̨ná?à 'he had become stronger, it is said'. dáxà?yá 'somewhat'; xà?- indefinite pronoun stem plus dá- 'just' and -yá postposition. ńłʒìl 'he is strong', see note 2:1, §1. sìlı̨, third person si- perf. of -là· 'to become' (act. intr.).

(2) bìmáń 'his mother'. -má 'mother'.

(3) ?áyì·łⁿdínà?à 'he spoke thus to her, it is said'. See note 1:15, §3.

(4) k̀à· šá?ágòlá 'make arrows for me' should read k̀à· šá?ágólá. k̀à· 'arrows'; šá- > ši- first person object plus á- 'for' (pp.). ?á-...(? perf.) -lá 'to make' (act. tr.; ?á- 'thus'). go- 3a object refers to arrows. The text form is second person imperfective.

(5) šìk̀ìsę́ 'my brother'. -k̀ìs 'sibling of same sex'; -ę́ ?.

(6) bìłdéššà· 'I've started to go hunting with him'. bi- 'him'; -ł 'with, accompanying' (pp.); déššà·, first person perf. of di-...(si- perf.)-d-žá 'to hunt' (act. intr.; di- inceptive). di- plus sí gives dé-. This verb is sometimes conjugated in the perfective as a -d- verb and at other times as a zero verb.

2:3.

(1) dò·dà·gò·ʒà·dàgò 'it being impossible'. dò·-...-dà negative. dà·gò·ʒà·, third person perf. of dà·-go-...(? perf.)-ⁿdá 'something happens, is done' (act. intr.). dà·-go- is indefinable.

(2) ?áńⁿdí 'you say thus'. Second person imp. of ?á-di-...(hi- perf.)-ⁿdí 'to say thus' (act. intr.). ?á- 'thus, so'; di- noise. In the second person imp., di- becomes n-.

Literally, this sentence reads 'My child, it being impossible you say thus'.

(3) nì·łxé 'he will kill you'. nì·ł- > ni- 2nd person object plus si- prefix and -ł- classifier. Stem -γé (-xé by assimilation to the preceding -ł-) 'to kill one' (act. tr.). See note 2:1, §7.

(4) nà·gòłcè· 'he kills them'. 3rd person imp. with 3a object of nà·-|...(si- perf.)-ł-cè· 'to kill several' (act. tr.). See note 2:1, §5.

2:4.

(1) dá?áγáťéńdàh 'in spite of this'. This is one of the few analyzable particles. dá- 'just'; ?áγáťé 'it is so' (see note 1:22, §4), ńdàh 'but' (part.).

(2) ?áxą̀h 'hurry' (part.). Cf. xą̀h 'hurry, in a hurry' (part.).

(3) ?íyą̀· 'so, therefore, for that reason' (part.).

2:5.

(1) ?áγáʒìⁿdííbą̀· 'because he spoke so'. ?áγáʒìⁿdí, 3rd person imp. of ?áγá-di-...(hi- perf.)-ⁿdí 'to speak so, (act. intr.). ?áγá- 'thus, so'; di- noise. The latter drops out in the 3rd and 3a persons of the imperfective.

-í relative enclitic; -bą̀· > bi- 3rd person object plus -ą̀· 'by reason of, because of' (pp.).

(2) ?áí hìgè· 'because of that'. ?áí refers to what Child of the Water said. hi- variant 3rd person pronoun (see note 1:14, §5), -gè· 'because' (pp.; see note 2:1, §12).

(3) hìčànà?à 'she weeps, it is said'. 3rd person imp. of -čà 'to weep' (act. intr.). hi- peg element, see II A §13.

2:6.

(1) dádò·káháťı̨dàgò 'although she did not want him [to go]'. dá-...-gò 'although, even though'; dò·-...-dà negative; ká- > go- 3a obj. plus á- 'for' (pp.). háťı̨, 3rd person of há-...-ťı̨ 'to be willing, to want to' (imp. neut. intr.)

há- may be the prefix 'for' that appears in há-ni-...(si- perf.)-tá 'to look for' and other verbs and -ťı̨ the same theme as in ʔá-ni-..-ťı̨ 'to be so' (imp. neut. intr.; ʔá- 'so'; ni- adj.).

(2) dákábìłǵóγégò 'although she was afraid for him'. dá-...-gò 'although, even though'; ká- > go- 3a obj. plus á- 'for' (pp.); bìł- > bi- 3rd person obj. plus -ł 'with, accompanying' (pp.). ǵóγé 'there is fear', place subject of ni-...-γé 'fear exists' (imp. neut. intr.; ni- adj.).

(3) nà·γé·ʔnè·syánéńbìł 'with Killer of Enemies'. nà·γé·ʔnè·syánéń 'Killer of Enemies' (see note 1:2, §5) plus bi- 'him' and -ł 'with, accompanying'.

(4) ǯìdè·žà·náʔà 'he started to hunt it is said'. 3a person perf. of di-...(si- perf.)-žá 'to start to hunt' (act. intr.; di- inceptive). di- plus si- gives dè·s- but the final -s- is lost before voiced spirantal stem initials.

2:7.

(1) kòyá 'yonder'. Cf. note 1:15, §7.

(2) čéǯíńʔą́·žnáʔà 'the two went out, it is said'. 3a person perf. of čé-ni-...(ni- perf.) -ʔà·š 'two go out' (act. intr.). The theme means 'two move' (act. intr.). čé- 'out'; ni- completive (appears only in the imperfective).

(3) ⁿdáséyá 'farther on'. ⁿdásé- (also heard ⁿdásá-) 'farther on' plus the postposition -yá.

(4) ǯàžà 'they were hunting'. 3a prog. of -žà 'to hunt' (act. intr.). Cf. note 2:1, §3.

(5) ǯìyè·sxı̨náʔà 'they had killed it, it is said'. 3a person perf. of si-...(si- perf.)-ł-γé 'to kill one' (act. tr.). Cf. note 2:1, §7.

(6) níʔǯìłʔàhnáʔà 'they butcher it, it is said'. 3a person imp. of ní-...(si- perf.)-ł-ʔàh 'to butcher' (act. tr.). ní- thematic prefix. ʔ- a reduced form of ʔi- indefinite object.

(7) níʔǯì·sʔàhnáʔà 'they had butchered it, it is said'. 3a person perf. of ní-...(si- perf.) -ł-ʔàh 'to butcher' (act. tr.). See §6 above.

(8) kǫ̨·dèʔšdó·łǯénáʔà 'they built a fire, it is said'. kǫ̨· 'fire' plus 3a person perf. of dè-ʔi-di-...(hi- perf.)-žà· 'to build a fire' (act. intr. ?). dè-di- prefix referring to fire; ʔi- indefinite object (?). -š- is a reduced form of the 3a subject pronoun ǯi-.

(9) ʔìcı̨· 'meat'. Note the use of ʔi- indefinite possessor; -cı̨· is one of the nouns which cannot be used without a possessive prefix (see II A, §5).

(10) cíǯó·ʔą́náʔà 'they had put it on the fire, it is said'. 3a person perf. of cí-|...(hi- perf.)-ʔà· 'to put a round object on (or in) the fire' (act. tr.). Theme: 'to handle a round object' (act. tr.). cí-| 'in the fire'. The "round object" is, in this case, a piece of meat.

(11) ǯì·síénáʔà 'they had cooked it, it is said'. 3a person perf. of ...(si- perf.)-ł-ťè·s 'to cook, roast, fry' (act. tr.). The alternation between -ťè·s (imp.) and -ťé (perf.) is an unusual one.

(12) ǯòh 'grass, hay'.

(13) ǯó·žìžnáʔà 'they had pulled it up, it is said'. 3a person perf. of ...(hi- perf.)-ží·š 'to break off, to pull up' (act. tr.).

(14) kòyá 'right there'. Note the variety of meanings associated with this form. Cf. notes 1:15, §7 and §1, this note.

(15) ńǯíńžà·náʔà 'they had put it down, it is said'. 3a person perf. of nì-ni-...(ni- perf.) -žá·š 'to put a mass down' (act. tr.). Theme: 'to handle a mass' (act. tr.). nì- 'down, to a stop'; ni- completive.

The verb just analyzed is one of the so-called "verbs of handling." It will be noted that there are several of these, the choice in any context depending upon the nature of the object handled. Here the object is a bunch of grass which is classed as a bundle or mass. Cf. notes 2:7, §10; 2:1, §9; 1:15, §1; 1:14, §1; 1:12, §§3, 8; 1:11, §5; and 1:22, §1.

(16) bìkáyá 'on it'. -ká 'on, upon, surface' (indep. pp.).

(17) ńǯíńʔą́náʔà 'they had put it down, it is said'. 3a person perf. of nì- ni-...(ni- perf.) -ʔà· 'to put a round object down' (act. tr.). The theme: 'to handle a round object' (act. tr.). nì- 'down'; ni- completive. Cf. §15 above; here the referent is a piece of meat.

(18) bìčı̨·ǯìnè·skénáʔà 'they had sat down before it, it is said'. -čı̨· 'toward, facing, before' (indep. pp.). ǯìnè·ské, 3a person perf. of ni-...(si- perf.)-kè· 'two sit down' (act. intr.). ni- terminative prefix.

2:8.

(1) ʔèʔǯìnì·łγàłgò 'they, starting to eat'. 3a person imp. of Oè·-ʔi-ni-|...(ni- perf.?)-ł--γàł 'to begin eating' (act. intr.?). è·- is

shortened before the following glottal stop. This verb is sometimes conjugated in the -l- class; note that the initial stem consonant does not assimilate in voice to the preceding -ł- (such assimilation does not occur when -ł- is historically an -l-). Prefixes indefinable but cf. ...(hi- perf.)-l-γàł 'to eat' (act. tr.). Both verbs, incidentally, refer specifically to the eating of meat or meat-like substances.

(2) kàńyáná?à 'he came to them, it is said'. kà- > go- 3a obj. plus à·- 'to' (pp.); kà·- becoming kà- when followed by -n- plus consonant. ń- 3rd person ni- perf.; -yá perf. stem of -yá 'one moves' (act. intr.). See note 1:15, §2.

(3) dáyì·łcą̀è· 'as soon as he had seen him'. dá-...-è· 'as soon as, just as' (dá- 'just, pro-cl.; -è· 'at', pp.). yì·łcą, 3rd person perf. with 3rd person obj. of hi-|...(ni- perf.)-ł-cé 'to see' (act. tr.). See note 1:19, §3.

(4) hàóčàná?à 'he had burst out crying, it is said'. 3rd person perf. of hà-|...(hi- perf.) -čà 'to break out crying' (act. intr.). hà-| 'out'. Cf. note 2:5, §3.

(5) sìdáná?à 'he sat, it is said'. 3rd person of -dá 'one sits' (si- perf. neut. intr.).

2:9.

(1) ?ìyâ·bą̀· 'why'. ?ìyâ· 'what'. -bą̀· > bi- 3rd person obj. plus -ą̀· 'for, because of' (pp.).

(2) ńčà 'you weep'. 2nd person imp. of ... (hi- perf.)-čà 'to weep' (act. intr.). Cf. note 2:5, §3

(3) bínì? 'stop, let it go'. Interjection.

2:10.

(1) ⁿdé dò·ńžǫdàń 'the evil person'. ⁿdé 'person'. dò·-...-dà negative; ńžǫ 'he is good' (see note 1: 4. §2); -ń relative enclitic.

(2) nàhčì·hògá·łń 'he who is coming toward us'. nàh- 'us'; -čì· 'toward' (pp.); hògá·ł, 3rd person prog. of -yá 'one moves' (act. intr.); -ń relative enclitic.

(3) hìgè· 'because of him'. -gè· 'because of'; hi- variant 3rd person object.

2:11.

(1) bè?žìńyą̀gò 'they having started to eat it'. 3a person perf. of 0è·-?i-ni- ...(ni- perf.) -γí 'to begin to eat' (act. intr.). Prefixes indefinable but cf. ...(hi- perf.)-yą 'to eat' (act- tr.). Cf. also note 2:8, §1.

(2) bìčì.žìnè·skéńí 'those who had sat down before it'. bìčì·žìnè·ské 'they had sat down before it' (see note 2:7, §18). -ń past tense enclitic; -í relative enclitic.

A better translation of this phrase would be 'then, though the two who had sat down before the meat had begun to eat it, ...'.

(3) kà·náyìń?ą́ná?à 'he took it away from them, it is said'. kà·- 'from them' (go- plus à·- pp.). náyìń- > ná-yi-di- ni- (see note 1:22, §1); ná-di- 'upward'; yi- 3rd person obj.; ni- perf. -?ą, perf. stem of -?à· 'to handle a round object' (act. tr.). Literally 'he had picked up the round object from them'.

(4) dò·sí·łí (should read dò·ší·łí) 'that which I will eat'. First person future of ...(hi- perf.)-yą 'to eat' (act. tr.) plus -í relative enclitic. The stem consonant γ- (-γí·ł, prog. stem of -yą 'to eat') assimilates to the final consonant of the prefix complex dò·š-.

(5) dà·hìłčì?áł?í 'you have that'. dà·hìłčì- meaning unknown. ?áł?í, 2nd person imp. of ?á-... (hi- perf.)-ł-?í 'to do so to, to treat' (act. tr.). ?á- 'thus, so'.

2:12.

(1) ?áná·dó·λí·łí?ą̀· 'that which you will again make so'. ?á- 'thus, so'; ná·- 'again'; dó·- 2nd person fut.; -λí·ł, -d- form of -lí·ł, prog. stem of -lá 'to make' (act. tr.); -í relative enclitic; -?ą̀· interrog. enclitic. A better translation: 'that which you expect to make so'.

(2) ?áš?ì· 'I have prepared it'. First person perf. of ?á-...(? perf.)-ł-?í 'to make, prepare' (act. tr.).

Child of the Water, in this remark, is emphasizing that he, not his timid brother, prepared the meat which the Giant has stolen.

2:13.

(1) ?áγàžìgò 'over there'. ?áγà- 'there' (demonstr. stem) plus -žì 'to' (pp.) and -gò subordinating enclitic. See II A, §3.

(2) nè·sdážì 'where he sat down'. nè·sdá, 3rd person perf. of ni-...(si- perf.)-dà· 'one sits down' (act. intr.). ni- teminative. See note 2:7, §18. -žì 'to' (pp.).

(3) nìyíń?ą́ná?à 'he put it down, it is said'.

3rd person perf. of nì-ni-...(ni- perf.)-ʔà· 'to put a round object down' (act. tr.). See note 2:7, §17.

(4) bà·nášìʔą́náʔà 'he took it from him, it is said'. 3a person perf. of 0à·-ná-di-|...(ni-perf.) -ʔà· 'to take a round object from someone' (act. tr.). bà·- 'from him'; nášì- > ná-ǯi-di-ni-; ná- di-'upward' (di- becomes n-); ǯi- 3a subject (reduced to -š-); ni- perfective. See note 2:17, §8.

Note how, in this and the three sentences following, the two third persons are distinguished by the use of the 3a object pronoun. When Child of the Water is taking meat from the Giant, the indirect object is expressed by bi- (bà·nášì- ʔą́náʔà 'he took it from him, it is said') and when Giant takes it from Child of the Water, the indirect object is expressed by go- (kà·náylìʔą́- náʔà 'he took it from him, it is said).

(5) dı̨·ǹnáǹ 'exactly four times'. dı̨·-, combining form of dı̨·ʔ 'four'; -ǹ 'times'; -ná 'only, exactly'; -ǹ 'times' (?).

(6) ʔìłdénánáǯóʔą́náʔà 'they passed it between themselves, it is said'. ʔìł- reciprocal pronoun; -dé 'between, from one to another' (pp.); nánà- 'again and again'; ǯó·- 3a person, hi- perf. -ʔą́ perf. stem of -ʔà· 'to handle a round object' (act. tr.).

2:14.

(1) xà·dí 'what'. Interrog. stem xà·d- plus relative enclitic -í. See II A, §4.

(2) ǹḱàʔgò 'being your arrows'. ǹ- reduced form of ni- 2nd person poss.; -ḱàʔ possessed form of ḱà· 'arrows'; -gò subordinating enclitic.

(3) hàsíǹké 'you are fierce'. 2nd person of hà-...-d-ké 'to be fierce, war-like, pugnacious' (si- perf. neut. intr.).

This remark is better translated: "What are your arrows, you [who] are fierce?" Or, in freer translation: "Of what are your arrows made that you can be so war-like?"

2:15.

bìḱà·ʔí 'his arrows' should read bìḱàʔí. See note 2:14, §2.

2:16.

(1) ʔńǯá·šą̨ 'hand them here'. ʔńǯá:š, 2nd person imp. with indefinite obj. of ni-...(ni- perf.)-ǯá·š 'to move a bundle to' (act. tr.). ni- completive. -šą̨ exclamatory enclitic.

(2) náḱédìšxà·ł 'I'll look at them for you'. ná- > ni- 2nd person obj. plus á- 'for' (pp.). ḱédìšxà·ł, 1st person imp. of ḱé-di-...(si- perf.) -yà·ł 'to look at' (act. tr.). Prefixes: ḱé- 'at', cf. di-...(si- perf.)-yà·ł 'to look' (act. intr.); di- inceptive (?). Stem -yà·ł becomes -xà·ł by assimilation to preceding -š-.

2:17.

(1) bà·ǯíńǯà·náʔà 'he gave them to him, it is said'. 3a person perf. of 0à·-ni-...(ni- perf.) -ǯá·š 'to give someone a bundle' (act. tr.). à·- 'to' (pp.); ni- completive; -ǯá·š 'to handle a bundle' (act. tr.).

(2) ḱà·ǹí 'the arrows'. ḱà· 'arrows' plus -ǹ past tense enclitic and -í relative enclitic. The past tense enclitic, used with a noun, indicates that it is one which has been mentioned before.

(3) bìcìlè 'his anus'. Noun with constant possessor. See II A, §5.

(4) káyélìšǯà·náʔà (should read káyélsǯà·- náʔà), 'he rubbed them on it for him, it is said'. ká- 'for him'. yélsǯà·, 3rd person perf. of 0é- ...(si- perf.)-ǯìš 'to rub something on something' (act. tr.). é- 'on, against' (pp.). yéls- > yi- indirect 3rd person obj.; -é 'on'; yi- direct 3rd person object; and si- perfective.

(5) yáhá 'away, over there'. yáh- 'there, yonder' plus -yá pp. See II A, §8.

(6) dádò·dè·sʔı̨dàyá 'where he did not look'. dá- 'just'; dò·-...-dà negative; -yá pp. dè·sʔı̨ 'he looked', 3rd person perf. verb apparently with a prefix di-. Only the perfective mode is found in Chiricahua.

(7) káyà·náyíńⁿdìlnáʔà 'he threw them away for him, it is said'. ká- 'for him'. yà·náyíńⁿdìl 3rd person perf. with 3rd person obj. of yà·-ná- ni-...(ni- perf.)-ⁿdí·ł 'to throw several away back' (act. tr.). yà·- 'away' (?); ná- 'back'; ni- completive. Theme: 'to handle several scattered objects' (act. tr.). The use of this theme in place of -ǯá·š 'to handle a bundle' (act. tr.), which was previously used to refer to the arrows, indicates that the Giant scattered the arrows.

2:18.

ⁿdí·ʔà 'you!'. ⁿdí (variant ⁿdí·-) indepen-

dent pronoun for the second person; -ʔà enclitic denoting emphasis or exclamation.

2:19.

(1) béńčłyéńcà·zí 'big pine logs'. béńčłyé (also heard béńčłʔ) 'pine trees, pine logs'. ńcà·z, 3rd person of ni-...-cà·z 'to be big, bulky' (imp. neut. intr.; ni- adj.). -í relative.

(2) bìyè·šxàhyá 'at his side'. -è·šxàh 'in the vicinity of, near' (pp.); bi- 'his'; -yá pp.

(3) sìžò·ží 'that were lying in rows'. 3rd person of -žò·ž 'a set of parallel objects lie' (si- perf. neut. intr.) plus -í relative.

(4) káyółčìnáʔà 'he pointed them out for him, it is said'. ká- 'for him'. yółčì, 3rd person imp. with 3rd person obj. of hó-...(hi- perf.)-ł-čì 'to point at, to indicate' (act. tr.). Prefix indefinable.

2:20.

(1) nádì·ʒáná?à 'he arose, it is said'. nádì·- > ná-dì- 'upward' plus ni- perf. -ʒá, perf. -d- stem of -yá 'one moves' (act. intr.; see note 1:15, §2).

(2) béńčłyéí šìłkà? bìłʒìⁿdíńí 'the logs he had told him [were] his arrows'. béńčłyéí 'the pine logs'; šìłkà? 'my arrows'; bìłʒìⁿdí 'he told him'; -ń past tense enclitic ; -í relative. Literally: 'the pine logs "my arrows" that he had told him'.

(3) káłkìnà·hè·sʒì·ná?à 'he rubbed his anus on them for him, it is said'. ká- 'for him'. -łkì- > yłkì- 'on them'. nà·-hi-...(si- perf.)-ł-ʒì· 'to slide one's anus; to sit along; to move along while sitting' (act. intr.). Cf. ni-...(si- perf.) -ł-ʒí 'to sit down, to perch' (act. intr.; ni- terminative).

2:21.

(1) ?ìłà·nà·gòłà·šná?à 'they quarrelled with each other, it is said'. ?ìł- reciprocal pronoun; à·- 'from' (pp.). nà·-|...(si- perf.)-?à·š 'two move about, here and there' (act. intr.). ?ìł- causes the stem to have the -d- form. Literally: 'they walked about from one another'.

(2) ?ìłkìdą́ 'long ago' (part.). Cf. the enclitic -dą́ 'time past'.

(3) ńdàh 'but' (part.).

(4) gòčì·sìdáná?à 'he sat before him, it is said'. -čì· 'before, facing, towards' (indep. pp.).

2:22.

(1) ?ìłà·łłó 'let's shoot at each other'. first person dual imp. with reciprocal prefix ?ìł- of ni-...(ni- perf.)-ł-łó 'to shoot at' (act. tr.; ni- completive).

(2) łéhéńdò·dàí 'that you are so brave'. łéhéńdò·, 2nd person of łé-hé-ni-...-dò· 'to be brave' (imp. neut. intr.). Prefixes indefinable. -dà 'even, so' (encl.); -í relative.

(3) bégò·zì· 'it will be known'. 3rd person imp. of Oé-go-|...(si- perf.)-zì· 'knowledge about something comes' (act. intr.). é- 'about'; go- ?.

2:24.

(1) šánàńńⁿdá 'you stand over there for me'. šá- 'for me'. Prefixes nà-nì-ni- indefinable except that the final ni- is probably completive. -ⁿdá, 2nd person imperf. stem of -yá 'one moves' (act. intr.). See 1:15, §2.

(2) nìńšłó 'I'll shoot at you'. First person imp. with 2nd person obj. of ni-...(ni- perf.) -ł-łó 'to shoot at' (act. tr.). See note 2:22, § 1.

2:26.

(1) kánàńńyáná?à 'he stood over there for him, it is said'. 3rd person perf. of Oá-nà-nì-ni-...(ni- perf.)-yá 'to stand over there for someone' (act. intr.). See note 2:24, §1.

(2) dí·ń 'four times'. dí·- combined form of dí·? 'four'; -ń 'times'.

(3) góńłłòná?à 'he shot at him, it is said'. 3rd person perf. with 3a obj. of ni-...(ni- perf.) -ł-łó 'to shoot at' (act. tr.). See note 2:22, § 1.

(4) dí·ḱè·ń 'every time'. dí·ḱè·- combined form of dí·ḱèh 'all, every' (part.); -ń 'times'.

(5) gòsì·ná?à 'he missed him, it is said'. 3rd person imp. with 3a obj. of ...(hi- perf.) -ł-zì· 'to miss (a mark in shooting)' (act. tr.). -ł- combines with the initial stem consonant.

2:28.

(1) béšgàì?é 'flint'. Possibly an old compound of bé·š 'flint' (< béš-); -gàì 'white', cf. łi-ni-...-gà 'to be white' (imp. neut. intr.; łi-ni- adj. prefixes); and the relative -é.

(2) dɩ̨·ʔgò 'being four'. dɩ̨·ʔ 'four'; -gò subordinating enclitic.

(3) ʔɩ̀łká·ʔsɩ̀ʒà·gò 'being laid on top of one another'. ʔɩ̀ł- reciprocal prefix; -ká·ʔ-, variant of -ká 'top, surface' (indep. pp.). sɩ̀ʒà· 'a mass lies' (3rd person si- perf. neut. intr.).

(4) bɩ̀ʔédèná?à '[was] his coat, it is said'. -ʔédè, possessed form of ʔé·ʔ 'coat'.

(5) dò·kàʔólídàná?à 'he was not afraid of him, it is said'. dò·-...-dà negative. kàʔólí, 3rd person of 0à·-ʔi-ho-...-lí 'to be suspicious of, to fear, to have no faith in' (imp. neut. intr.). à·- 'about' (?); ʔi-ho- ?.

2:29.

(1) ʔɩ̀kášɩ̨gò 'the topmost'. ʔɩ̀ká 'top, surface' (-ká with indef. pronoun); -šɩ̨ 'from' (pp.); -gò subordinating enclitic. Literally: 'being from the surface'.

(2) gòʔédèǹí 'his coat'. -ʔédè, possessed form of ʔé·ʔ 'coat'; -ǹ past tense enclitic (see note 2:17, §2); -í relative.

(3) gòγàhnà·ʒó·łtè·lná?à 'it had slid off him, it is said'. -γàh 'off' (pp.). nà·ʒó·łtè·l, 3rd person perf. of nà·-ʒi-...(hi- perf.)-ł-té·ł 'to stream, to slide' (act. intr.). nà·- 'down'; ʒi- ?.

(4) ná·bɩ̀kèšɩ̨gò 'the next layer'. ná·- 'again'; -kè 'on' (pp.). Literally: 'being from on it again'.

(5) ʔáíłɩ̀ʔí 'this one'. ʔáí 'that'; łɩ̀ʔ 'this, the other'.

(6) tá·ǹ hɩ̀là·è· 'for the third time'. tà·- combined form of táí 'three; -ǹ 'times'. hɩ̀là·, 3rd person imp. of ...(si- perf.)-là· 'to become' (act. intr.; hi- peg element). -è· 'at' (pp.). Literally: 'at its becoming the third time'.

(7) tá·ǹè· 'the third time'. tá·- from táí 'three'; -ǹ 'times'; -è· 'at' (pp.).

(8) dágòǹʔòšɩ̨ 'clearly, in plain sight'. dágòǹʔòh 'it is clear, plain, in plain sight' (no analysis). -šɩ̨ 'from' (pp.).

(9) gòʒéí 'his heart'. -ʒéí 'heart', noun with constant possessor.

(10) nà·hɩ̀hⁿdáná?à 'it was beating, it is said'. 3rd person imp. of nà·-hi-...(si- perf.) -d-ⁿdá 'to move, tremble, shake' (mediopas.). Prefixes indefinable but cf. dɩ̀-yi-...(si- perf.) -ⁿdá 'to begin to move, shake' (act. intr.). The -d- classifier becomes -h- before the stem consonant ⁿd- (see II A, §7).

(11) dásí?ɩ̀łⁿdíyá 'right in the center'. dásí- 'just, exactly' (procl.); ʔɩ̀ł- reciprocal pronoun; -ⁿdí 'middle, center' (pp.); -yá postpositional enclitic.

(12) ʔɩ̀ʒó·sɩ̀ná?à 'he had shot it off, it is said'. 3rd person perf. of ʔɩ̀-ʒi-...(hi- perf.) -ł-zɩ̀· 'to shoot off (an arrow)' (act. intr.). ʔɩ̀- 'off, away'; ʒi- ?. -ł- combines with the initial stem consonant.

2:30.

(1) ʔɩ̀yâ·hè· should read ʔɩ̀yâ·xè· 'what'.

(2) dò·tɩ̨dàí 'that which cannot be seen'. dò·-...-dà negative; hòtɩ̨, 3rd person passive of -ʔɩ̨ 'to see' (prog. neut. tr.); -í relative.

(3) ʔášɩ̀łʔɩ̨·ná 'it has done so to me'. 3rd person perf. with first person obj. of ʔá-...(? perf.)-ł-ʔɩ̨ 'to do to, treat' (act. tr.). -ná emphatic enclitic.

2:31.

(1) náǹłγè· 'run'. 2nd person imp. of ná-di-|...(ni- perf.)-l-γè· 'to run' (act. intr.). Prefixes indefinable but the theme, used with a variety of prefixes, seems to mean 'to move rapidly' (act. intr.). In the 2nd person imp., di- becomes ǹ-. Note that the 2nd person imp. has imperative connotation; see note 1:17, §2.

(2) ǹdè·skà· 'he has started to fall'. 3rd person perf. of ní- di-...(si- perf.)-kà· 'a long object begins to fall' (act. intr.). di- inceptive; ní- ?.

(3) ǹkè·nɩ̀·kà· 'he will fall on you'. 3rd person imp. of 0-kè·-ni-|...(hi- perf.)-kà· 'a long object falls on someone' (act. intr.). -kè· 'on'; ni-| ?. Cf. §2 above.

2:32.

(1) ʔɩ̀łéńzɩ̨ná?à 'he was happy, it is said'. See note 1:18, §5.

(2) nà·ná?àžɩ̀šná?à 'he was dancing around and around, it is said'. Prefix complex nà·-ná-ʔi-...found only with the prog. paradigm. -žɩ̀š prog. stem of -ží·š 'to dance' (act. intr.).

2:33.

(1) bà·nážíɡɩ̨ná?à 'they carried it back to her, it is said'. bà·- > bi- 3rd person obj. plus à·- 'to' (pp.). nážíɡɩ̨, 3a person perf. of ná- ni-

...(ni- perf.)-d-yè· 'to carry a burden back' (act. tr.). ná- 'back', requires the -d- form; ni- completive. Theme: 'to carry a burden' (act. tr.).

(2) ʔlxéhè· 'good, thank you'. Interjection denoting pleasure and gratitude.

(3) ʔlʒó·ʔá·ždą́ 'when they had gone away'. 3a person perf. of ʔi-|...(hi- perf.)-ʔà·š 'two go away' (act. intr.). ʔl-| 'away'. -dą́ 'at that time; time past' (encl.).

(4) dò·hlⁿdákà·yólídà 'she had not expected them alive'. dò·-...-dà negative; hlⁿdá, 3rd person of -ⁿdá 'to live, to be alive' (imp. neut. intr.; hi- peg element ʔ). kà·yólí, 3rd person with 3rd person obj. of 0à·-ho-...-lí 'to expect, to believe' (imp. neut. intr.). Cf. note 2:28, §5.

(5) ʔáíìì 'they'. ʔáí 'those'; -ì past tense enclitic; -í relative.

(6) bà·nážłťá·ž 'they had come back to her'. For prefix complex, see §1, this note. -ťá·ž, -d- form of the perf. stem of -ʔà·š 'two move' (act. intr.).

(7) bánłžíγą́ 'they had brought it for her'. bá- 'for her'. nłžíγą́, 3a person perf. of nł-ni-...(ni- perf.)-yè· 'to stop carrying a burden, to bring' (act. tr.). nł- 'to a stop'; ni- completive.

(8) bínłxò·náʔà 'she was happy, it is said'. An unanalyzable form; cf. šínłxò· 'I am happy', nínłxò· 'you are happy'.

3:1.

(1) nâ·ʔcíłł blⁿdâ·yè·ʔłγą́·ʔí 'the Bull that kills with his eyes'. nâ·ʔcíłł 'bull, cow, cattle' (no analysis). blⁿdâ· 'his eyes'; yè·ʔłγą́·ʔ-, a bound form of yè·ʔłγą́ 'he kills by means of them'. yè·- > yi- 3rd person obj. plus è·- 'with, by means of' (pp.). ʔłγą́, 3rd person imp. with indef. obj. of ...(hi- perf.)-γą́ 'to kill several' (act. tr.). -í relative enclitic.

(2) dò·báńgólà·dàná?àí 'he, who, it is said, did not permit them to live'. Relative in -í; for analysis of verb, see note 1:5, §4.

3:2.

(1) nà·γáí 'that he lives'. nà·γá 'he goes about here and there' (see note 1:6, §1) also means 'he lives'. -í relative.

(2) blčą·dłyéšʒá 'I'm going to him'. -čą· 'to, toward' (pp.). dłyéšʒá, 1st person perf. of di-yi-|...(si- perf.)-dá 'one starts off' (act. intr.). -dá, -d- form of -yá 'one moves' (act. intr.; see note 1:15, §2). Prefixes indefinable.

(3) hlčą·ʔlhà·ʒáná?à 'he went off to him, it is said'. hlčą· 'toward, to him' (hi- variant 3rd person obj.) plus 3rd person perf. of ʔl-hi-|...(hi- perf.)-dá 'one goes off, away' (act. intr.). ʔl- 'away'; hi- ʔ.

3:3.

(1) dò·xàʔšą́ bà·žóyàʔlèʔáťédàšą́ 'where one could not approach him from any direction'. dò·-...-dà negative; xàʔ- 'anywhere, any direction', -šą́ 'from' (pp.). bà·žóyàʔ, 3a person opt. of 0à·-ni-...(ni- perf.)-yá 'one goes to someone' (act. intr.; à·- 'to'; ni- completive, occurs only in the imp.). -lè· (shortened to -lè by the following -ʔ) optative enclitic. ʔáťé, 3rd person of ʔá-ni-...-ťé 'to be so' (imp. neut. intr.).

(2) sìtłną́ʔà 'he lay, it is said'. 3rd person of -tłą́ 'an animate object lies' (si- perf. neut. intr.).

(3) dáʒìłgàšą́ 'right in a plain'. dáʒìłgà 'plain, clearing'; cf. gòłgà 'plain, clearing' and łi-ni-...-gà 'to be white' (imp. neut. intr.; łi-ni- adj.).

(4) ʔłčą́gò 'in all directions'. -čą́ 'away, from' (pp.); ʔłł- reciprocal; -gò subordinating. Literally: 'being from one another'.

This sentence is better translated: "he lay looking in all directions from a clearing."

3:4.

(1) hànáʔàń 'hiding place, out of sight' (part.); -šą́ 'from' (pp.).

(2) blčą·ńžíńyáná?à 'he stopped facing him, it is said'. blčą· 'toward him, facing him'. ń-žíńyá, 3a person perf. of nł-ni-...(ni- perf.)-yá 'one stops moving' (act. intr.). nł- 'to a stop'; ni- completive.

(3) žł·sdáná?àgò 'he, sitting, it is said'. žł·sdá, 3a person of -dá 'one sits' (si- perf. neut. intr.); -ná?à narrative encl.; -gò subordinating encl. The narrative enclitic is not usually suffixed to subordinated verbs (see note 1:1, §3).

(4) ʔàʔá·łná?à '(the sun) was moving, it is said'. ʔà- > ʔi- indefinite pronoun plus the 3rd person prog. prefix hà-. -ʔá·ł, prog. stem of -ʔà·

'a round object moves' (act. intr.). Literally: 'some round object is moving', an idiomatic expression for 'the sun is moving, time is passing'. Thus, the sentence reads: 'he, sitting there, time is passing', which is the Apache way of expressing 'he sat there for some time'.

(5) xàʔgǒxè· 'how', a combination of xàʔ- interrog. stem, -gǒ subord. encl., and -xè· interrogative encl.

(6) ʔà·í 'that', the demonstr. stem ʔà·- plus the relative enclitic -í. See II A, §8.

(7) sìšxéná 'I shall kill him!. sìšxé, first person imp. of si-...(si- perf.)-ł-γé 'to kill one' (act. tr.). The first person pronoun š- and the classifier -ł- combine, and the initial consonant of the stem assimilates to this combination in voice. -ná emphatic enclitic.

3:5.

(1) dáhágǒ·hⁿdì· 'suddenly' (part.).

(2) łíγèʔnà·ʔìⁿdìlé 'gopher'. łí- 'ground' (in compounds and as a verb prefix); -γèʔ 'inside' (pp.); nà·ʔìⁿdìl, 3rd person cont. imp. with indefinite obj. of nà·-|...(si- perf.)-ⁿdí·ł 'to tear up, to scatter about' (act. tr.); -é relative. Literally: 'he who scatters things about underground'.

(3) kà·híłγǒná̓ʔà 'he had come to him, it is said'. 3rd person perf. of 0à·-ni-...(ni- perf.) -l-γè· 'to come to someone' (act. intr.). à·- 'to' (pp.); ni- completive. This verb theme is one of the few which always have the -l- class.

3:6.

The part of this paragraph within the quotation marks may be analyzed as follows:

ʔà·í nâ·ʔcílì bìⁿdâ·yè·ʔìγą́·ʔí ⁿdé dò·báńgólà·dàí 'that Bull who kills with his eyes [and] who does not permit people to live' is the object of sìšxé 'I'll kill him'. xàʔyágǒdà 'in some way' modifies hìšłá 'I'll do it' and łàʔ 'that' is the direct object of hìšłá. Thus, 'I'll do that [referring to the killing] in some way'.

In ńsìʔí 'that which I wish', 'that which' refers back to the statement 'I'll kill the Bull who kills with his eyes [and] who does not permit people to live [by] my doings of some nature'. Therefore, the whole phrase may be translated: "that which I want [is to] kill the Bull who..."

dò·xàʔyágǒ łàʔ hòšłá háťédàí is a relative form of the negative of xàʔyágǒ 'in some way', łàʔ 'that', hòšłá 'I want to do it' (opt.), and háťé 'it is possible, it can be done'. Thus: 'that which it is not possible [that] I do in some way'.

bìgè· 'because of it', 'it' referring to the phrase analyzed above; hìšcà 'I weep'. Therefore: 'I weep because of that which it is not possible [that] I do in some way'.

3:7.

(1) ʔíyą̀· 'for that reason, therefore'; -ń ʔ.

(2) ʔìłdàgé 'on, above one another'; ʔìł- reciprocal, -dàgé 'on, above' (pp.). Cf. -dá 'top, cover'.

(3) ʔńʔáńgǒ 'being tunnels'. ʔńʔáń 'tunnel', an unanalyzable noun. Cf. ʔì·ʔáń 'hole, cave'.

(4) dásí bìʒéí sìʔą́í ʔážį̀ 'to exactly where his heart lies'. dásí 'exactly'; bìʒéí 'his heart'; sìʔą́í, relative form of sìʔą́ 'a round object lies' (3rd person si- perf. neut. intr.); ʔá- 'there', -žį̀ 'to'.

(5) náhàʔìšⁿdí·ł 'I'll dig them for you'. ná- 'for you'. hàʔìšⁿdí·ł 'I'll throw things out, I'll dig', 1st person imp. with indef. obj. of hà-|...(hi- perf.)-ⁿdí·ł 'to cause several objects to move out' (act. tr.). hà-| 'out'; -ⁿdí·ł 'to cause several objects to move'.

(6) ǩàdì ńłdó·ⁿdì·gǒ '"Now," I having said to you'. ǩàdì 'now'. ńłdó·ⁿdì·, 1st person perf. of 0-ł-di-...(hi- perf.)-ⁿdí 'to say to someone' (act. intr.). See note 1:15, §3.

(7) ʔìdáhé 'the topmost'; -gǒ subord. encl. Cf. -dá 'top' and note 3:7, §2.

(8) ʔńłγè· 'you run in'. 2nd person imp. of ʔì-|...(hi- perf.)-l-γè· 'to run in' (act. intr.). ʔì-| 'in, into; away', reduced to ʔ-.

(9) ʔà·è· ń·łγǒgǒ 'you having arrived there'. ʔà·- 'there'; -è· 'at'. ń·łγǒ, 2nd person perf. of ni-...(ni- perf.)-l-γè· 'to arrive' (act. intr.). ni- completive.

(10) dáʒą̀·šį̀ 'from right there'. dá- 'just, exactly'; ʒą̀·- 'here'; -šį̀ 'from'.

(11) nà·hìhⁿdá 'it is beating' (see note 2: 29, §16); -dà·ł future tense enclitic.

(12) ʔìʒóńsìgǒ 'you, having shot it off'. 2nd person perf. of ʔì-ʒi-...(hi- perf.)-ł-zì· 'to shoot off (an arrow)' (act. intr.). See note 2:29, §12.

(13) dásíʔìyàhégǒ 'being the lowest'. ʔìyàhé

'below, under' (pp. with indef. poss. ?); dásí- 'just, exactly, very'.

(14) kàðhⁿdì·ná?à 'he advised him, it is said'. 3rd person perf. of Oà·-|...(hi- perf.)-d- -ⁿdí 'to advise, teach' (act. intr.). à·- 'to'; -ⁿdí 'to say'. Note that the -d- classifier has become -h- (see II A, §7).

3:8.

(1) xą?áł?ţ 'hurry up'. xą- 'hurry, quickly'; ?áł?ţ, 2nd person imp. of ?á-...(? perf.)-ł -?ţ 'to do so' (act. tr.). Literally: 'do so in a hurry, quickly'.

(2) dá?áñłdìšⁿdíí 'just that which I tell you'. dá- 'just'; -í relative. ?áñłdìšⁿdí 'I tell you so', see note 1:15, §3.

(3) dí·ḱèh 'all, completely'. See note 1:1, §4,

(4) dá?ákà·yá 'in just that way'. dá- 'just'; ?ákà· 'there, that way'; -yá pp.

(5) ?áⁿdá 'you do so'. 2nd person imp. of ?á-...(? perf.)-d-ⁿdá 'to do so' (act. intr.).

3:10.

(1) ?ò·łγònná?à 'he had gone in, it is said'. 3rd person perf. of ?ì-|...(hi- perf.)-l-γè· 'to go in' (act. intr.). Cf. note 3:7, §8.

(2) dásíbìλášţ 'from exactly under him'. -λáh 'under, beneath' (pp.).

(3) ñǯíłγònná?à 'he stopped moving, it is said'. 3a person perf. of nî- nı-...(ni- perf.) -l-γè· 'to stop moving' (act. intr.). Cf. note 3:7, §8.

(4) bìčąnášdì·łγònná?à 'he ran away from him, it is said'. -čą 'away, from'. For verb, see note 2:31, §1.

3:11.

(1) bìdè·í 'his horns'. -dè· 'horns'.

(2) yè·nà·nágàʒţ·sná?à 'he was plowing it up with them, it is said'. yè·- 'with, by means of them'. nà·nágàʒţ·s, 3rd person prog. with place object and prefix nà·ná- 'all around, here and there' of -ʒţ·s 'to plough, to rip, to tear' (act. tr.). The prefix nà·ná- occurs only in the progressive mode. See note 2:32, §2.

(3) nàlsⁿdìlná?à 'he tore them up, it is said'. 3rd person perf. of nà·-|...(si- perf. -ⁿdí·ł 'to scatter several objects' (act. tr.).

(4) dásí?ìkéyá 'finally'. dásí- 'just, exactly'; -ké 'next to, behind, after'.

(5) hìḱená·gòdè·sčìná?à 'he had started to tear it up also, it is said'. 3rd person perf. of ḱé-ná·-go-di-...(si- perf.)-d-čì· 'to tear ground up again, to furrow the ground again' (act. intr.). ḱé- ?; ná·- 'again, also'; go- place object?; di- inceptive. The theme alone appears to mean 'to dig, to scratch'.

(6) ǯì·stţí dágðčţ· ?áxá·néyá 'just close to where he was lying'. ǯì·stţ, 3a person of -tţ 'an animate being lies' (si- perf. neut. intr.); dágðčţ· 'just toward him' (-čţ· 'toward'); ?áxá·né, 3rd person of ?á-ni-...-xá·né 'to be near, close to, in the vicinity of' (imp. neut. intr.).

(7) cádè·sλìžná?à 'he had started to fall dead, it is said'. 3rd person perf. of cá-di-... (si- perf.)-λí·š 'to fall dead' (act. intr.). Cf. di-...(si- perf.)-λí·š 'to fall, stumble' (act. intr.; di- inceptive). The prefix cá- 'dead' may be cognate to the theme of the verb dà·-|...(si- perf.)-cà· 'to die' (act. intr.).

3:12.

ná·ǯìyè·sxţná?à 'he had killed him also, it is said'. 3rd person perf. of ná·-si-...(si-perf.) -ł-γé 'to kill one also' (act. tr.). ná·- 'also, again'. See note 2:7, §5. See also, in paragraph 13 of the text, ná·zéłxţ 'I have killed him also', the first person perf. of this verb. Here, for some reason, the initial consonant of the prefix si- is voiced.

4:1.

(1) bìčí·?í 'his intestines'. -čí·? 'intestines'.

(2) dá?áí 'that same one'. dá- 'just, exactly'; ?áí 'that'.

(3) bìdìłèì 'his blood'. -dìłè 'blood'.

(4) bìγè·žţ ñtáǯì·sⁿdìlná?à 'he poured it into them, it is said'. -γè·- 'in, inside' (cf. -γè? 'inside'). ñtáǯì·sⁿdìl, 3a person perf. of nì-tá-...(si- perf.)-ⁿdí·ł 'to pour' (act. tr.). -ⁿdí·ł 'to handle several objects'; nì- 'down, to an end' (?); -tá 'water, liquid' (?).

4:2.

(1) ?ìcá bìⁿdâ·yè·?ìγą·?ń 'the Eagle that kills with his eyes'. ?ìcá 'eagle'. For bìⁿdâ·yè·- ?ìγą·?-, see note 3:1, §1. Note that here the relative enclitic -ń, referring to persons, is

used whereas, in the compound denoting the Bull, -í was employed.

(2) bìčı̨·ná·dìyéšʒá 'I am also going to him'. For analysis, see note 3:2, §2. Here the prefix ná·- 'also, again' has been added. In the line below in the text, the 3a person of this verb will be found.

4:3.

(1) čéʒí^{n}dádàdą́ 'even when he went out'. čéʒí^{n}dá, 3a person imp. of čé-ni-...(ni- perf.)-yá 'one moves out' (act. intr.; čé- 'out'; ni- completive). The stem form is usually -yá in the 3a person (see note 1:15, §2). However, the influence of the ni- completive undoubtedly accounts for this variation.

-dà 'even'; -dą́ 'time when, time past'.

(2) bè·hàdà·šdè·sbı̨?ńí 'that he had filled with it'. bè·- 'with it, by means of it'. hàdà·šdè·sbı̨?, 3a person perf. with distrib. 3rd person obj. of hà-di-...(si- perf.)-ł-bı̨? 'to fill' (act. tr.; hà- di- ?). ń past tense; -í relative.

(3) ǵǒ́ǩéšdè·sdìzná?à 'he had wound them around him, it is said'. 3a person perf. of O-ǩé-di-...(si- perf.)-dìs 'to wind something about someone' (act. tr.; -ǩé 'on, around'; di- inceptive ?).

(4) dí·ǩè·ń 'many times'. dí·ǩè·-, bound form of dí·ǩèh 'all, every'; -ń 'times'.

4:4.

(1) céyáłťáhǒ·?ášı̨ 'from the rock which extends to the sky'. cé 'rock, stone'. yáłťá 'up in the sky'; yá 'sky'; -ł-ťá ?, cf. -ťá 'top'. hǒ·-?á, 3rd person of hà-...-?á 'to extend up, to extend out of' (hi- perf. neut. intr.).

(2) hìłdàsìžéšı̨ 'where he lies on it with them'. hìł- 'with them' (-ł 'with, accompanying'). dàh-...-žé 'several lie on' (si- perf. neut. intr.; dàh- 'on').

(3) ?ìyâ·dà xà?yádà čé^{n}dáí 'that someone will come out somewhere'. ?ìyâ· 'someone' plus -dà 'even'. xà?yá 'somewhere'. For čé^{n}dá, see note 4:3, §1: this is the 3rd person imp.

(4) híkádè·s?ı̨ǵǒ dàsìdášı̨ 'where he sits on it looking for them'. híká 'for, in search of, them'; -ká 'for, in search of' (pp.) requires a high tone on its prefixes. dè·s?ı̨ 'he is looking', see note 2:17, §6. dàsìdá, 3rd person of dàh-...-dá 'one sits on' (si- perf. neut. intr.; dàh- 'on').

(5) dágô·ščı̨· 'suddenly' (part.).

(6) ǵǒ́ǵǒ̀ná?à 'he swooped down at him, it is said'. 3rd person perf. with 3a object of ni-...(ni- perf.)-gè· 'to run, rush at; to swoop down upon' (act. tr.; ni- completive).

(7) ǵǒyádè·łčìná?à 'he grabbed him with his claws, it is said'. 3rd person perf. of O-yá-di-ni-...(ni- perf.)-ł-čí 'to grasp with claws, to claw, tear at' (act. intr.). Prefixes indefinable but the theme alone appears to mean 'to scratch'.

(8) hàdà·slı̨ 'it flowed out'. 3rd person distrib. of hà-...-lí 'to flow out' (si- perf. because of dà·-; otherwise hi- perf. neut. intr.). -lı̨ 'to flow', cf. ńlı̨ 'it flows' (3rd person ni- perf. neut. intr.).

Note that this verb, with its subject dìłí 'blood', stands in an adverbial relation to the verb following, sìlı̨ná?à 'it had become, it is said'.

(9) nágǒ̀łtı̨ná?à 'he had picked him up, it is said'. 3rd person perf. with 3a obj. of ná-di-|...(ni- perf.)-ł-tè· 'to pick an animate being' (act. tr.). See note 1:22, §1 for an analysis of the prefixes.

(10) yà·nágógı̨ná?à 'he carried him back to them, it is said'. yà·- 'to them'. nágógı̨, 3rd person perf. with 3a obj. of ná-ni-...(ni- perf.) -d-yè· 'to carry a burden back'. ná- 'back' requires the -d- class; ni- completive.

4:5.

(1) nà·hè·stą́žı̨ 'to where they were sitting'. nà·hè·stą́, 3rd person of nà·-hi-...-tą́ 'several sit about' (si- perf. neut. intr.).

(2) hìčı̨·?ìyó·łťèná?à 'he threw him toward them, it is said'. hìčı̨· 'toward them'. ?ìyó·łťè, 3rd person perf. with 3rd person obj. of ?ì-|...(hi- perf.)-ł-ťè· 'to throw a board-like object' (act. tr.; ?ì-| 'away'). The theme alone refers to the handling of board-like objects.

(3) bìčè?šké 'his children'; -ń past tense; -í relative.

(4) ?à·í xą̀h ǩàdì dà·hàłyàł 'eat this up quickly'. Literally: 'that one / quickly / now/ you eat him'. dà·hàłyàł, 2nd person distrib. of ...(hi- perf.)-l-yàł 'to eat meat-like substances' (act. tr.).

(5) cédè·s?ášı̨ 'where the rock extended'. cé 'rock, stone'; dè·s?á, 3rd person of di-...-?á

'to begin to extend' (si- perf. neut. intr.).

(6) dàhnáñdà·ñšı̨ 'on which he usually sat' dàhnáñdà·, 3rd person iter. of dàh-ni-...(si- perf.)-dà· 'one sits down on' (act. intr.; dàh- 'on'; ni- terminative). -ñ past tense.

The verb following, dàhnánè·sdáná?à, is the 3rd person perf. of dàh-ná-ni-...(si- perf.)-d--dà· 'one sits down on again' (act. intr.). ná- 'again' requires the -d- class.

4:6.

(1) bı̀čı̨·šdıdè·sⁿdı·ná?à 'they reached out toward him, it is said'. bı̀čı̨· 'toward him'. -šdıdè·sⁿdı· > šıdıdè·sⁿdı·, 3a person perf. of dı-di-...(si- perf.)-ł-ⁿdí 'to move one's hands' (act. intr.). dı-di- ?; the theme alone 'to make a movement of the hands'.

(2) bı̀łdà·góγéná?à 'they were afraid, it is said'. góγé, place subj. of ni-...-γé 'there is danger, fear' (imp. neut. intr.). bı̀ł- 'with him'; dà·- distrib. Note that dà·- modifies bi- and not go- the place subject. The position of dà·- is the same whether it refers to subject or object; the reference being made clear by the context.

4:8.

(1) nó·γðyáxąh 'go on, go ahead' (interjection). Cf. nó·γð 'go on' and xąh 'hurry'.

(2) dà·scą 'he had died'. 3rd person perf. of dà·-|...(si- perf.)-cà· 'to die' (act. intr.; da·- ?).

(3) ḱà·dà·ḱèšı̨ 'from where he is wounded'. 3rd person distrib. imp. of ḱà·-|...(si- perf.) -ḱè 'to be wounded' (act. intr.; ḱà·- 'arrow'?). In this form, dà·- seems to function adverbially to indicate that the subject is wounded in many places.

(4) hàdà·sčı̨?í 'that which is blowing out'. 3rd person distrib. perf. of hà-|...(si- perf.) -ł-čı̨· 'wind blows out' (act. intr.; hà-| 'out').

(5) ?áłżčà 'there is a noise'. 3rd person imp. of ?á-yi-...(hi- perf.)-ł-ċà 'there is a noise; a noise is heard' (act. intr.). ?á-yi- ?, but cf. di-|...(si- perf.)-ċà 'to hear (noises)' (act. tr.; di-| referring to noise).

(6) dá?áγádà·gðłdè·sⁿdı·dą́ 'just as he had told them this'. dá-...-dą́ 'just as, as soon as'. ?áγá- 'thus, so'; dà·gðł- 'to them, with them'. dè·sⁿdı·, 3rd person si-perf. of di-...(hi- perf.) -ⁿdí 'to say' (act. intr.). The si-perf. is found in the text form because of the presence of the distributive prefix dà·-.

(7) ?ìná·nô·ťàná?à 'he flew away again, it is said'. 3rd person perf. of ?ı-ná·ná-...(hi- perf.)-d-ťá 'to fly away again' (act. intr.; ?ı- 'away'; ná·ná- 'again').

4:9.

(1) céγè?sı̀?ą́í 'stone axe'. cé 'stone'; -γè? 'in, inside'; sı̀?ą́ 'a round object lies' (3rd person si- perf. neut. intr.); -í relative. Literally: 'that stone which lies inside': the axe is made of a stone inside a piece of buckskin fastened to a haft.

(2) bı̀ťàḥá 'in his pocket'. bı̀ťàh 'his pocket, the folds of his clothing'; -yá pp.

(3) yè·gðtà·šı̨·sⁿdınná?à 'he knocked them down with it, it is said'. yè·- 'with it, by means of it' plus 3rd person perf. of 0-tà·-ši-...(si- perf.)-ł-ⁿdı̀ 'to knock several down one after another' (act. intr.). 0-tà·-ši- ? but the theme alone means 'to knock, strike, pick at'.

(4) dásí?ı̀kéýánà·γáń 'the one who was born last'. dásí- 'very, just'; ?ı̀ké 'next, behind, after'; -yá pp.; nà·γá 'he goes about, he lives'. Literally: 'he who lives at the very last'.

(5) ?ìnálsı̨·ná?à 'he spared him, it is said'. 3rd person perf. with 3rd person obj. of ?ı-ná-...(si- perf.)-ł-zı̨· 'to leave alone, to spare' (act. tr.). Prefixes indefinable.

4:10.

(1) ?ı̀ké?nà·γáńń 'the one who was born last'. ?ı̀ké?-, bound form of ?ı̀ké 'after, behind'; nà·γá 'he lives'; -ñ past tense; -ń relative. See note 4:9, §4.

(2) hísdıłkınná?à 'he asked him, it is said'. 3a person imp. of hí-di-...(hi- perf.)-ł-kı̀ 'to ask, to inquire of' (act. tr.). hí- ?; di- possibly the same prefix found in other verbs of speaking, saying, or making a noise (see note 1: 15, §3).

4:11.

(1) ńłcą́bı̀ką̀?í 'male rain' (see III, note 4: 2). ńłcą́ 'rain', an archaic form employed only in myths. bı̀ką̀? 'male, its male-ness'.

(2) dà·dıkágð 'when it starts to come'. 3rd person distrib. imp. of di-...(si- perf.)-ká 'several start moving' (act. intr.; di- inceptive).

Note that a plural verb and the distributive number are employed when reference is made to the movement of rain.

(3) tóbìžòlèí 'water dust'. tó 'water'; bižòlè 'its dust, chaff'. The reference is to fine misty rain.

(4) dà·sdìⁿdí·łgò 'when it starts to fall'. 3rd person distrib. imp. of ʒi-di-...(si- perf.) -ⁿdí·ł '[e. g. rain, snow] begins to fall; several objects begin to fall' (act. intr.). di- inceptive; ʒi- ?. Again a verb requiring a plural subject and the distributive prefix are used to refer to the movement of rain (see §2, above).

4:14.

(1) báñžìyè·ʒánáʔà 'he lay in wait for him, it is said'. 3a person perf. of Oá-nì-hi-ni-... (si- perf.)-dá (-d- form of -yá 'one moves') 'to lie in wait for someone' (act. intr.). á- 'for'; nì-hi-ni- ?

(2) nô·gòšǫ́ 'from where he was swooping back'. nô·gò, 3rd person prog. of ná-ni-...(ni- perf.) -d-gè· 'to swoop back' (act. intr.; ná- 'back'. ni- completive). Cf. note 4:4, §6.

(3) dóšò·dó gòdìhⁿdínáʔà 'there was a great noise, it is said'. dóšò·dó 'great, very, much' (part.). gòdìhⁿdí, place subj. imp. of di-...(hi- perf.)-d-ⁿdí 'there is a noise' (act. intr.).

(4) ʔǫ́·- 'there' plus -šǫ́ 'from'. See II A, §8.

(5) dàhnè·sžǫ́náʔà 'he alit, it is said'. 3rd person perf. of dàh-ni-...(si- perf.)-l-žǫ́ 'to sit upon, to perch upon' (act. intr.; dàh- 'on, upon'; ni- terminative).

(6) ʔìtàgò bìłkégòzǫ́·dàgò 'even before he noticed him'. ʔìtà 'before'. bìłkégòzǫ́·, 3rd person imp. of O-ł-Oé-go-...(si- perf.)-zǫ́· 'knowledge of something occurs with one' (act. intr.). -ł 'with, accompanying'; é- 'of, about'.

-dà 'even, just'; -gò subord.

(7) bíńǵàhá 'on the side of the head'. -ńǵàh 'side of the head, temple' plus -yá pp.

(8) bè·žì·sⁿdí·náʔà 'he hit him with it, it is said'. bè·- 'with it, by means of it'. žì·sⁿdí·, 3a person perf. of hi-|...(si- perf.)-ł-ⁿdí· 'to hit, strike' (act. tr.; hi-| ?). Cf. note 4:9, § 3.

(9) ʔìsdàʔ ʔìbéìʒó·łⁿdìnáʔà 'he knocked him off it, it is said'. ʔìsdàʔ 'down, off' (part.). ʔìbéìʒó·łⁿdí > ʔìbéžìʒó·łⁿdí (the deictic prefix ži- becomes -i- before another prefix beginning with ʒ- or ž-). 3a person perf. of ʔì- Oé-ʒi-... (hi- perf.)-ł-ⁿdí 'to knock someone off, away' (act. intr.). ʔì- 'away, off'; é- 'against' (?); ʒi- ?. Cf. note 4:9, §3.

4:16.

ńłcǫ́bìʔáí 'female rain' (see III, note 4:2). ńłcǫ́ 'rain' (archaic); bìʔá 'female, its femaleness'. See note 4:11, §1.

4:19.

(1) The forms in paragraphs 15-19 inclusive are essentially the same as those in 10-14 inclusive except that the prefix ná·- 'again, also' has been added.

kòʔšǫ́ 'from far off'. kòʔ- (variant of kò-) 'yonder'.

(2) hògò hì·łċànáʔà 'was heard the noise of her flying, it is said'. hògò, 3rd person prog. of -gè· 'to rush at, to swoop' (act. intr.). hì·łċà, 3rd person imp. of hi-|...(si- perf.)-ł-ċà 'a noise is heard' (act. intr.). Cf. note 4:8 §5.

(3) dàhìłžǫ́žǫ́ 'to her perch'. dàhìłžǫ́, 3rd person cust. or imp. of dàh-ni-...(si- perf.)-1 -žǫ́ 'to perch, sit, alight' (act. intr.). See note 4:14, §5. Since the iter. and imp. stems are identical in this verb, it is impossible to distinguish, in form, the cust. and imp. modes (see II A, §17). But the context here makes it likely that the form, which means literally 'to where she usually sat', should be interpreted as of the cust. mode.

4:20.

ʔìsdàʔ nášígè· 'you carry me down'. 3rd person imp. with 1st person obj. of ʔìsdàʔ-ná-...(hi- perf.)-d-γè· 'to carry a burden down again' (act. tr.). ʔìsdàʔ 'down, off' a particle functioning here as a verb prefix. ná- 'again' requires the -d- class.

4:21.

(1) hàìyà· 'down' (part.). Cf. -yà· 'down, below, under' (pp.).

(2) nágòdè·sgǫ́náʔà 'he had started to carry him again, it is said'. 3rd person perf. with 3a obj. of ná-di-...(si- perf.)-d-γè· 'to start to carry a burden again' (act. tr.). ná- 'again', di- inceptive. Cf. note 4:20.

Note, also, in the next sentence, ʔìsdàʔ nágàgɩ̨náʔà 'he had carried him down again, it is said'. This is the 3rd person perf. with 3a obj. of the verb analyzed in 4:20. The irregularity in the 3rd person of the hi- perf. is characteristic of -d- verbs.

4:22.

(1) bìťàí 'their feathers'. -ťà 'feathers' (also heard -ťàʔ).

(2) bà·hàžìyàⁿdìšnáʔà 'he was pulling them out of them, it is said'. bà·- 'of them, from them'. hàžìyàⁿdìš, 3a person prog. of hà-hi-...(si-perf.) -ⁿdí·š 'to pull, pluck out' (act. tr.; hà- 'out', hi- ?). hàžìyà- > hà-ži-hi-hà-.

(3) ʔìžášè· ʔáɣáťéí 'all varieties of birds'. ʔìžášè· 'birds'. ʔáɣáťé, 3rd person of ʔáɣá-ni-...ťé 'to be thus' (imp. neut. intr.).

(4) hólà·łàhà 'let them become'. hólà·, 3rd person opt. of ...(si- perf.)-là· 'to become' (act. intr.). -łàhà hortatory enclitic.

(5) ʔìžìⁿdí·łnáʔà 'he scattered them, it is said'. 3rd person imp. of ʔì-|...(hi- perf.)-ⁿdí·ł 'to scatter, to cause several objects to move away' (act. tr.; ʔì-| 'away').

(6) ʔáí bìḱèhgò 'by that act'. ʔáí 'that' referring to the throwing away of the feathers. -ḱèh- 'by reason of' (see note 1:1, §2).

(7) ʔìłʔàǹgò 'being difficult'. ʔìłʔàǹ 'different, various' (part.). Cf. this phrase, i. e. ʔìžášè· ʔìłʔàǹgò ʔádà·ťéí 'those different birds that exist', with that analyzed in §3, this note.

4:23.

(1) gòbó·ɣą́ 'I have killed them'. 1st person perf. with 3rd person dual obj. of ...(hi- perf.) -ɣą́ 'to kill several' (act. tr.). This is one of the rare cases of the use of the separate 3rd person dual object pronoun. Note, too, that it refers to a number greater than two (see II A, §11).

5:1.

(1) dáʔɩ̨·è·ná ʔégòdɩ̨ 'just one more remains'. I cannot explain this form. dáʔɩ̨·è·ná looks like dá-...-ná 'just, only', ʔɩ̨·- 'there', and -è· 'at' which would mean literally 'just at that place'. ʔégòdɩ̨ seems to be the imp. neut. intr. verb ʔé-...-dɩ̨ 'to be not' with a place subject; thus 'a place is not'. But the combination is translated 'there is just one more place' and, in addition, there are the following similar forms: nà·kìǹ ʔégòdɩ̨ 'two more times' (nà·kì 'two', -ǹ 'times'), tá·ǹ ʔégòdɩ̨ 'three more times' (tá·- 'three').

(2) ǹʔà·- 'over there' plus -yá pp. This is the only occurrence of ǹʔà·-; cf. the demonstrative stem ʔà·- (II A, §3).

(3) λą́í 'prairie dog'. A variant form also occurs: λą́ʔyè (see paragraph 3 of the text). I cannot explain this variation which also occurs in other words; cf., for example, màì, màʔyè 'coyote'.

5:2.

(1) ʔáxá·néžɩ̨ 'to its vicinity, in its vicinity'. ʔáxá·né, 3rd person of ʔá-ni-...-xá·né 'to be close, near' (imp. neut. intr.).

(2) ńzà·žɩ̨ 'to a distance, far away'. ńzà· 'a long way, a distance' (part.).

5:3.

(1) bìgò·ɣą̨náʔà 'their homes [were], it is said'. gò·ɣą̨ 'home, wickiup, tipi' (thematic).

(2) ką́·héžɩ̨ 'for a moment'. ką́·hé 'a little, a moment, gently' (part.).

(3) bì·ʔáńyá 'to his hole'. bì·ʔáń, 3rd person poss. of ʔì·ʔáń 'hole, den'.

(4) ʔáná·hàłɣòłgò 'he, running in again and again'. 3rd person prog. of -l-ɣè· 'to run, move rapidly' with the prefixes ʔá- (also heard ʔáh-) 'in, into' and ná·- 'again and again'.

Cf. the next word, hàná·hàłɣòł-šɩ̨ 'from which he was running out again and again', in which hà- 'out' replaces ʔá-.

5:4.

màʔìšą́íłbáyé 'gray lizard'. màʔìšą́í 'lizard' may be a compound of màʔì-, possibly related to màʔyè 'coyote', and -šą́í which is a unique morpheme. -łbáyé is evidently an archaic relative of łìbá 'he is gray' (3rd person imp. neut.).

5:5

(1) ńʔáń 'that one'. Cf. ʔáń 'that one'. See also note 5:1, §2.

(2) čídégòdà 'in vain' (part.).

5:6.

(1) ʔɩ̨·yą̨·ń 'well then'. Cf. note 3:7, §1.

(2) ǹžò·šnè· should read ǹžò·šⁿdè· 'I'll help you" 1st person imp. with 2nd person obj. of žò·-|

...(si-perf.)-ⁿdè· 'to help, assist' (act. tr.). ǯò·- is a thematic prefix.

(3) hànǎ·násyògò 'he, having run out again'. 3rd person perf. of hà-ná·ná-...(si- perf.)-l-yè· 'to run out again' (act. intr.). hà- 'out', ná·-ná- 'again'.

(4) ʔì·ʔáhná·nô·łyògò 'he, running in again'. 3rd person prog. of ʔì·ʔáh-ná·ná-...(si- perf.) -l-yè· 'to run in again' (act. intr.). ʔì·ʔáh- is a unique prefix; cf. ʔì·ʔáń 'hole' and the prefix ʔáh- 'in, into'.

(5) xà·dí dásíʔìtìsgò bè·ǹłtìí 'as fast as you can'. xà·dí 'whatever' (see II A, §4). dásí- 'very', ʔìtìs 'over it, the best'. bè·ǹłtìí, relative in -í of the 3rd person perf. of Oè·-hi-| ...(? perf.)-l-tè· 'to run, move, walk' (act. intr.). Literally, the phrase reads: 'whatever is the best [speed] with which you have run'.

(6) bè·nádìyó·łyòł 'you are running with it'. bè·- 'with, by means of it'; 'it' referring to the phrase analyzed in §5. nádìyó·łyòł, 2nd person prog. of ná-di-|...(ni- perf.)-l-yè· 'to run' (act. intr.).

(7) nì·ʔá should read ⁿdì·ʔá 'on the ground'. ⁿdì· 'ground' plus -yá pp. Why the -ʔ- appears, I do not know.

(8) nó·łyàłgò 'you, throwing yourself'. 2nd person prog. of ni-...(si- perf.)-l-yàł 'to throw oneself' (mediopas.). ni- terminative.

(9) ć́í·yà· 'immediately, at once' (part.).

5:7.

yàʔǯìnó·gònáʔà 'he dashed in, it is said'. 3rd person perf. of yà-ʔì-ni-...(hi- perf.)-gè· 'to run inside, to dash into' (act. intr.). yà-ʔì- > yàʔ- 'inside, into'; ni- terminative. It is quite possible that I misheard this form and that yà- should read yá-, an intensifier. ʔì- means 'in' and yáʔì- would therefore mean 'right in' as the context requires.

5:8.

(1) dè·ǩòšé 'salt'.

(2) bìtàǯíłyònáʔà 'he had gone among them, it is said'. 3rd person perf. of O-tà-ni-...(ni- perf.)-l-yè· 'to go among' (act. intr.). -tà 'among'; ni- completive.

(3) nàǹńíìnáʔà 'they were lined up, it is said'. 3rd person perf. of nàǹ-ni-...(ni- perf. -té 'several line up; several get in line' (act. intr.). nàǹ- 'in a line' (?); ni- completive.

Preceded by kǫ̀·žì 'to the fire', this phrase means literally: 'they were lined up to the fire, it is said'.

(4) ʔíłcé 'here, wait' (exclamation). Cf. note 1:1, §1.

(5) bìčì·dà·náłʔǫgò 'putting your heads toward it'. bìčì· 'toward it'. dà·náłʔǫ, 2nd person distrib. of ni-...-l-ʔǫ 'to have one's head in position' (mediopas. si- perf. neut.). ni- terminative plus si- perf., àh- 2nd person dual, and the classifier gives náł-.

(6) ǩédà·dàxà·ł 'look at it'. 2nd person distrib. of ǩé-di-...(si- perf.)-yà·ł 'to look at' (act. tr.). See note 2:16, §2. di- plus the 2nd person dual pronoun gives dàh-; dàh- plus -yà·ł gives dàxà·ł.

(7) dàìnéłʔǫgò 'as they looked at it'. 3rd person distrib. imp. with 3rd person obj. of né-...(hi- perf.)-ł-ʔǫ 'to look at' (act. tr.). né-ʔ. dà·- plus yi- gives dàì-.

(8) bìčì·cé̊ǯó·łkà·náʔà 'he threw it toward them into the fire, it is said'. bìčì· 'toward them' plus 3a person perf. of cé-| ...(hi- perf.) -ł-kà· 'to throw several objects into the fire' (act. tr.; cé-| 'into the fire'). The theme alone refers to the throwing or forcible propulsion of many objects.

5:9.

(1) bìčì·dà·dè·sčìłnáʔà 'it exploded toward them, it is said'. 3rd person distrib. perf. of di-|...(si- perf.)-ł-čìł 'to explode, burst, pop out' (act. intr.). di-| is probably the prefix denoting noise, though here it takes the si- perf. rather than the usual hi- perf. (see note 1:15, §3). The si- perf. and hi- perf. tend to merge in meaning in Chiricahua ; in the case of some verbs, either perfective may be used.

(2) bìłʔìdà·hè·stàʔnáʔà 'it scattered into them, it is said'. bìł- 'to them, with them' plus 3rd person distrib. perf. of ʔì-hi-...(si- perf.) -tá 'to break and scatter; (fine particles) scatter [as from an explosion]' (act. intr.; ʔì- 'away'; hi- ?). Note that the subject referring to a mass of salt particles takes the distributive number.

(3) dò·dà·ʔàʔǫdà dà·sìlǫgò 'they, having become blind'. dò·dà·ʔàʔǫdà 'blind, they cannot see anything'. dò·-...-dà negative plus 3rd person

with indefinite object of -ʔí 'to see' (prog. neut. tr.). This form functions as an adverb to dà·sìlí 'they have become'.

(4) dáʔáží 'right away'. dá- 'just, exactly'; ʔá- 'there'; -ží 'to' (pp.).

(5) tàìʒì·sⁿdìnáʔà 'he knocked them down, it is said'. 3a person perf. of 0-tà·-ʒi-...(si- perf.)-ł-ⁿdì 'to knock several down one after another' (act. intr.). Here, however, the indirect object pronoun is lacking (cf. note 4:9, §3). tàì- > tà·-ʒi-; the 3a pronoun ʒi- becomes -i- before another prefix beginning with ʒ- or ʒ-.

5:10.

ʔégòʒì·sdí·gò 'he, having finished it'. 3a person perf. with place object of ʔé-...(si- perf.) -ł-dí· 'to finish, complete' (act. tr.; ʔé- thematic prefix).

6:1.

nì·ʔíkáè· should read ⁿdì·ʔíkáè· 'on the surface of the earth'. ⁿdì·ʔ- bound form of ⁿdì· 'earth'; -í relative; -ká 'surface, top'; -è· 'at, on'.

6:2

(1) gòšʌ̀lš 'mud, clay'.

(2) ⁿdé kèháťégò 'being just like men'. ⁿdé 'men'; kèháťé 'it is just like, it is similar' is found only in the 3rd person. Cf. ʔá-ni-...-ťé 'to be so' (imp. neut. intr.; ʔá- 'so'; ni- adj.).

(3) hàòʒígò 'they, having spoken'. 3rd person perf. of hà-|...(hi- perf.)-d-ʒì· 'to talk, speak' (act. intr.; hà-| ?). This form is adverbial to that following, ʔážílà·náʔà 'he made them so, it is said'.

6:3.

(1) ⁿdéší ʔìsʒáńdó 'man and woman'. -ší, ordinarily the pp. 'from', and -dó, ordinarily 'also', function here as a conjunction.

(2) nàhí ⁿdé hìnàxédà·ł 'you two, you two will be called Indians'. The indep. pronoun nàhí is used for emphasis (see II A, §2). Note that ⁿdé here has the meaning 'Indians'. It also means 'man, men, person, Apache'; the exact meaning depending upon the contrast desired. hìnàxé, 2nd person dual of ho-(or hi-)ni-...-γé 'to be called, named' (imp. neut. intr.). -dà·ł future tense.

(3) ʔìłdó 'also'. Here, however, the English sense is better rendered by 'others'.

(4) nà·dìnàłťéí 'you who are two'. nà·-, reduced form of nà·kì 'two' (see also nà·-dìñ 'twenty', -dìñ '--ty'). dìnàłťé, 2nd person dual of dini-...-ł-ťé 'to be a certain number' (imp. neut. intr.). This verb is irregular; cf. tá-ʔàłťé 'you are three' (tá- 'three'); dí·ʔ-nàłťé 'you are four' (dí·ʔ 'four').

(5) ʔìⁿdà· 'white men' also 'enemy, hostile'. The function of the prefix ʔì- is not clear; cf. šìʔìⁿdàʔ 'my enemy' (ši- 'my').

6:4.

(1) kánìʔʒíńłdé·lnáʔà 'he set them down for them, it is said'. ká- 'for them' plus 3a person perf. with indef. obj. of nì-ni-...(ni- perf.)-ł -dè·ł 'to put several down' (act. tr.; nì- down, to a stop'; ni- completive). The theme alone means to cause several objects to move'.

(2) ⁿdénè 'Indians'. ⁿdé 'Indians' (see note 6:3, §2) plus the enclitic -nè 'people of such and such a group'.

(3) yánáʔdì·ʔí·gò 'he, choosing for them'. yá- 'for them' plus 3rd person imp. with indef. obj. of ná-di-|...(ni- perf.)-ʔí· 'to pick up, to choose an unknown object' (act. tr.; ná-di-| 'upward'). The theme -ʔí· is the verb of handling (see note 2:7, §15) used when the object is unknown (as in this case) or when several objects belonging to more than one classification are being handled (see §5 below).

(4) ʔìłtí· kà·bìł 'gun and bow and arrows'. ʔìłtí· (also heard ʔíłtí) 'gun, rifle, bow'. This word probably meant originally 'bow' as it sometimes does yet; here, however, it is clear that 'gun' is meant. kà· 'arrow, bow and arrows, weapons, cartridges'. bi- 'it', -ł 'with'.

(5) kánʒíńʔí·náʔà 'he put them down for them, it is said'. ká- 'for them' plus 3a person perf. of nì-ni-...(ni- perf.)-ʔí· 'to put an unknown object down' (act. tr.). For the prefixes, see §1, above. Here the theme -ʔí· is used with reference to the handling of objects of differing classifications (see §3, above). For the bow and arrows alone, the theme -ł-ʒè· 'to handle a group of sticks' is used (see note 6:6, §2), and for the rifle alone, the theme -tí· 'to handle a long, slender object' is used (see note 6:7, §3).

6:6.

(1) dáʔó·sʔàgò 'being a little while later'. dá- 'just'; ʔó·sʔà (also heard ʔó·sʔàh) 'later'.

(2) k̀à·í ⁿdé yánálìłžè·náʔà 'he chose the bow and arrows for the Indians, it is said'. náłìłžè·, 3rd person perf. with 3rd person obj. of ná-di-|...(ni- perf.)-ł-žè· 'to pick up a group of sticks' (act. tr.). For prefixes, see note 1: 22, §1. Since the object handled is here definitely known and of one classification, the theme -ʔı̨· is no longer used (see note 6:4, §5).

(3) ʔádí·dí·ná bégózı̨ ʔážllágò 'the making of these is understood'. ʔádí·dí· 'these'; -ná 'only'; bégózı̨, 3rd person of 0é-go-ni-...-zı̨ 'knowledge about something exists' (imp. neut. intr.); ʔážllá, 3a person imp. of ʔá-...(ʔ perf.) -lá 'to make' (act. tr.). In this phrase, the subordinated verb follows the principal verb; the reverse order is more usual.

6:7.

(1) bìčąnáʔšńʔı̨·í 'that which remained'. bì-čą 'from it' plus 3a person perf. with indef. obj. of ná-di-|...(ni- perf.)-ʔı̨· 'to pick up an unknown object' (act. tr.), and -í relative. Literally: 'that from which he had picked up something'.

(2) dò·yáłtìdàhè 'without saying anything'. yáłtì, 3rd person imp. of yá-...(hi- perf.)-ł-tì 'to speak' (act. intr.; yá- thematic prefix). I do not understand the function of the ending -hè.

(3) nálìtąnáʔà 'he picked it up, it is said'. 3rd person perf. with 3rd person obj. of ná-di-|...(ni- perf.)-tı̨· 'to pick up a long slender object' (act. tr.). See note 6:4, §5 and 6:6, §2.

6:8.

(1) łìʔ 'one, the other' plus -í relative.

(2) gòńłčìlnáʔà 'there was a heavy growth of vegetation, it is said'. gò- place subject plus ńłčìl 'it is leafy, branchy; there is much vegetation'. This verb appears only in the 3rd person so analysis is difficult. However, it looks like a 3rd person ni- perf. neut. intr.

(3) bìdáń 'their food'; cf. dáń 'food'.

(4) dáʔákòdè·yá náńtı̨í 'wild growing things' dáʔákòdè·yá 'wild, uncultivated' (part.). náńtı̨, 3rd person iter. of ni-...(si- perf.)-ťą 'to grow, to ripen' (act. intr.; ni- terminative). Literally: 'those which customarily grow wild'.

(5) ʒìłátà·žèí 'wild turkeys'. ʒìł 'mountain'; -á, reduced form of -yá pp.; tà·žè 'chicken'.

(6) dádìłkǫ̀·dègò 'it being absolutely barren'. dá- 'absolutely'. dìłkǫ̀·dè, 3rd person of di-...-ł-kǫ̀· (or -kǫ̀·dè) 'to be smooth, to be barren' (imp. neut. intr.). In the first and second persons singular and in the 2nd person dual of this verb, the prefix appears to be ni- rather than di-. There are apparently three sets of adjectival prefixes in Chiricahua: ni-, di-, and di-ni-, which are often confused.

(7) hìčąnáʔìʔı̨·náʔà 'he chose [the former mountain] it is said'. Literally: 'he chose one away from it', 'it' referring to the barren mountain. For analysis, see 6:7, §1.

6:9.

(1) ʔìłčąʔáʒà·náʔà 'it spread apart, it is said'. ʔìł- reciprocal; -čą 'away, from'; ʔážà·, 3rd person perf. of ʔá-...(ʔ perf.)-ⁿdá 'to do' (pass. of -lá 'to do').

(2) łíní 'horses'; łı̨ plus relative -í. The -n- occurs as the result of adding a vocalic suffix to a stem with nasalized vowel. This, however, does not always happen; łı̨í also occurs.

(3) ʒà·ⁿdè·zí dásídàńžóníná 'the very best mules'. ʒà·ⁿdè·zí 'mules' is also given cà·ⁿdè·zí. The former can be analyzed as žà·- 'ear' (becoming ʒà·- by assimilation to the -z- following), -ⁿdè·z 'long' (compounded form of the verb ni-...-ⁿdè·z 'to be long'), and -í relative. cà·-, however, is meaningless.

dásí- 'very'; dàńžóní, relative of dàńžǫ́, 3rd person distrib. of ni-...-žǫ́ 'to be good' (imp. neut. intr.); -ná 'just, only'.

(4) dìbéhé 'sheep'.

(5) gô·čì 'pigs', one of the rare Chiricahua words which has been borrowed from Spanish. Cf. Spanish cochino.

(6) čénádà·hè·sąnáʔà 'they came out, it is said'. 3rd person distrib. of čé-ná-hi-...(si- perf.)-ł-zé 'a group moves out en masse' (act. intr.; čé- 'out'; ná- thematic ʔ ; hi- ʔ). -ł- combines with the stem initial.

(7) bà·ʔšdó·ʔı̨·náʔà 'he had given them things, it is said'. 3a person perf. with indef. obj. of 0à·-di-...(hi- perf.)-ʔı̨· 'to give an unknown object to someone' (act. intr.; à·- 'to'; di- ʔ).

6:10.

yè·hɪ̀ⁿdáná?à 'he lives on them, it is said'. yè·- 'with them, by means of them' plus 3rd person of hi-...-ⁿdá 'to live, to be alive' (imp. neut. intr.). hi- ? is, in some persons, replaced by ni- adj.

6:11.

(1) nà·?ɪzɪ̀·gò 'they, working'. 3rd person cont. imp. with indef. obj. of nà·-|...(si- perf.) -zí 'to do with, to meddle with, to handle' (act. tr.; nà·-| 'about, here and there'). To work is, therefore, to go about handling things.

(2) ná?ɪ̀łtʃí 'cultivated plants'. 3rd person iter. with indef. obj. of ni-...(si- perf.)-ł-tʃą 'to raise, cultivate, grow' (act. tr.) plus the relative -í. Cf. note 6:8, §4.

(3) hɪ̀čąšʃ 'on them'. hi- variant 3rd person pronoun; -čą 'from, away'; -šʃ 'from'.

6:12.

(1) ?ɪłčą?à·ⁿdàhyá 'very far apart'. ?ɪłčą 'from one another' plus 3rd person of ?à·-ni-...-ⁿdàh 'to be far away' (imp. neut. intr.). ?à·-?; ni- adj., disappears in the 3rd, 3a, 1st dual, and 2nd dual persons.

(2) tógònásgà?í 'ocean'. tó 'water'. gònásgà?-, bound form of gònásgà, place subject of ná-...-gà 'whiteness extends in a circle' (si- perf. neut. intr.; ná- 'around, in a circle'). Literally: 'white water that extends in a circle'.

(3) hànàh 'across' (part.).

(4) ?ɪłɪ̀yà·łcé·łè· 'as you see one another'. 3rd person prog. with reciprocal pronoun of hi-|...(ni- perf.)-ł-cé 'to see, catch sight of' (act. tr.) plus -è· 'at'. ?ɪłɪ̀yà·ł- > ?ɪł- plus hi- plus hà·- plus -ł-.

(5) nà·gònàłʒò·dà·ł 'you will fight'. 2nd person dual imp. of nà·-go-ni-...(si- perf.)-ł-ʒò· 'to fight, to go to war' (act. intr.; prefixes indefinable). -dà·ł future tense enclitic. Why the future tense enclitic instead of the future paradigm should be used here, I cannot say.

7:1.

dò·łłkà·dàná?à 'there was no day, it is said'. hɪłkà·, imp. of hi-...(si- perf.)-ł-kà· 'day dawns' (act. intr.).

7:2.

(1) nà·dà·?ɪⁿdɪ̀·ší̧gò 'they, being of the kind that fly'. 3rd person distrib. imp. of nà·-?i-...(si- perf.)-ⁿdɪ̀· 'several fly about' (act. intr.; ?i- indef. deictic prefix?) plus -šé 'side, kind' (pp.).

(2) dáčà·gòłxè·łná·nó·łtè·í 'that it was always very dark'. dá- 'very'; čà·gòłxè·ł, imp. with place subj. of čà·-...(hi- perf.)-ł-yè·ł 'to become dark' (act. intr.; čà·- thematic?); ná·nó·łtè· 'always' (part.).

(3) łàšégòí 'those being of the other side'. łà- 'other'; -šé 'side, kind'.

(4) dábè·négòʒɪ?íná 'were only those who are feared'. dá-...-ná 'only, just'. négòʒɪ? 'danger, there is danger, it is dangerous', presumably an imp. neut. intr. verb with place subject and prefix né-. bè·- 'with them, by means of them'. Literally, the text form means: 'only those by means of whom there is danger'.

(5) bɪ̀ʒádèdà·dʃ·?íná 'only those who had four legs'. bɪ̀ʒádè 'their legs'; dà·- distrib.; dʃ·? 'four'; -í relative; -ná 'only'.

7:3.

bíká 'for it'. -ká 'for, in order to' requires a high tone on its prefixes.

(2) ?ɪłà·ʒ̀íkágò 'they, coming together'. 3a person imp. of ?ɪł-à·-ni-...(ni- perf.)-ká 'several come together, meet' (act. intr.). ?ɪł- reciprocal; à·- 'to'; ni- completive.

(3) bà·yá?ɪtɪ̀ 'there is to be discussion about it'. bà·- 'about it'. yá?ɪtɪ̀, 3rd person imp. with indef. subj. of yá-...(hi- perf.)-tɪ 'a discussion is held' (act. intr.; yá- thematic). See note 6:7, §2.

7:4.

(1) hɪ̀ká 'day'. Cf. note 7:1.

(2) bà·dà·?dè·kà· 'let's gamble for it'. bà·- 'for it, about it'; dà·- distrib. ?i-di-...(si- or hi- perf.)-kà· 'to gamble' (act. intr.). The text form is 1st person distrib. perf.

7:5.

(1) kéhè· 'moccasin (or stick) game' (see III, note 7:1). Cf. ké 'bone used in moccasin game'.

(2) ?ánągàtʃ·ł 'it was happening'. 3rd person prog. of ?á-ná-go-...(hi- perf.)-tɪ̀· 'some-

thing happens, goes on' (act. intr.). ʔá- 'thus so'; ná- 'again' (?); go- place subject (?).

(3) ʔłłčą́ná·gònàhⁿdé·ł 'each side won and lost alternately'. ʔłłčą́ 'from one another'. ná·-gònàhⁿdé·ł, 3rd person prog. of ná·-go-ni-...(si-perf.)-d-ⁿdé 'a game is won again and again' (act. intr.). ná·- 'again and again' requires the -d-class. go- place subj. referring to 'game' (?). ni- terminative.

7:6.

(1) cé·ńłγé·sè· 'wren'. cé 'rock, stone'. -ńłγé·s- resembles the 2nd person imp. of di-...(si- perf.)-l-γé·s 'to dodge, twist, turn' (mediopas.; di- becomes n- in the second person). -è· may be an archaic relative enclitic. Therefore, the form may mean literally: 'you who dodge about rocks'.

(2) hłłkà· hát̨ʔná ʔà 'he wanted day, it is said'. hłłkà· 'day is dawning' is here used as a noun (cf. notes 7:1 and 7:4, §1). hát̨, 3rd person of há-...-t̨ 'to want, to desire' (imp. neut. intr.). See note 2:6, §1.

(3) ⁿdédàńcà·í 'the big fellows'. ⁿdé 'person'. dàńcà·, 3rd person distrib. of ni-...-cà· 'to be big' (imp. neut. intr.).

7:8.

hł·ską́ hàyó·łką́ 'morning has dawned'. hł·ską́, 3rd person perf. of hi-...(si- perf.)-ł-kà· 'day dawns' (act. intr.) is here used as a noun. hàyó·łką́, 3rd person perf. of hà-yi-...(hi- perf.)-ł-kà· 'day dawns, morning breaks' (act. intr.; hà- 'out' ?). yi- in this form is probably cognate with the hi- of the preceding verb.

7:10.

(1) nà·ʔłtàná ʔà 'he was among them, it is said'. 3rd person imp. with indef. obj. of nà·-|...(si- perf.)-tà 'to be among' (act. tr.; na·-| 'about').

(2) dò·xą̀hnà·šádàí 'I who cannot move about rapidly'. na·ša 'I move about' (see note 1:6, §1); xą̀h 'rapidly, quickly'.

(3) nàhbàʔhòšá·ł 'I'll go on before you'. nàh- 2nd person dual pronoun; -bàʔ 'before'; hòšá·ł, 3rd person prog. of -yá 'one moves'.

(4) ʔò·yáná ʔà 'he went away, it is said'. 3rd person perf. of ʔi-|...(hi- perf.)-yá 'one goes away' (act. intr.; ʔł-| 'away').

7:11.

(1) bł̀ǎà·bą̀·yá 'at the borders of his back'. -ǎà· 'back, buttocks'; -bą̀· 'edge, border'.

(2) ʔłłè·dà·ʔǯłnł·ą́ná ʔà 'they began to fight with one another, it is said'. 3a person distrib. imp. of ʔłł-è·-ʔi-ni-|...(ni- perf.)-ą́ 'to begin to fight' (act. intr.). ʔłł- reciprocal pronoun; è·-ʔi-ni-| 'to begin to do ...' (see note 2:11, §1). This theme, i. e., -ą́, is possibly a -d-form of -γą́ 'to kill several'. The verb 'to fight' always requires the reciprocal prefix ʔłł- and this prefix requires the -d- class. Therefore, the verb 'to fight' probably means literally; 'to kill one another'.

7:12.

(1) ʔłtàsłt̨ná ʔà 'he was among them, it is said'. ʔi- indef. pronoun; -tà 'among' (pp.; cf. note 7:10, §1). słt̨ 'an animate being lies' (3rd person si- perf. neut. intr.).

(2) bà·tł̨·ǯàkàná ʔà 'they attacked him, it is said'. 3a person perf. of 0à·-tł̨·-...(hi- perf.)-ká 'several attack someone' (act. intr.). à·-'to'; -tł̨· 'attack' (?). The theme alone means 'several move' (act. intr.).

(3) bł̀kéǎáyégòdà 'under his foot'. -ké-'foot' (non-poss. form); -ǎáyé, a compounded form of - ǎá 'under, beneath'; -gò subord.; -dà 'even'.

7:13.

(1) bł̀kéǎáhyá 'under his foot'. Note that here -ǎá 'under' has the form -ǎáh-. Cf. note 7:12, §3.

(2) nàháńšt́ó 'I'll shoot him for you'. nàhi-2nd person dual pronoun; -á 'for'. ńšt́ó, 1st person imp. of ni-...(ni- perf.)-ł-t́ó 'to shoot at' (act. tr.; ni- completive).

(3) šà·nàhʔł̨· 'give them to me'. 2nd person dual imp. of 0à·-ni-...(ni- perf.)-ʔł̨· 'to give someone an unknown object' (act. tr.; à·- 'to'; ni- completive). Since the object of the verb is definitely known and stated (k̀à· 'arrows'), this use of the theme -ʔł̨· is irregular (see note 6:4, §3).

7:15.

(1) gó·ídàná ʔà 'the snake also, it is said'. gó 'snake'; -dà 'even, also'.

(2) cégłžłyá 'in a rock crevice'. cé 'rock'; -głžł 'between, interstice, gap'.

(3) ká?yó·łdé·l 'he had thrown them for them'. ká- 'for them'. ?łyó·łdé·l, 3rd person perf. with 3rd person obj. of ?ł-|...(hi- perf.)-ł-dè·ł 'to throw away several objects' (act. tr.; ?ł-| 'a-way').

(4) dò·xà?yágòbłčł·góžǫ́dàyá 'where it was impossible to get them'. xà?yágò 'in some way'; błčł· 'toward them'; góžǫ́ 'place is good'. Literally: ' a place where it is in no way good toward them'.

(5) kà·?łsdàdà·yáná?à 'he got away from them, it is said'. 3rd person perf. of 0à·-?łsdà-dà·-|...(si- perf.)-yá 'one gets away from someone' (act. intr.). à·- 'from'; ?łsdà- 'away'; dà·- ?.

7:16.

(1) šàší ?łłdǫ́ bà·tł·ná·ʒàkàná?à 'they attacked the bear also, it is said'. šàš 'bear'; ?łłdǫ́ 'also'. 3a person perf. of 0à·-tł·-ná·-...(hi- perf.)-d-ká- 'several attack someone also' (act. intr.). ná·- 'again, also' requires the -d- class. See note 7:12, §2.

(2) dłcł łą́í słkà·í 'a large grove of tress'. dłcł 'trees'; łą́ 'many'; słkà· 'a clump (of trees) lies' (3rd person si- perf. neut. intr.).

(3) błčł·kà·dà·hí^{n}dáná?à 'he dragged them toward it, it is said'. błčł· 'toward it'. 3rd person imp. of 0à·-dà·-ni-...(ni- perf.)-yá 'one drags several along' (act. intr.). à·- 'from' ?; dà·- ?; ni- completive.

(4) kà·γédà·yáná?à 'he went in from them, it is said'. 3rd person perf. of 0à·-γé-dà·-|...(si-perf.)-yá 'one goes in from someone' (act. intr.). γé- 'in' (cf. -γe? 'in'); dà·- ?.

7:17.

(1) cłłání słkà·í 'large grove of trees'. cł 'trees' (cf. dłcł 'trees'); łání 'that are many' (cf. łą́í in note 7:16, §2); słkà· 'a clump (of trees) lies'.

(2) kà·γéhó·yáí 'into which he had gone'. 3rd person perf. of 0à·-γéh-|...(hi- perf.)-yá 'one goes in from someone' (act. intr.; à·- 'from'; γéh-| 'in'). See note 7:16, §4.

(3) cłskà· 'a grove of trees lies' (place name). cł 'trees' plus słkà· 'a clump (of trees) lies'.

7:18.

(1) łłnádà·?ʒó·cè·lí 'where they played the moccasin game'. 3a person distrib. perf. with indef. obj. of łł-ná...(hi- perf.)-cłł (rep. stem of -cè·ł) 'to hammer something into the ground again and again; to play the moccasin game' (act. tr.). łł- 'ground'; ná- 'again and again'.

(2) ?łťà ?áńdè·dè ná?àí ǩèháťé 'it is just like it was then'. ?łťà 'still, before'; ?áńdè·dè 'now'; ná?àí looks like the narrative enclitic plus the relative enclitic; ǩèháťé 'it is just like, it is similar' (see note 6:2, §2).

(3) ?ádą́ dá?łłʒàgą́í ?égò·sdł· 'when they had finished fighting one another'. ?ádą́ 'at that time'; dá- 'just'; ?łłʒàgą́, 3a person perf. of ?łł-...(hi- perf.)-d-gą́ 'to fight' (act. intr.). See note 7:11, §2. ?égò·sdł· 'they had finished' (see note 5:10).

(4) łè·?éńnáʒíkàná?à 'they returned together, it is said'. 3a person perf. of łè·?é-nł-ná-ni-...(ni- perf.)-d-ká 'several go back together' (act. intr.). łè·?é- '(to come) together'; nł- 'to a stop'; ná- 'back' (requires the -d- class); ni- completive.

(5) ?ł·šł^{n}dásè 'from now on'. ?ł·- 'here'; -šł 'from'; ^{n}dásè 'further on'.

(6) dá?á^{n}dè·nánó·łťè·dà·ł 'it will always be unchanged'. dá- 'just'; ?á^{n}dè· 'it is new, recent' (see note 1:18, §3); nánó·łťè· 'always' (part.); -dà·ł future tense.

(7) ?ł^{n}dà·í ^{n}déídà łą́ hłłà·dè·dà 'though there come to be many white men and Indians'. ?ł-^{n}dà· 'white men'; ^{n}dé 'Indians'; łą́ 'many'; hłłà· 'it becomes' (3rd person imp. of -łà· 'to become'); -dè·dà 'though, whether, even if'.

7:19.

ʒłł?łnà·dàhà·s?áí 'the mountain on which mescal extends upward' (place name). ʒłł 'mountain'; ?łnà·dà 'mescal'; hà·s?á 'it extends upward' (hà- 'out, up'; -?á 'a rigid object has extension'; 3rd person si- perf. neut. intr.).

8:2.

(1) ńłčł?í 'the wind'. ńłčł? (also heard ń-čł?) 'wind'. Cf. ...zero or -ł-čí 'wind blows' (act. intr.). The noun may be a ni- perf. neut. intr. form of this verb.

(2) ?ł·h^{n}dł·dè 'thunder'; -í relative; -błł 'with it'. ?ł·h^{n}dł·dè cannot be analyzed but it seems to bear some relation to the theme -^{n}dí 'a noise is made'.

(3) dáłè?nà·?ʒłzł·ná?à 'they were to work together, it is said'. dáłè?- 'together' plus 3a person imp. of nà·-?i-...(si perf.)-zł· 'to work' (act. intr.). See note 6:11, §1.

(4) ?łłčį·gòłgó·tǫ·ná?à 'they became angry at each other, it is said'. ?łłčį· 'toward each other'; gòł- 'with them' plus perf. of go-...(hi perf.)-tǫ· 'there is trouble, difficulty, anger' (act. intr.; go- place subject ?).

(5) ?łłǩážàłɣònná?à 'they separated, it is said'. 3a perf. of ?łł-ǩá-...(hi- perf.)-l-ɣè· 'to separate' (act. intr.; ?łł- reciprocal; -ǩá 'away, from' ?). The theme alone: 'to go, move'.

8:3.

(1) šíná šè·góžǫ́ 'I alone do good'. ší indep. 1st person pronoun; -ná 'only, alone'. šè·- 'with me, by means of me'; góžǫ́ 'there is good' (see note 1:6, §3). Note that emphasis is achieved by the use of the indep. pronoun and the enclitic -ná.

(2) ⁿdí dò·ʒòńⁿdè·dè·dà 'even if you do not help'. ⁿdí indep. 2nd person pronoun. dò·- negative (the element -dà omitted because of the other enclitic); -dè·dà 'even if, although'. ʒòńⁿdé·, 2nd person of ʒò·-ni-...-ⁿdè· 'to be helpful' (imp. neut. intr.). ʒò·- thematic; ni- adj.

8:4.

ńzà?yá ńčąnádéšʒá 'I'll go far away from you'. ńzà? 'far away' (see note 5:2, §2). ńčą 'from you'. nádéšʒá, 1st person perf. of ná-di-...(si- perf.)-d-yá 'one begins to return, go back' (act. intr.; ná- 'back'; di- inceptive).

8:5.

(1) nł·?gášbą·yá 'to the end of the earth'. nł·?-, compounded form of ⁿdł. 'earth'; -gáš- a unique morpheme; -bą· 'edge, border'; -yá pp.

(2) gòčą?łnó·ʒáná?à 'he went away from him, it is said'. gòčą 'from him' plus 3rd person perf. of ?ł-ná-...(hi- perf.)-d-yá 'one goes back away' (act. intr.; ?ł- 'away'; ná- 'back').

(3) dágò·sdò 'it was very hot'. dá- 'very'; gò·sdò '(weather) is hot' (si- perf. neut. intr. with place subject).

8:6.

(1) łągò nà·gòłtłgò ?ágósł 'he caused much rain'. łą 'much, many'; nà·gòłtł 'it is raining' (imp. neut. intr. with prefix nà·- 'about' and place subject). ?ágósł, 3rd person with place object of ?á-ni-...-ł-zł 'to make so, to cause to be so' (imp. neut. tr.; ?á- 'so'; ni- adj.). The theme alone is a causative of -zł 'to think, feel, desire'.

(2) dò·?ńťądàná?à 'there were no crops, it is said'. ?ńťą, 3rd person imp. with indef. subj. of ni-...(si- perf.)-tą 'to grow' (act. intr.; ni- terminative).

8:7.

(1) -čòs 'downy feather' (requires a poss. prefix).

(2) ?łnáłclná?à 'he continually set them up, it is said'. 3rd person iter. with 3rd person obj. of ?ł-|...(hi- perf.)-cé 'to set a long pointed object in [e. g., in the ground]' (act. intr.). ?ł-| 'away, in'. The theme alone: 'to do something with a long pointed object.

(3) čédàháščdè·s?ʃná?à 'he looked in vain for it, it is said'. čédà- 'in vain' (cf. note 5:5, §2) plus 3a person perf. of há-di-...(si- perf.) -?ʃ (perf. stem) 'to look for' (act. tr.; há- 'for'; di- ?). This verb appears only in the perfective mode. Note that the deictic prefix ʒi- 3a subject reduces to š-.

8:8.

(1) błčį·?ł?ʒó·ł?à?ná?à 'he sent for him, it is said'. błčį· 'toward him' plus 3a person perf. with indef. obj. of ?ł-|...(hi- perf.)-ł-?á 'to send for, to send (someone) away' (act. tr.; ?ł-| 'away'). A better translation of the text form would be: 'he had sent someone [or, a message] to him, it is said'.

(2) dágò·sdò?égò·sdò 'it is very, very hot'. dá- 'very'; gò·sdò?é, presumably an archaic combination of gò·sdò 'it is hot' and -é relative; gò·sdò 'it is hot'. One of the very few cases of reduplication in Chiricahua (see note 1:15, §4).

(3) nò·šką· 'I beg you'. 1st person imp. with 2nd person obj. of ho-|...(si- perf.)-ką· 'to beg, plead' (act. tr.; ho-| ?). The last word of this paragraph (of the text) is the 3rd person perf. with 3a object of this verb. Cf. also note 1:7, §1.

(4) dáłè?nà·?ł·ʒł·dà·ł 'we will work together'. dáłè?- 'together' plus 1st person dual imp. of nà·-?i-...(si- perf.)-zł· 'to work (act. intr.; see note 8:2, §3), and the future tense en-

clitic. Note, in the verb, that the final -d of the 1st person dual pronoun has combined with the stem initial (see II A, §12).

(5) dáłè?hò·ťàšdà·ł 'we will travel together'. dáłè?- 'together' plus 1st person dual prog. of -?à·š 'two move' (act. intr.), and the future tense enclitic. Here, as in the preceding verb, the 1st person dual pronoun has combined with the stem initial.

(6) nàhkèhgò ná?ñťĮdà·ł 'because of us there will be crops'. nàh- 'us'; -kèh 'by reason of'; -gò subord. ná?ñťĮ, 3rd person iter. with indef. subj. of ni-...(si- perf.)-tą́ 'to grow' (act. intr.). -dà·ł future tense enclitic.

8:9

gòžò·ná·nás^{n}dè·ná?à 'he became his friend again, it is said'. 3rd person perf. of O-žò·-ná·ná-...(si- perf.)-d-^{n}dè· 'to become someone's friend again, to help someone again' (act. intr.). žò·- thematic; ná·ná- 'again'.

9:1.

(1) žígònà·?áí (also heard žĮgònà·?áí) 'the sun'. Possibly a compound of žĮgò 'being day, during the day' (cf. žĮ·? 'day'), nà·?á 'a round object moves about' (3rd person cont. imp. with prefix nà·- 'about' of -?à· 'a round object moves') and -í relative.

(2) ?łłkłdą́nè 'the old people'. ?łłkłdą́ 'long ago' (part.) plus -nè 'people of such and such a group'.

10:1.

(1) yá?édĮná?à 'there was none, it is said'. yá- is an intensifier; ?édĮ, the 3rd person of ?é-...-dĮ 'to be none' (imp. neut. intr.). ?é- thematic prefix.

(2) łížè 'flies, houseflies'.

(3) błkǫ? ?ólínà?à 'they had fire, it is said'. It seems clear that this is a mishearing of błkǫ? góĮná?à 'their fire existed, it is said'.

10:2.

(1) gòtál ył·s?ą́ná?à 'they held a ceremony, it is said'. gòtál 'ceremony'. ył·s?ą́, 3rd person with 3rd person obj. of -ł-?ą́ 'to have a round object in position' (si- perf. neut. intr.). The "round object" is, in this case, the ceremony.

(2) màł 'coyote'. A variant form: mà?yè. See note 5:1, §3.

(3) cínáłłgònà?à 'he continuously poked it in the fire, it is said'. 3rd person iter. with 3rd person obj. of cí-|...(si- perf.)-ł-gè· 'to poke into a fire' (act. tr.; cí-| 'in a fire').

10:3.

(1) šǫ́·dé 'friend'. An appellation used only in Coyote Stories between Coyote and the various animals he has contact with. Sometimes the word is translated 'coyote'.

(2) dłłł? 'it will burn'. 3rd person imp. of di-...(si- perf.)-łł? 'to burn' (act. intr.; di- referring to fire ?).

10:4.

(1) čê·kè 'let it, what does it matter, who cares'. An interjection denoting indifference.

(2) kǫ· dàhł·tò· 'fire flared up'. kǫ· 'fire' plus the perf. of dàh-hi-|...(? perf.)-tó '(fire) flares up' (act. intr.; dàh- 'up, on'). The theme may be related to -tó 'to redden, to become red' (act. intr.).

10:5.

(1) nàñdà·žíńťł 'they circled about him'. 3a distrib. perf. of nàñ-ni-...(ni- perf.)-té 'to line up, to form a line)around)' (act. intr.). Cf. note 5:8, §3.

(2) kàłłyà·nâ·łγònà?à 'he jumped away from them with it, it is said'. kàłł- > kà·- 'from them' plus yłł- 'with it'. yà·nâ·łγò, 3rd person perf. of yà·-ná-|...(ni- perf.)-l-γè· 'to jump' (act. intr.). yà·ná-| ? ; the theme alone means 'to move'.

(3) ?łłàdà·šdè·skànà?à 'they ran, it is said' 3a distrib. perf. of ?łłà-di-...(si- perf.)-ká 'several run' (act. intr.). ?łłà- ?; di- inceptive (?). The theme alone: 'several move'.

10:6.

(1) yà·yíńłťą́ 'he gave it to him'. 3rd person perf. with 3rd person obj. of Oà·-ni-...(ni- perf.)-ł-ťà· 'to give someone fire, a torch' (act. tr.; à·- 'to', ni- completive). The theme alone: 'to handle fire, a flame'.

(2) nàłdè·sgè·ná?à 'he scattered it all over, it is said'. 3rd person perf. with 3rd person obj. of nà·-di-...(si- perf.)-ł-gè· 'to scatter about' (act. tr.; nà·- 'about'; di- referring to

fire ?). Cf. note 10:2, §3.

(3) dà·gǒdè·ką́·ná?à 'fire was burning, it is said'. 3rd person distrib. with place subj. of dè-|...(si- perf.)-ką́· 'to burn (of a forest fire)' (act. intr.). dè-|, also heard di-| and di-, and sometimes occurring with hi- perf. is the prefix referring to fire (see note 2:7, §8).

10:7.

(1) dà·yłńłcé·s 'they tried to put it out'. 3rd person distrib. with 3rd person obj. of ni-...(si- perf.)-ł-cé·s 'to put out a fire' (act. tr.; ni- terminative).

(2) čédà?ádà·yó·ł?ą́·ná?à 'they tried in vain, it is said'. čédà- 'in vain' plus 3rd person distrib. perf. with 3rd person obj. of ?á-...(hi- perf.)-ł-?ą́ 'to do to, to treat' (act. tr.; ?á- 'so'). Literally: 'they did so to it in vain, it is said'.

10:8.

(1) błǯò·sⁿdè·gǒ 'he having been helped by it'. 3rd person perf. of 0-ǯò·-|...(si- perf.)-d-ⁿdè· 'to be helped by' (pass.). Cf. note 5:6, §2.

(2) dè·yǒlgǒ 'it having started to blow'. 3rd person perf. of di-...(si- perf.)-yǒ·ł 'to blow' (act. intr.).

(3) dǒ·bè·šłgǒdà?ą́·łdàgǒ 'being impossible to control'. Except for the obvious negative and subordinating affixes, I cannot analyze this form.

(4) dà·dł·łXáná?à 'it burned on, it is said'. 3rd person distrib. imp. of di-| ...(ni- perf.)-ł-Xá 'to burn' (act. intr.; di-| referring to fire).

10:9.

(1) ḱè·dà·šńⁿdł· 'they hated him'. 3a person distrib. of ḱè·-di-ni-...-ⁿdł· 'to hate' (imp. neut. intr.). Cf. dł-ni-...-ⁿdł· 'to be hurt, pained' (imp. neut. intr.). Probably the verb 'to hate' means literally 'to be hurt by someone'.

(2) błłnǒ·dółàhà 'let them become hot for him'. błł- 'with him' plus 3rd person opt. of ni-|...(ni- perf.)-dó 'to become hot' (act. intr.), and -łàhà hortatory enclitic.

10:10.

ńà·ná́ǯłnàgǒná?à 'he was dashing around and around, it is said'. 3a person prog. of -gè· 'to rush, dash' with prefixes nà·ná-ni-. nà·ná- evidently means 'around and around' (see note 2:32, §2) but ni- is uncertain.

10:11.

(1) słḱàsłè· 'it used to be cool'. słḱàs 'it is cool, cold' (3rd person si- perf. neut. intr.); -łè· 'it used to be' (encl.).

(2) ńł?ádàłsćą́ná?à 'a noise was heard, it is said'. Distrib. perf. of 0-ł-?á-yi-...(si- perf.) -ł-ćà ' noise is heard from somewhere' (act. intr.; cf. note 4:8, §5). The text form means 'noises were heard of you' (ni- 'you'; -ł 'with, of' becoming ńł-). This seems incorrect; perhaps the form should read błł?ádàłsćą́ná?à 'noises were heard of him, it is said'.

10:12.

dǒ·dá?ákǒyáxà·ńbłčą́·yáǯłłtłdàná?à 'one did not say just anything to someone, it is said'. dá?ákǒyá 'just anything' (dá- 'just'); xà·ń 'someone, anyone'; błčą́· 'to them'; yáǯłłtł, 3a person imp. of yá-...(hi- perf.)-ł-tł 'to speak' (act. intr.; yá- thematic).

The form dǒ·dá?ákǒdéyáxà·ńbłčą́·yáǯłłtłdàná?à with the same meaning in line six of this paragraph of text is the same as the above except that dá?ákǒdéyá 'just anything' has replaced dá?ákǒyá.

11:1.

(1) màł ?íńtłń hǒłγǒłná?à 'Coyote was walking along a road, it is said'. màł 'coyote'; ?íńtin 'road'; hǒłγǒł, 3rd person prog. of -l-γè· 'to move' (act. intr.). Note that the noun ?íńtłń has no postposition indicating its relationship to the verb. This is unusual.

(2) dłcą́?ó·?áí 'a tree that was standing'. dłcą́ 'tree' plus ?ó·?á, 3rd person indef. of -?á 'a rigid object extends (upward)' (hi- perf. neut. intr.), and the relative -í.

11:2.

(1) bé·sǒ 'money, dollars' > Spanish peso. We know the reference here to be to several pieces of money because the verb that follows is used only to refer to several discrete objects.

(2) yà·dàhyè·sⁿdłlná?à 'he put them upon it, it is said'. 3rd person perf. with 3rd person obj. of 0à·-dàh-hi-...(si- perf.)-ⁿdí·ł 'to put several object on to something' (act. tr.; à·- 'to'; dàh- 'on'; hi- ?).

11:3.

(1) xé·ł yłłʔìnàyðłná?à 'they came driving a pack [train], it is said'. xé·ł 'pack, burden'. ʔìnàyðł is the 3rd person prog. with indef. obj. of the verb theme ni-...-yó 'to drive, herd (animals)' (act. tr.). The prefix ni- is thematic but only in the progressive mode does it occur with no other derivational prefixes.

The text form means literally: 'they were driving (animals) with burdens, it is said'.

(2) xé·ł bà·bìłʔìnéńyð·ná?à 'they drove the pack [train] to him, it is said'. bà·- 'to him'; bìł- 'with them'; ʔi- indefinite obj.; néń- > ni- thematic plus the ni- perfective, 3rd person; -yð· perfective stem. See §1, above.

(3) dáʔkòdéšı̨ 'in this lonely place'. dáʔ-kòdé 'lonely, wild'. Cf. note 6:8, §4.

11:4.

(1) dò·dà means literally 'no, not, none'; see paragraph 6 of the text.

(2) bà·sídá 'I sit guarding it'. bà·- 'to it' plus 1st person of -dá 'one sits' (si- perf. neut. intr.).

(3) bà·náńtı̨ 'it grows on it'. bà·- 'from it' plus 3rd person iter. of ni-...(si- perf.) -tı̨ 'to grow' (act. intr.).

(4) šìłńžǫ́ 'it is valuable to me'. šìł- 'to me, with me' plus 3rd person of ni-...-žǫ́ 'to be good, beautiful, of value' (imp. neut. intr.).

11:5.

nà·nà·hì·łⁿdì· 'we will buy it from you'. nà·- 'from you' plus 1st person dual of nà·-hi-|...(si- perf.)-ł-ⁿdì· 'to buy' (act. tr.). nà·-hi- ? but cf. nà·-|...(si perf.)-ⁿdì· 'to give away, to distribute here and there' (act. tr.). The verb 'to buy' is probably the causative with an extra prefix hi- of 'to give away'.

11:6.

dı̨ʔàyáłı̨́ı ʔìlı̨ 'it is worth a great deal'. dı̨ʔàyá 'very much'; łı̨ 'much'. ʔìlı̨, 3rd person of ʔi-ni-...-lı̨ 'to be worth, to be valued at' (imp. neut. intr.). ʔi- ?; ni- adj.

11:7

(1) ʔádí·dí· łı̨́ı dáʔłk̀èh dà·dàhðⁿdé·łgð 'both these horses with their burdens'. ʔádí·dí· 'these'; łı̨ 'horses'; dáʔłk̀èh 'both' (see note 1:1, §4). dà·dàhðⁿdé·ł, 3rd person distrib. prog. of dàh-|...(si- perf.)-ⁿdé 'to move carrying a load' (act. intr.). dàh- 'on'; theme alone 'to move'. This is an idiomatic way of describing fully saddled and bridled horses.

(2) xé·łí bìłnð·ʒðłí 'the pack animals that we are driving'. xé·ł 'packs'; bìłnð·ʒðł, 1st person dual prog. of the verb analyzed in note 11:3, §1, and -í relative. The -d of the 1st person dual combines with the initial stem consonant to form ʒ-. This is an irregular resultant sound, however (see II A, §12), and indicates that this stem initial is historically z- rather than y-.

(3) nàⁿdí·łgð 'we, giving them to you'. 1st person dual of Oà·-ni-...(ni- perf.)-ⁿdí·ł 'to give someone several objects' (act. tr.). nàⁿ- > ni- plus à·- plus the 1st person dual pronoun (see II A, §12).

(4) nàhà·déńʔà· 'you will give it to us'. 2nd person imp. of Oà·-di-ni-...(ni- perf.)-ʔà· 'to give someone a round object' (act. tr.). Cf. Oà·-ni-...(ni- perf.)-ʔà· 'to give someone a round object' (act. tr.). The former differs in that it refers to giving under compulsion or to giving in expectation of a return.

(5) ńyá 'shake it'. 2nd person imp. of ...(hi- perf.)-ɣá 'to shake' (act. tr.).

(6) nà·nì·dá hálí 'let's see if it will fall'. 3rd person imp. of nà·-ni-|...(si- perf.)-dá 'several fall off' (act. intr.). nà·- 'off, down'; ni-| ?; -dá 'several objects move through space'. hálí, a modal particle denoting uncertainty or doubt.

11:9.

bè·ǯàʔàšńí 'that with which they had been traveling'. bè·- 'with it, by means of it'; ǯà-ʔàš, 3a person prog. of -ʔà·š 'two move'; -ń past tense; -í relative.

11:10.

(1) sìʔǫ́ʔí·yéí 'that lies at that place yonder'. sìʔǫ́ 'a round object lies' (3rd person si- perf. neut, intr.); -ʔí·yé 'over yonder' (encl.).

(2) ʔìʔnó·yð·gð 'when I have driven them'. 3rd person perf. with indef. obj. of ʔì-ni-...(hi- perf.)-yó 'to drive (animals) off, away' (act. tr.; ʔì- 'away'; ni- thematic). Cf. note 11:3, §§ 1, 2.

(3) náhàłá 'you pick it up'. 2nd person dual

imp. of ná-hi-...(si- perf.)-lá 'to pick up several scattered objects' (act. tr.). The theme occurs only with these prefixes. The final -h of the 2nd person dual pronoun unvoices the stem initial.

11:11.

gǒčą?íńdè·yǒ·ná?à 'he began to drive them away from them, it is said'. gǒčą 'from them' plus 3rd person perf. of ?ì-ni-di-...(si- perf.)-yó 'to begin to drive animals away'. ?ì- 'away' plus ni- thematic apparently results in ?íń- but perhaps this is misheard for ?ìń-. The verb seems to be intr.; cf. notes 11:10, §2 and 11:3, §§1, 2.

11:12.

(1) nádì·ťá·žná?à 'they got up, it is said'. 3rd person perf. of ná-di-|...(ni- perf.)-d-?à·š 'two arise, get up' (act. intr.). ná-di-| 'upward'; -?à·š 'two move'. Why has this verb the -d- class?

(2) yìγágǒ yà·nà·?à·šná?à 'they shook it for a long time, it is said'. yìγá 'they shook it' (see note 11:7, §5). yà·- 'about it' plus 3rd person imp. of nà·-|...(si-perf.)-?à·š 'two go about, here and there' (act. intr.). Literally: 'they, shaking it, they went on about it'.

(3) dǒ·yâ·nǒ·ťą·dànná?à 'nothing fell down, it is said'. yâ· 'something' plus perf. of na·-|...(hi- perf.)-d-?ą· 'an unknown object falls down' (pass.; nà·- 'down').

(4) ǯǒ·ǯìbá·yégǒ 'in a pitiable state'. 3a person of ǯǒ·-ni-...-bá·yé 'to be in a pitiable state' (imp. neut. intr.). ǯǒ·- is also used with -ⁿdè· 'to help, assist', see note 5:6, §2; ni- adj. The latter prefix disappears entirely in the 3rd and 3a persons.

(5) nà·ǯìyè·?à·šná?à 'they stood about, it is said'. This is the 3a person of a verb found only in the imp. mode. The other persons are: nà·-hè·ťà·š 'we stand about'; nà·hà·h?à·š 'you two stand about'. The stem is apparently -?à·š 'two move' (act. intr.) but the prefixes are puzzling.

(6) bìkè?šdìyè·sťá·žná?à 'they started to go after him, it is said'. bìkè? 'after him' plus 3rd person perf. of di-yi-...(si- perf.)-d-?à·š 'two start off' (act. intr.). Prefixes indefinable; cf. note 3:2, §2.

11:13.

(1) bìgǒ·tà 'their camp'.

(2) ná?è· 'at that place'. ná?- 'that place' plus -è· 'at, on'.

(3) gǒtà·dàìsⁿdì·ná?à 'he had distributed them among them, it is said'. 3rd person perf. with 3rd person distrib. obj. of 0-tà·-|...(si- perf.)-ⁿdì· 'to distribute things among' (act. tr.; -tà· 'among').

11:14.

(1) gǒdáhíłγǒná?à 'he met them, it is said'. 3rd person perf. of 0-dá-ni-...(ni- perf.)-l-γè· 'to meet, encounter someone' (act. intr.). -dá 'before, in front of'; ni- completive. Literally 'to come before someone'.

(2) dǒ·xà·ó·?ą́dà 'you haven't seen anyone'. xà·- 'anyone, someone' plus 2nd person of -?ą́ 'to see' (prog. neut. tr.).

11:15.

?áⁿdè·dègǒ 'a while ago'. Possibly ?áⁿdè·dè is an older form of ?áⁿdè· 'it is new, recent' (see note 1:18, §3). Cf. also ?áńdè·dà 'then, now' (part.).

12:1.

céγè?hè·sⁿdìlná?à 'rocks were lying inside it, it is said'. That is, it was a rabbit skin stuffed with rocks. cé 'rocks' plus the perf. of γè?-hi-...(si- perf.)-d-ⁿdí·ł 'several objects are put inside' (pass.; γè?- 'inside'; hi- ?). The sentence is better translated: 'rocks has been put inside that rabbit'.

12:2.

?ìǯó·łxàžná?à 'he bit at it, it is said'. 3rd person perf. of ?ì-|...(hi- perf.)-ł-γàš 'to take a bite at, to snap at' (act. intr. ?; ?ì-| ?). -γàš is the semelf. imp. stem; -γá·š is the mom. imp. stem of this theme.

13:1.

xáń dàìlá 'who would meddle with it?' xá- interrog. pronoun; -ń relative. dà- interrog. proclitic; -i-, reduced form of yi- 3rd person obj.; -lá, imp. stem of 'to do, to make' (act. tr.). This theme, it will be recalled, generally occurs with a prefix ?á- 'thus, so'. Here that prefix is replaced by the interrog. procl. dà-.

Literally, then, 'who is going to do what to it?'.

13:2.

(1) dáⁿdí·dé 'surely, certainly, truly'. Also heard dá·ⁿdí and dáⁿdí.

(2) dò·yà·sdè·szḷdànáʔà 'he paid no attention to it, it is said'. 3rd person perf. of 0à·-ʒi-di-...(si- perf.)-zḷ 'to pay attention to, to think about' (act. intr.; à·- 'to, about'; ʒi-di- ?). ʒi- has been reduced to -s-.

(3) dáⁿdás hìǩìčéłɣònáʔà 'he passed on right by it'. dá- 'just', -ⁿdás 'on, farther'. hìǩìčéłɣò, 3rd person perf. of 0-ǩì-čé-ni-...(ni- perf.) -l-ɣè· 'to pass by, to move on past' (act. intr.; -ǩì 'past, beyond' ?; čé- 'out'; ni- completive).

13:3.

ťą·ʔnádè·sgàlnáʔà 'he looked back'. ťą·ʔ- 'backward' plus 3rd person perf. of ná-di-...(si- perf.)-d-ɣà·ł 'to look again' (act. intr.; ná- 'again'; di- ?).

13:4.

(1) ʔádó·ʒì·náʔà 'he cursed himself'. 3rd person imp. of ʔád-ho-...(hi- perf.)-d-ʒì· 'to curse oneself, berate oneself'. ʔád- reflexive; cf. ho-...(hi- perf.)-d-ʒì· 'to scold, berate' (act. tr.; ho- ?).

(2) màìñtą̀ʔé 'no good coyote'. màì 'coyote' plus a bound 3rd person form of ni-...-tą̀ 'to be no good, worthless' (imp. neut. intr.; ni- adj.) and the archaic rlative -é.

(3) dákǫ́·hédá dò·ʔìkóńzḷdà 'without a bit of sense'. dá- 'very'; kǫ́·hédá 'a little'; ʔìkóńzḷ, 3rd person of ʔìkó-ni-...-zḷ 'to be wise, clever' (imp. neut. intr.). Cf. ni-...-zḷ 'to feel, think, know' (act. intr.). Cf. also note 1:8, §5.

13:5.

(1) hìkèʔhì·łtè·náʔà 'he ran after him'. hìkèʔ- 'after him' plus 3rd person imp. of hi-|... (ʔ perf.)-l-tè· 'to run' (act. intr.).

(2) náhè·sgą̀ʔí 'that which was dead'. 3rd person of ná-hi-...-d-gą̀ʔ 'to be dried up, poor; to be dead (of a tree or plant)' (si- perf. neut. intr.). The theme occurs with no other prefixes.

(3) bà·yèhòłɣònáʔà 'he ran into it'. 3rd person perf. of 0à·-yèh-|...(hi- perf.)-l-yè· 'to run into a hole' (act. intr.; à·- 'to'; yèh- 'in').

(4) hìčḷ·yà·sìtḭnáʔà 'he lay toward it'. hìčḷ· 'toward it'; yà·- 'to it'; sìtḭ 'he lay' (3rd person si- perf. neut. intr.).

(5) ʔìgòìʔáńʒì 'to the hole'. ʔìgòìʔáń 'hole' (cf. ʔì·ʔáń 'hole, den'); -ʒì 'to' (pp.).

(6) čídégòdà ʔáìlágò hìčḷ·ʔìnádìłⁿdìnáʔà 'he tried again and again in vain to reach into it'. čídégòdà 'in vain'; ʔáìlá 'he did it so'; hìčḷ· 'toward it'; ʔìnádìłⁿdì, 3rd person iter. of ʔì-di-...(hi- perf.)-l-ⁿdí 'to extend one's hands inside' (mediopas.; ʔì- 'away, in'; di- 'one's own' ?).

(7) yì·sìłnáʔà 'he caught hold of him'. 3rd person perf. with 3rd person obj. of hi-|...(si perf.)-ł-zìł 'to catch hold of, to grab' (act. tr.).

13:6.

(1) šìčółè· 'oh, my grandmother'. šìčó 'my mother's mother' plus -łè· which functions here as a vocative (cf. note 10:11, §1). For a complete account of Chiricahua kinship terms see Morris E. Opler, "An Outline of Chiricahua Apache Social Organization" in F. Eggan (ed), Social Anthropology of North American Tribes (Chicago, 1937), pp. 173-239.

(2) bìlà·cíńšḭ 'from his wrist'. là·cíń 'wrist', a compound of -là· 'hand, fingers' and -cíń 'joint'. The latter does not occur independently but is found only in this and the compound kécíń 'ankle' (ké- 'foot'). -là· 'hand' sometimes requires a high tone on its prefixes.

(3) ǩèʒìñšgé·š 'I'm going to cut it off'. 1st person imp. of ǩè-ʒi-ni-...(ni- perf.)-gé·š 'to cut off' (act. tr.). ǩè- 'off'; ni- completive.

13:7.

bà·hàʔʒàłɣònáʔà 'he got away from him'. 3a person perf. of 0à·-hà-ʔì-|...(hi- perf.)-l-yè· 'to get away from, to escape' (act. intr.). à·- 'from'; hà- 'out'; ʔì-| 'away'.

The verb theme -l-yè· 'to move', it will be noted, has occurred so far with a variety of prefix complexes, each of which has expressed a distinctive meaning. It will perhaps be instructive to review these as an illustration of Chiricahua verb morphology (see also II A, §§8-10).

ʔá-ná·-...(si- perf.)-l-yè· 'to run in again' (see note 5:3, §4).

ʔì-|...(hi- perf.)-l-yè· 'to run in' (see

notes 3:7, §8 and 3:10, §1).

ʔl·ʔáh-ná·ná-...(si- perf.)-l-yè· 'to run in again' (see note 5:6, §4).

ʔlɬ-ǩá-...(hi- perf.)-l-yè· 'to separate' (see note 8:2, §5).

0-dá-ni-...(ni- perf.)-l-yè· 'to meet, encounter someone' (see note 11:14, §1).

0-tà-ni-...(ni- perf.)-l-yè· 'to go among someone' (see note 5:8, §2).

ná-di-|...(ni- perf.)-l-yè· 'to run' (see note 2:31, §1).

0è·-ná-di-|...(ni- perf.)-l-yè· 'to run by means of something' (see note 5:6, §6).

0-čą-ná-di-|...(ni- perf.)-l-yè· 'to run away from' (see note 3:10, §4).

ni-...(ni- perf.)-l-yè· 'to arrive' (see note 3:7, §9).

0à·-ni-...(ni- perf.)-l-yè· 'to come to. to arrive at' (see note 3:5, §3).

nì-ni-...(ni- perf.)-l-yè· 'to stop moving' (see note 3:10, §3).

0-ǩl-čé-ni-...(ni- perf.)-l-yè· 'to pass by' (see note 13:2, §3).

hà-ná·ná-...(si- perf.)-l-yè· 'to run out again' (see note 5:6, §3).

0à·-yèh-|...(hi- perf.)-l-yè· 'to run into (a hole)' (see note 13:5, §3).

yà·-ná-|...(ni- perf.)-l-yè· 'to jump' (see note 10:5, §2).

0à·-0-ɬ-yà·-na-|...(ni- perf.)-l-yè· 'to jump away from someone with something' (see note 10:5, §2).

14:1.

ná·nô·łyòłná?à 'he was going along again'. 3rd person prog. of ná·ná-...(si- perf.)-l-yè· 'to go again' (act. intr.; ná·ná- 'again'). See note 13:7.

14:3.

dò·ǩèǯlčl̨·dà 'do not defecate on it'. 3rd person imp. of ǩe-...(si- perf.)-čl̨· 'to defecate on'. ǩe- is probably cognate with the pp. -ǩì (also heard -ǩè) 'on, upon'. In this verb, however, it is not preceded by a pronoun object except in the third person and has lost the inherent tone characteristic of the independent postposition (see, for example, ǩé-čl̨· 'you defecate on it'). Since the theme -čl̨· 'to defecate' is intransitive, the verb ǩe-...-čl̨· 'to defecate on', which is apparently transitive, is probably derived from an earlier form *0-ǩì-...-čl̨·.

14:4.

hìǩè·sčą̀·ná?à 'he defecated on it'. 3rd person perf. with 3rd person obj. of ǩe-...(si- perf.) -čl̨· 'to defecate on'. See note 14:3.

14:5.

(1) yáháčéłyòná?à 'he went over yonder'. yáhá 'over yonder' is the demonstr. stem yáh- plus the pp. -yá (see II A, §3). čéłyò, 3rd person perf- of čé-ni-...(ni- perf.)-l-yè· 'to go out' (act. intr.; čé- 'out'; ni- completive). See note 13:7,

(2) bìkè?čéńmá·zná?à 'it rolled out after him'. bìkè?- 'after him' plus 3rd person perf. of čé-ni-...(ni- perf.)-má·s 'to roll out' (act. intr.). Cf. §1, above. The third person ni-perf. of the verb in §1 differs from this one because it is an -l- class verb.

(3) dábìkécíńè· 'right at his heels'. dá- 'just'; bì- 'his'; kécíń 'ankles' (see note 13:6, §2); -è· 'at'.

(4) hòmàsná?à 'it rolled along'. 3rd person prog. of -má·s 'to roll' (act. intr.). The verb theme without derivational prefixes is found only in the progressive mode.

(5) dásíbìǹǯìlèí 'that which is all his strength'. dásí- 'very'; -ǹǯìlè 'strength, power'.

(6) yè·nádà·dì·łyòná?à 'he ran with it'. 3rd person distrib. perf. of 0è·-ná-di-|...(ni- perf.) -l-yè· 'to run by means of it' (act. intr.; see note 5:6, §6). Note that the distrib. 3rd person is used when it is quite clear from the context that a single actor is being referred to. The distributive prefix probably functions here as an adverb and therefore the form should be translated 'he ran very [fast] by means of it'.

14:6.

(1) dásíšìhátìdèí 'my very best speed'. -hátìdè 'best speed, full speed'.

(2) dàǹšó·?ı̨ná 'did you ever see me?'. dàǹ- interrog. procl. (cf. dà- interrog. procl. in note 13:1). šó·?ı̨, 2nd person with 1st person obj. of -?ı̨ 'to see' (prog. neut. tr.).

14:8.

(1) bìdádéńmá·zná?à 'it rolled to cover it'. bìdá 'its top, its cover, over it'. I cannot ana-

łyze -déńmá·z Itseems to be a 3rd person ni- perf. of the theme -má·s 'to roll' (act. intr.) with the prefixes di-ni- but I have not a conjugation complete enough to verify this.

(2) šánáłⁿdà· 'lick it off for me'. 2nd person imp. of Oá-ná-...(hi- perf.)-ł-ⁿdà· 'to lick clean for someone' (act. tr.). á- 'for'; ná- 'off (to lick) clean'; cf....(hi- perf.)-ł-ⁿdà· 'to lick' (act. tr.).

14:9.

ǹnáńmá·zná?à 'he rolled back'. 3rd person perf. of nł-ná-ni-...(ni- perf.)-d-má·s 'to roll back' (act. intr.). nł- 'to a stop'; ná- 'back'; ni- completive. See note 14:5, §§ 2, 4.

15:1.

(1) góllžǹłčłné 'beetle, tip-beetle'. Apparently a compound of góllž-; the 3rd person of ni-...-ł-čł 'to smell, give off an odor' (imp. neut. intr.; ni- adj.); and the archaic relative -é. góllž- also appears in the word góllžé 'skunk'. The gó- of these forms may be cognate with the gó- (or gó·?-) of the following: gó·?žłné 'black ants' (-žłn- bound form of łi-ni-...-žł 'to be black'); gó·?łčłdé 'red ants' (-łčłd- bound form of łi-ni-...-čł 'to be red'); gónà?à?é 'a species of animal' (-nà?à?é ?); gó·?yè 'animal'; gó?łs?ł? 'mink' (-?łs?ł? ?); gó 'snake'. -llž may be related to the theme -ll·š 'to urinate' (perf. -llž).

(2) yà·ǩà·?łł?ágò 'standing on his head' should read yà·ǩà·?ł·ł?ágò. 3rd person of yà·-ǩà·-?ł-|...-ł-?á 'to stand on one's head' (imp. neut. intr.). No further analysis is possible.

15:2.

?łǩàh hłšą́nágò nà·šá 'I eat only fat in order to live'. This is a phrase Coyote utters when he meets those he is about to devour. -ǩàh 'fat, fatty meat'; hłšą́, 1st person imp. of ...(hi- perf.)-yą́ 'to eat' (act. tr.); nà·šá 'I go about, I live'.

15:3.

(1) hà·stł· 'old man'. A verbal abstract, the 3rd person of hà-...-d-tł. 'to be old' (si- perf. neut. intr.).

(2) dò·dà·ńⁿdłdà 'don't say anything'. 2nd person imp. of dà·-di-...(hi- perf.)-ⁿdł (or -ⁿdł) 'to say something' (act. intr.). di- is a prefix referring to noise; dà·- 'something' (?).

15:5.

The last sentence of this paragraph means literally: dà·ǯł·łxé 'they will kill him'; dà·-ǯłⁿdł 'they are saying'; hłłćà? 'there is a noise'.

15:6.

(1) šłbà?sńdá 'wait for me'. šłbà? 'for me' plus the 2nd person of -dá 'one sits' (si- perf. neut. intr.).

(2) ?łyâ·?łsťèǹnł?ł·ł 'something which I left there'. ?łyâ· 'something' and ?łsťè- 'there' (?) plus the 1st person perf. of nł-ni-...(ni- perf.)-?ł· 'to put down an unknown object' (act. tr.).

(3) ?ášą́·łγòłdą́ 'as he had been coming there'. ?ášł 'from there' plus hòłγòł 'he is coming' and -dą́ 'at that time'.

15:8.

(1) ?łłγàłńè· 'the place where he should have been eaten'. 3rd person cont. imp. with indef. obj. of ...(hi- perf.)-l-γá·ł 'to eat meat-like substances' (act. tr.). -ń past tense; -è· 'at'.

(2) bà·?łsdánô·ʒá 'he has left it'. bà·- 'from it' plus 3rd person perf. of ?łsdá-ná-...(hi- perf.)-dá 'one escapes' (act. intr.). The theme -dá is the -d- form of -yá 'one moves'.

16:1.

(1) dáná?ńtłńá 'on the very same road'. dá- 'very'; ná- 'again'; ?łńtłń 'road'; -yá pp.

(2) mà?łšą́łdłčłžé 'Rock Lizard'. A compound of mà?łšą́ł 'lizard' (see note 5:4) and dłčłž, 3rd person of di-ni-...-čłž 'to be rough' (imp. neut. intr.). di-ni- adj.; ni- is lost in the 3rd person.

16:2.

nà·ńłγè· 'come down'. 2nd person imp. of nà·-ni-...(ni- perf.)-l-γè· 'to come down' (act. intr.; nà·- 'down'; ni- completive). See note 13:7.

16:3.

(1) dò·ńⁿdł·?édłdà 'don't be foolish'. ńⁿdł· 'your mind, sense'; -ⁿdł· 'mind, sense' requires a high tone on its prefixes. ?édł, 3rd person of

ʔé-...-dą 'to be none' (imp. neut. intr.).

(2) yábéyàńʔáí 'that which holds up the sky'. yá 'sky' plus Oéyà-...-ʔá 'to brace up, to hold up' (ni- perf. neut. intr.). éyà- 'against'; -ʔá 'a rigid object extends'.

(3) hóńštą 'I am holding it'. 1st person of hó-ni-...-tą 'to have hold of' (imp. neut. tr.).

(4) bìdó·čìgò 'if I let go of it'. 1st person perf. of O-di-...(hi- perf.)-čí 'to turn loose, let go' (act. tr.; di- ?).

16:4.

(1) ńnáhì·yá 'I'm very tired'. ńná- 'very' plus the 1st person perf. of hi-|...(ni- perf.) -yá 'one becomes tired' (act. intr.). -yá 'one moves'; hi-| ?

(2) łłcó 'you hold it'. 2nd person imp. of hi-|...(ni- perf.)-ł-có 'to hold, to grasp' (act. tr.; hi-| ?).

(3) nàńʔó·ké·zgò 'if it falls over'. 3rd person perf. of nàń-ʔì-|...(hi- perf.)-kè·s 'a long rigid object falls over' (act. intr.). nàń- 'on (its) side' (?); ʔì-| 'away'. The theme: 'a long rigid object moves'.

16:5.

(1) yà·dàhnè·sɣàlnáʔà 'he threw himself onto it'. 3rd person perf. of Oà·-dàh-ni-...(si- perf.-l-ɣà·ł 'to grab at, to throw oneself onto' (mediopas.). à·- 'to'; dàh- 'on'; ni- terminative. The theme: 'to move quickly, suddenly'; cf. note 5:6, §8.

(2) gòčàgòščí 'I'll let them know'. 1st person imp. with 3a obj. of O-čà-|...(si- perf.)-čí 'to make known to' (act. tr.). -čà 'about, concerning' (pp.).

(3) łàšé 'one side'. łà- 'one'; -šé 'side'.

16:7.

bìłǩèʔánáhàhⁿdí·łnáʔà 'it continually seemed to him'. The prefixes O-ł-ǩè-ʔá-ná- plus the prog. mode of -ⁿdá 'to do, make, act' (act. intr.). ʔá- 'thus'; ná- 'again and again'; ǩè- 'similar to, like' (see note 6:2, §2); bìł- 'with him'. Literally: 'it was acting like so again and again to him'.

16:8.

nàhàgóńʔá or nà·góńʔá 'arroyo'. Cf. also góńʔá 'arroyo'. The latter is probably the ni- perf. neut. with place subject of -ʔá 'a rigid object extends'. nà·- and nàhà- cannot be defined.

Note, in the interrogative sentence, that the dubitative enclitic -šą is found on each word in the sentence.

16:9.

(1) bìčą·ʔádè·nà·ʒłłɣłžgò 'in a zigzag course to it'. bìčą· 'toward it' plus 3a person imp. of ʔád-è·-nà·-|...(si- perf.)-ł-ɣłž (rep. of -ɣí·š) to dodge, to zigzag'. The theme alone seems to refer to sudden and forcible action such as stumbling, falling violently, throwing oneself, striking or beating. ʔád- reflexive; è·- 'by means of'; nà·- 'here and there'.

(2) ʔádè· ʔʒàłɣłžnáʔà 'he threw himself in'. 3rd person perf. of ʔád-è·-ʔì-ʒi-...(hi- perf.) -ł-ɣí·š 'to throw oneself in, to throw oneself about'. The theme here is the same as in §1 above. ʔádè·- 'by means of oneself'; ʔì- 'away, in'; ʒi- ?.

16:10.

(1) ʔìsdàhèńlą́gò 'panting'. ʔìsdàhè 'panting, breathless' plus 3rd person of ni-...-lą́ 'to be' (imp. neut. intr.).

(2) dàhyá 'upward'. dàh- 'up' is usually a verb prefix but here functions as a particle.

(3) ʔìnádà·gòyàłǩàšą́ 'to one hollow after another'. ʔìnádà·gòyàłǩàh 'many caves, hollows'. Cf. ʔìgàłǩàh 'cave, hollow'. No further analysis is possible.

17:1.

(1) sìlá·dò 'soldiers' > Spanish soldado.

(2) bìʔédè 'their coats'. -ʔédè, possessed form of ʔé·ʔ 'coats'.

(3) ńtǫ́·yéí 'that were old and wornout'. 3rd person of ni-...-tǫ́·yé 'to be worthless' (imp. neut. intr.). Cf. ni-...-tǫ́ 'to be no good' (see note 13:4, §2).

(4) Note that dìcą́ here means 'stick, club'. Cf. note 11:1, §2.

(5) yà·dàhyè·scò·znáʔà 'he hung them onto it'. 3rd person perf. with 3rd person obj. of Oà·-dàh-yi-...(si- perf.)-ł-có·s 'to hang a fabric-like object onto something' (act. tr.). à·- 'to'; dàh- 'upon'; yi- ?. dàhyè·s- > dàh- plus yi- 3rd person obj. plus yi- prefix plus si- perf. and the -ł- classifier.

(6) yéʔàłcìná?à 'he was carrying it like a flag'. yé- 'against it' plus the 3rd person prog. with indef. obj. of the theme -ł-cé 'to cause a pointed object to move' (act. tr.). Literally: 'he went along causing a pointed object to move against it'.

17:2.

(1) ʔìʔó·ʔą́gò 'being sunset'. The perf. of ʔì-ʔi-...(hi- perf.)-ʔà· 'a round object (i. e., the sun) moves away' (act. intr.). ʔì- 'away'; ʔi- indef. subject. Literally: 'the sun having moved away'.

(2) hìčı̨·dà·gòⁿdénáʔà 'he shouted to them'. hìčı̨· 'to them'; dà·- distrib., here modifying the indirect obj. hi-. gòⁿdé, 3rd person imperf. of go-...(si- perf.)-ⁿdé 'to shout' (act. intr.). the theme appears with no other prefix.

(3) yóščı̨šı̨ 'over here' (part.).

(4) bìčı̨·dà·hík̀è·náʔà 'they ran to him'. bìčı̨· 'to him' plus the 3rd person distrib. imp. of ni-...(ni- perf.)-kè· 'several run' (act. intr.; ni- completive).

17:3.

(1) dò·xáń kò·γą̨yá sìdádàgò 'no one is to stay at home'. xá- 'anyone'; kò·γą̨ 'home' (also heard gò·γą̨); sìdá 'he sits' (3rd person si-perf. neut. intr.). Note that the negative dò·-...-dà encircles the whole phrase.

(2) ʔı̨ʔdà·nàhká 'all of you come here'. ʔı̨ʔ- a prefixed form of ʔı̨·- 'here' (see II A, §3) plus the 2nd person distrib. of ni-...(ni- perf.)-ká 'several come' (act. intr.; ni- completive).

17:5.

(1) dánà·gòñʒò·gò ʔìʔó·ʔą́ 'there was a big battle until sunset'. Literally: 'there being hard fighting, the sun had gone away'. dá- 'very' plus the imp. of nà·-go-ni-...(si- perf.)-ʒò· 'a battle goes on, there is fighting' (act. intr.).

(2) nánílcò·z 'I brought them back'. 1st person perf. of ná-ni-...(ni- perf.)-ł-có·s 'to bring back a fabric-like object' (act. tr.).

(3) dàhyéʔàłcìná?à 'he held them up'. dàh- 'up'. See note 17:1, §6).

17:6.

(1) kǫ̀·dàsàhkà· 'build your fires'. 2nd person dual imp. of kǫ̀·-dàh-yi-...(si- perf.)-kà· 'to build a fire' (act. tr.). kǫ̀· 'fire'; dàh-yi- 'on, upon' (dàh- plus yi- plus àh- 2nd person dual pronoun gives dàsàh-). The theme: 'to handle something in a container'. Cf. note 1:11, §1.

(2) bìkédé 'in honor of it'.

(3) gòtál sìʔą́gò hìłkà· 'the ceremony will last all night'. Literally; 'the ceremony, it lying, day will come'.

(4) dágònè·λı̨gò 'the celebration going on'. dá- 'very' plus gònè·λı̨ 'there is a celebration, a good time'. Probably an imp. neut. with place subject and a prefix nè·-. Cf. go-ne·-...(hi perf.)-λı̨· 'a celebration takes place' (act. intr.).

17:7.

gòtál ńłà· 'there is to be a ceremony'. gòtál 'ceremony' plus the imp. of nì-ni-...(ni- perf.)-d-ʔà· 'a round object is put down' (pass.; nì- 'down, to a stop'; ni- completive). See notes 10:2, §1 and 17:6, §3.

17:9.

šédà·ʔdàłʔà 'sing about me'. 2nd person distrib. imp. of Oé-ʔi-di-...(hi- perf.)-ł-ʔà 'to sing about someone' (act. intr.). é- 'about'; ʔi- ?; di- referring to noise. The theme is not used with any other prefix complex.

17:11.

ǩé·ʔó·sʔàhnáʔà 'it was late at night'. ǩé·ʔ 'night' plus ʔó·sʔàh 'late, later' (part.).

17:12.

(1) dà·łàhǩà·í 'those of you who are fat'. 2nd person distrib. of łi-ni-...-ǩà· 'to be fat' (imp. neut. intr.). łi-ni- adj.; ni- is lost in the 3rd and 3a persons singular and dual and sometimes in the 2nd person dual. łìnàhǩà· also occurs however.

(2) dáłèšégò nàhíłgò 'you line up on one side'. dáłè- 'one'; -šé 'side'. nàhíł is the 2nd person dual cont. imp. of ni-...(ni- perf.)-łé 'to line up, to get in line' (act. intr.; ni- completive).

(3) dàńtǫ́·yéí 'those that are thin'. Literally: 'those that are poor, worthless' (see note 17:1, §3).

(4) gònè·λı̨gò ʔágònàsı̨ 'have a good time'. gònè·λı̨ 'there is a good time' (see note 17:6, §

4). ?ágònàsǫ̨, 2nd person dual with place object of ?á-ni-...-ł-zǫ̨ 'to have so' (imp. neut. tr.).

17:14.

(1) ťédò·dàgò 'very, exceedingly' (part.).

(2) ?ł·šxá·š 'I'm going to sleep'. 1st person imp. of ?ł-|...(ni- perf.)-ł-γá·š 'to go to sleep' (act. intr.; ?ł-| ?).

17:15.

(1) kàłtàhíłγòná?à 'he went into it'. kà·- 'to it' plus the 3rd person perf. of 0-tà-ni-... (ni- perf.)-l-γè· 'to go away' (act. intr.; see note 5:8, §2).

(2) ?łdà·gòł?áń 'their holes'; cf. ?łgòł?áń 'hole' and ?ł·?áń 'hole'.

(3) kà·dà·nádà·gòdè·zł·ná?à 'he filled them all up'. kà·- 'to them' plus 3rd person perf. with distrib. place object of dà·-ná-di-ni-...(ni- perf.)-zí 'to fill up (e. g., a hole with dirt)' (act. tr.). In the text form, the distributive dà·- causes the si- perf. The prefix complex is not clearly definable; the theme alone means; 'to work, to meddle with, to handle'.

17:16.

(1) céłkànè· 'mulberry tree'. No analysis.

(2) ťéyíńtłná?à 'he broke it off'. 3rd person perf. with 3rd person obj. of ťé-ni-...(ni- perf.)-tí 'to break off' (act. tr.; ťé- 'off'; ni- completive).

(3) gòčǫ̨·náyàgé·łná?à 'he carried it back to them'. gòčǫ̨· 'to them' plus the 3rd person prog. with 3rd person obj. of ná-ni-...(ni- perf.)-d--γè· 'to carry a burden back' (act. tr.).

17:17.

(1) gònè·λǫ̨gòyé 'to have a good time'. -yé ?; gònè·λǫ̨gò, see note 17:6, §4.

(2) łínádà·gòłčíná?à 'he pretended to hit them again and again'. 3rd person iter. with distrib. 3a obj. of łí-|...(si- perf.)-ł-čí 'to threaten to hit' (act. tr.; łí-| ?).

(3) ǫ̨łš 'club, cane stick'; -bè· 'with it'.

17:18.

ťàsą̨ hàgòǯó·łxà·l 'he nearly hit him'. ťàsą̨ 'nearly, almost'. 3a person perf. with 3a obj. of hà-|...(hi- perf.)-ł-γà·ł 'to whip, to beat' (act. tr.; hà-| ?).

17:22.

gòtà·ǯł·sxłžná?à 'he struck at them'. 3a person perf. of 0-tà·-|...(si- perf.)-ł-xłž 'to beat, strike' (act. intr.; tà·- 'among'). Cf. hi-|...(si- perf.)-ł-xłš 'to hit, strike' (act. tr.). See also note 16:9, §1.

17:23.

(1) ńnádà·gòłgè·ná?à 'he carried them back there'. 3rd person imp. with 3a distrib. obj. of nł-ná-hi-...(si- perf.)-d-γè· 'to carry a burden back there' (act. tr.). nł- 'to a stop'; ná- 'back'; hi- ?. hi- is reduced to -i- in the text form. The theme: 'to carry a burden'.

(2) ?łłyénágòyè·sgǫ̨ná?à 'he piled them in a heap'. 3rd person perf. with 3a obj. of ?łł-yé-ná-hi-...(si- perf.)-d-γè· 'to carry a burden back together' (act. tr.). ?łłyé- 'together' may be ?łł- reciprocal plus the pp. é- 'against'. ná- 'back'; hi- ?.

(3) ?łłčą̨yíńzł·ná?à 'he spread it apart'. 3rd person perf. with 3rd person obj. of ?łł-čą̨-ni-...(ni- perf.)-zí 'to spread apart' (act. tr.; ?łł- reciprocal; čą̨- 'from'; ni- completive). The theme: 'to handle'.

(4) ?łgòyè·s^{n}dłlná?à 'he put them in'. 3rd person perf. with 3a obj. of ?ł-hi-...(si- perf.) -^{n}dí·ł 'to put several objects in' (act. tr.; ?ł- 'away'; hi- ?).

(5) gòťè·ná·ył·zł·ná?à 'he covered it up again'. 3rd person perf. with 3rd person obj. of 0-ťè·-ná·-...(ni- perf. ?)-zí 'to cover up again' (act. tr.). ťè·- 'on, over'; ná·- 'again'. See §8 above.

17:25.

(1) ńdóí 'puma, mountain lion'. No analysis.

(2) bà·hàná?ó·zł·ná?à 'he dug them out from him'. bà·- 'from him' plus 3rd person perf. with indef. obj. of hà-ná-...(hi- perf.)-zí 'to dig out' (act. tr.). hà- 'out', ná- ? See note 17:23, §§3 and 5.

(3) dánà·kłé 'just two'. nà·kł 'two'; dá- 'just'; -é relative (?).

(4) báńnáyíńlená?à 'he put them back for him'. bá- 'for him' plus 3rd person perf. with 3rd person obj. of nł-ná-ni-...(ni- perf.)-lé 'to put two beings back there' (act. tr.). 'to a stop'; ná- 'back'; ni- completive. ná- 'back' ordinarily requires the -d- class; this verb is exceptional.

The theme: 'to handle a rope-like object, to handle two beings, to handle several objects or a mass'.

17:26.

(1) čínáʒlná?à 'he woke up'. 3rd person perf. of čí-ná-ni-...(ni- perf.)-d-ʒí 'to wake up' (mediopas. ?). The stem initial is probably z- since this is a -d- form. The theme, however, is found with no other prefixes.

(2) ?ì?yó·sťò·d 'they are tender'. This verb is not conjugated; cf. dlťò·dé 'it is tender, well cooked, fragile'.

17:27.

(1) cíγè?nà·?ìclná?à 'he poked about in the fire'. cí- 'fire'; -γè? 'in' plus the 3rd person imp. with indef. obj. of nà·-|...(sí- perf.)-cl 'to move a pointed object' (act.tr.; nà·-| 'about'). Cf. note 17:1. §6.

(2) hàyé?ó·łclná?à 'he poked them out'. 3rd person perf. of hà-Oé-?i-...(hi- perf.)-ł-cé 'to cause a pointed object to move something out'. hà- 'out'; é- 'against'; ?i- indef. obj. referring to a pointed object. Cf. §1 above and note 17:1, §6.

17:28.

(1) ?ì·łkó 'they are no good'. 3rd person of ?i-ni-...-ł-kó 'to be ugly, bad, no good' (imp. neut. intr.).

(2) yè·?dè·sdé·lná?à 'he threw them away'. 3rd person perf. of Oè·-?i-di-...(si- perf.)-ł--dè·ł 'to throw several objects away' (act. intr.). Prefixes indefinable. The theme: 'to cause several to move'.

(3) čéhánlnè·stąná?à 'he searched in vain for them'. čé- 'in vain' plus 3rd person perf. with 3rd person obj. of há-ni-...(si- perf.)-tá 'to look for, search for' (act. tr.). See note 1:10, §4.

18:1.

(1) hìłnà·hè·stąná?à 'he lived with them'. Literally: 'he sat about with them'. 3rd person of nà·-hi-...-tą 'several sit about' (si- perf. neut. intr.). A plural verb is used here because the total number is more than one.

(2) bìǯè·kę? 'his daughter'.

(3) ?íłcénà·γáń 'she who was oldest'. ?íłcé 'first'; nà·γá 'she lives, she goes about' (see note 4:9, §4).

(4) yà·bó·ⁿdì·ná?à 'he wanted to marry her'. yà·- 'to her'; bó·ⁿdì· 'he has sexual desire, he wants, desires'. bı 3rd person pronoun plus hó·- and a stem -ⁿdì·.

18:2.

(1) kà·?íǵòdè·stǵná?à 'he pretended to be sick'. 3rd person perf. of kà·-?í-go-di-...(si- perf.)-ł-tè· 'to pretend to be sick' (act. intr.). kà· 'sickness, disease' (a noun). The prefix complex ?í-go-di- apparently means 'to pretend to be'. This theme is obviously neither -tè· 'one person lies' nor -ł-tè· 'to handle an animate being'. It may be a mediopassive in which the signs of the -l- class have entirely disappeared.

(2) -γà?ìsʒáń 'wife'. Apparently a compound of -γà-, a unique morpheme, and ?ìsʒáń 'woman'.

(3) kà·sítǵ 'I am sick'. kà· 'sickness' plus the 1st person of -tǵ 'one animate being lies' (si- perf. neut. intr.). Cf. §1 above.

(4) tê·sǩèh 'bed, sleeping place'.

18:4.

?ìzì hó·łʒì?í 'a liver that was rotten'. -zì 'liver'. hó·łʒì?, perf. of ...(hi- perf.)-ł-ʒì? 'to become rotten' (act. intr.).

18:5.

(1) dá?àłcò ǯǵdà 'every day'. dá- 'just'; ?àłcò (or ?ìłcò) 'all, every'; ǯǵ 'day'; -dà 'only, even'.

(2) góšó 'you sweep it'. 2nd person imp. with place object of ...(hi- perf.)-ł-žo 'to sweep, brush' (act. tr.).

(3) dò·ǩšóńlídàdà·ł 'you will know I am gone'. Negative with future enclitic -dà·ł of the 2nd person with 1st person object of nì-Oó-...-lí 'to expect someone, to hope for someone'. Literally: 'you will not hope for me'; a euphemistic way of saying 'you will know I am dead'.

(4) bà·gòdà·łté·ł 'you will give her to him'. 2nd person dual future with 3a object of Oà·-ni-...(ni- perf.)-ł-tè· 'to give someone an animate being' (act. tr.). à·- 'to'; ni- completive. The latter prefix appears only in the imp. mode.

Why Coyote should use the 2nd person dual when addressing his wife is not clear. The 2nd person dual is a polite form of address generally applied only to those relatives with which one

maintains a respect relationship.

18:6.

hlčl̨·nàbó·ⁿdl· 'he had sexual desires toward her'. hlčl̨· 'toward her'; nà- ?; bó·ⁿdl·, see note 18:1, §4.

18:9.

blčè?škénè 'her children'. -čè?ške 'children'; -nè 'people of such and such a group'.

18:12.

?í·yéhé a particle denoting certainty: 'surely, positively'.

18:15.

blčà·yàgóčl̨ná?à 'she stopped him'. 3rd person imp. of 0-čà·-yà-go-ni-...(hi- perf.)-čl̨ 'to forbid someone, to stop someone (from doing)'. The prefix complex cannot be defined.

18:16.

gòyą?ńń 'her husband'. -yą? 'husband'; -ń past tense.

18:19.

gòžíyą́łè· 'he was wise'. 3a person of go-ni-...-yą́ 'to be wise, sensible' (imp. neut. intr.; go- ?; ni- adj.). -łè· 'it used to be'.

18:22.

(1) ylłslkéná?à 'she sat with him'. ylł- 'with him' plus 3rd person of -ké 'two persons sit' (si- perf. neut. intr.). Note the dual verb with a singular subject (cf. note 18:1, §1).

(2) šą? 'sunshine, rays of the sun'.

18:23.

yà· šáháńyà·ł 'search for lice on me'. yà· 'lice'. šá- 'for me' plus 2nd person imp. of hádi-...(si- perf.)-yà·ł 'to search for, look for' (act. intr.). In this verb, the prefix há- 'for' is evidently an archaic combination of a pronoun object plus a postposition. When any other than the 3rd person pronoun is expressed, the postposition becomes -ká 'for'; thus, šíkáńyà·ł 'look for me'. In other verbs, however, há- is treated as a non-postpositional prefix and the verb is transitive (see note 1:19, §4).

18:24.

(1) gòcà·skìdèyá 'in her lap'. -cà·skìdè 'lap'; no analysis.

(2) ńnè·ťągò 'putting his head'. 3rd person perf. of nì-ne-ni-...(ni- perf.)-d-?à· 'to move one's head to a stop' (mediopas.). nì- 'to a stop'; ne-ni- ?. The theme is probably 'to handle a round object'; thus, the mediopassive -d-?à· 'to handle one's own round object (i. e., one's head)'. ne-ni- (the ni- is probably the perf. prefix) combine to nè·- in the 3rd person perf. (cf. ńnèńšťą́ 'I have put my head down').

(3) nàńnè·stĺgò 'he lay on his side'. 3rd person perf. of nàń-ni-...(si- perf.)-tè· 'one person lies on his side' (act. intr.; nàń- 'on (his) side'; ni- terminative).

(4) ?ìná·šdìyàłⁿdì 'she put her hand [there] every now and then'. ?ì- 'away'; ná·- 'again and again'; di-yi- ? plus the prog. mode of -ł-ⁿdí 'to make a movement of the hands' (act. intr.). This prefix complex appears only in the prog.

18:25.

šégòžà 'several are on me'. Analysis uncertain. šé- is probably ši- 'me' plus é- 'against, on' (pp.). gòžà, however, is not clear. It may be a form of the theme -žà· 'several lie' (act. intr.) but the mode cannot be identified.

(2) dò·dàšdìłⁿdìkà·háťĺdàná?à 'he did not permit her to put her hand [there]'. dàšdìłⁿdì, 3a person imp. of dàh-di-...(si- perf.)-l-ⁿdì 'to move one's hands about' (mediopas.; dàh- 'on'; di- ?). kà·háťĺ is probably a mishearing of káháťĺ 'he permits, allows her' (see note 2:6, §1).

18:27.

hàžàłcàná?à 'she slipped out'. 3a person perf. of hà-hi-...(hi- perf.)-l-cá 'to slip out, to move while sitting' (mediopas.; hà- 'out').

18:29.

ťè·žì·łkà·ná?à 'she threw it on it'. 3a persom imp. of 0-ťè·-hi-|...(ni- perf.)-ł-kà· 'to throw a large flat object on someone' (act. tr.; kè·- 'on'; hi- ?). In the text, blcì· 'his head' apparently makes the pronoun object before ťè·- unnecessary.

19:1.

(1) ?áⁿdè·nà·gòyádą́ 'when everything was

new'. ?á^{n}dè· 'it is new, recent' (see note 1:18, §3); nà·gòγá 'a place or time moves about, exists' (see note 1:6, §1); -dą́ 'at that time'.

(2) gą́hé 'Mountain Spirits' (see III, note 19:1).

(3) dò·xádą́?ìyâ·yégósìdànà?à 'no one at that time knew anything about them'. xá- 'whatever', -dą́ 'at that time'; ?ìyâ· 'someone'; yégósì, 3rd person of Oé-go-ni-...-ł-zì 'to have knowledge of, to know about' (imp. neut. intr.; é- 'about'; go-ni- ?). Cf. Oé-go-ni-...-zì 'there is knowledge of' and ni-...-zì 'to know, think, feel'.

(4) dáhô·łè?é 'only one'. Cf. dáłè·?e 'one, just one'.

(5) ^{n}déłą́íγè?é 'among the many Indians'. ^{n}dé 'Indians'; łą́ 'many'; -γè? 'inside, among'. -é is probably the relative -í assimilated to the preceding vowel.

19:2.

(1) dò·xádą́dà·h?ìdàí 'that which you have never seen before'. xádą́ 'at whatever time' (cf. note 19:1, §3). dà·h?ì, 2nd person distrib. of -?ì 'to see' (prog. neut. tr.).

(2) ?à·è· dà·nàhká 'you go there'. ?à·- 'there' plus -è· 'at'. dà·nàhká, 2nd person distrib. of ni-...(ni- perf.)-ká 'several go, several come' (act. intr.; ni-completive). It should be pointed out that the ni- completive prefix gives no indication of direction; it denotes simply that the action is approaching a definite end. Therefore this verb would better be translated 'several move completively [to or from] an end'. Such verbs, it is clear, must be preceded by words denoting the end. In this case, that word is ?à·è·.

19:3.

(1) dá?ákàànžǫ́ 'it is well'. dá?ákà- > dá?ákà·, the final vowel being shortened before -n- plus consonant. dá- 'just, exactly' plus ?ákà· 'there, that (time), that (manner)'. ànžǫ́ 'it is good'.

(2) dánánàł?ážì 'every last one of you'. 2nd person dual of dá-ná-ni-...-ł-?á 'to have a line (of people) extended to include everyone' (neut. tr.; ni- perf.?). Cf. dá-ni-...-ł-?á with essentially the same meaning and with the same conjugation. -ł-?á 'to have a rigid object extending' (neut. tr.).

19:4.

(1) šìkìshókénè, šílą̀hókénè 'my brothers, my sisters'. -ḱìs 'sibling of same sex'; -lą̀ 'sibling of opposite sex' (requires a high tone on its prefixes). -hókénè an unanalyzable plural enclitic.

(2) ʒìłí bìťàhyá 'at the foot of the mountain'. Literally: 'at the fold of the mountain'. ʒìł 'mountain'; -ťàh 'pocket, fold'.

(3) nàhťékénèí 'your relatives'. -ťéké 'relatives'; -nè 'people of such and such a group'.

(4) ḱèdà·?ìščíí 'those which I am going to decorate'. 1st person imp. of ḱè-dà·-?i-...(si- perf.)-ł-čí 'to put several designs on' (ḱè- 'on'; dà·-?i- distrib. plus indef. obj. referring to designs). Cf. ḱè-?i-...(si- perf.)-ł-čí 'to put a design on' and ḱè-?i-...(si- perf.)-čí 'a design is put on' (here ?i- functions as subject).

(5) dò·yâ·dàhíγádà 'no one is to come'. yâ·dà 'someone, anyone'. híγá, 3rd person imp. of ni-...(ni- perf.)-yá 'one person comes, one person goes' (act. intr.; ni- completive; see note 19:2, §2).

(6) bížì·í dò·bè·hášídà 'do not call them by their names'. -žì· 'name' (requires high toned prefixes). bè·- 'by means of' plus 2nd person dual imp. of hó-...(hi- perf.)-ží 'to call by name' (act. tr.).

(7) łą́^{n}dá góγéyá hàdà·ʒì·hálí 'it is dangerous [for] anyone to speak so'. łą́^{n}dá 'anyone'; góγé 'there is danger' (imp. neut. intr. with place subject and ni- adj.); -yá pp.; hàdà·ʒì·, 3rd person distrib. imp. of hà-|...(hi- perf.)-d -ʒì· 'to speak' (act. intr.; hà-| ?). hálí a particle or enclitic denoting uncertainty.

(8) gòłnè·ǯìgò 'at twilight'. perf. of gòł-ni-|...(? perf.)-ǯì 'to become dark, twilight falls' (act. intr.). gòł- is presumably the place pronoun plus -ł 'with, accompanying'. ni-| ?.

(9) gòdìnàsì 'treat them with respect'. 2nd person dual with 3a object of di-ni-...-ł-zì 'to treat with respect, to regard as sacred' (neut. tr.; imp. or ni- perf.?). di- ?; cf. ni-...-zì 'to think, feel'.

19:5.

bè·gòčàdà·gòǯì·sčìná?à 'he made it known to them'. bè·- 'by means of it'; 'it' referring to the two preceding phrases: 'in a good way' and 'in exactly the right way'. Note that the final

verb of this paragraph is preceded by yè·- 'by means of it' and that 'it' here also refers back to these phrases. gòčàdà·gòǯl·sčɻ, 3a person perf. with distrib. place obj. of O-čà-|...(si- perf.) -čí 'to make known to' (act. tr.). See note 16:5. §2.

19:6.

(1) blłⁿdéǯílɻí 'those people who were with him' blł- 'with him'; ⁿdé 'people'; 3a person of ni-...-lɻ 'to be' (imp. neut. intr.).

(2) čldà·ǯò·sʔɻ·gò 'making use of them'. 3a person perf. with 3rd person distrib. obj. of čl-ho-|...(si- perf.)-ł-ʔɻ 'to make use of' (act. tr.). The theme alone: 'to cause someone to be in such and such a state'. čl- 'useful, helpful'; ho-| ʔ.

(3) báná·ʔǯlnè·sⁿdllná?à 'he made a brush corral for them'. bá- 'for them' plus 3a person perf. with indef. obj. of ná·-ni-...(si- perf.) -d-ⁿdll 'to make a corral, to put several objects around, in a circle' (act. tr.). ná·- 'around'; ni- terminative. -ⁿdlł, cont. stem of -ⁿdí·ł 'to handle several objects'.

19:7.

(1) nà·dà·ⁿdéhégò 'they, playing about'. 3rd person distrib. of nà·-|...(si- perf.)-ⁿdéhé 'to play about' (act. intr.; nà·-| 'about').

(2) ʔlłnánákè·ná?à 'they ran about here and there'. 3rd person imp. of ʔlł- náná-...(si- perf.) -kè· 'several run about here and there' (act. intr.). ʔlł-náná- 'here and there' is probably ʔlł- reciprocal plus náná- 'again and again'.

19:8.

(1) ǯè·ǯíkɻ́ 'young girl'. Cf. ǯè·kɻ́ 'young girl' and -ǯè·kɻ̀ʔ 'daughter' (note 18:1, §2).

(2) ǹǯlnè·łⁿdlná?à 'she turned her head'. 3a person imp. of nl-ne-ni-...(ni- perf.)-l-ⁿdl 'to move one's head to a stop' (mediopas.). Cf. note 18:24, §2. -l-ⁿdl 'to move one's head'.

(3) ǯlⁿdé, 3a person of ni-...-ⁿdé 'to be a man' (imp. neut. intr.).

(4) kégòǯl·slɻ·ná?à 'she recognized him'. 3a person perf. of Oé-go-|...(si- perf.)-ł-zɻ· 'to learn about, to recognize' (act. intr.; é- 'about'; go-| ʔ).

19:9.

(1) kɻ̀·žɻ̀·kànáʔà 'they came to the fire'. kɻ̀· 'fire'; -žɻ 'to' plus hòkà 'they were coming' (3rd person prog. of -ká 'several move').

(2) dàlsɻná?à 'they worshipped it' (see III, note 19:5). 3rd person distrib. imp. with 3rd person object of ...(hi- perf.)-ł-zɻ 'to bless, to worship, to pay respect to' (act. tr.).

(3) báhàʔdàťɻ́náʔà 'singing had begun for them'. bá- 'for them' plus perf. of hà-ʔi-di-.. (hi- perf.)-d-ʔà· 'singing goes on' (pass.). hà· ʔi-di-...(hi- perf.)-ʔà· 'to sing' is probably the theme -ʔà· 'to handle a round object' with hà- 'out', ʔi- indefinite object and di- noise. thus: 'to cause a noise to move out'.

19:10.

(1) ʔáʔnà·ná·ǯàłγòłná?à 'he was going around there'. ʔáʔ- 'there', prefixed form of ʔá- 'there'. nà·ná·- 'around and around' plus the 3a prog. of -l-γè· 'to move' (act. intr.). This prefix is used only with the progressive mode.

(2) nà·nô·ké·łè· 'where they were dancing'. nà·ná·- 'around and around' plus the 3rd person prog. of -kè· 'several run' (see §1 above). and -è· 'at'.

(3) ʔáγáhò·γéń 'he who is called so and so'. ʔáγá- 'thus, so'; hò·γé 'he is called' (see note 1:5, §2); -ń relative.

19:12.

(1) ʔlnáǯó·žò·ž 'they went back'. 3rd person perf. of ʔl-ná-ǯi-...(hi- perf.)-žó·š 'several move away, go back' (act. intr.; ʔl- 'away'; ná- 'back'; ǯi- ʔ). The theme: 'several move as a group'.

(2) łɻⁿdá xàʔágòdà ʔádàⁿdl·ł hálí 'no one is to say anything'. łɻⁿdá 'someone'; xàʔágòdà 'in any way'; ʔádàⁿdl·ł, 3rd person prog. of ʔá-di-...(hi- perf.)-ⁿdí 'to say so'; hálí 'perhaps'.

(3) dò·ʔákà·dàyá 'improperly'. ʔákà· 'that way'. Literally: 'in not that way'.

(4) dò·xàʔyágò ǹžɻ́yá nàháʔánô·sλáłè·ʔáťédà 'I can in no way make things good again for you'. xàʔyágò 'some way'; ǹžɻ́ 'it is good'. nàhá- 'for you' plus 1st person opt. of ʔá-ná-...(hi- perf.) -d-lá 'to do again, to make again' (act. tr.; ʔá- 'so'; ná- 'again'). -łè· opt. encl. ʔáťé 'it is so' (3rd person imp. neut. intr.).

19:13.

(1) nàháblčį·ńχá·s 'help her for us'. nàhá- 'for us' plus the 2nd person imp. of O-čį·-di-... (si- perf.)-d-χá·s 'to help, assist someone' (act. intr.; čį·- 'to'; di- ?).

(2) dò·dànàhà·ʔáná?ìλá 'nothing will happen to us'. dò·dà 'nothing'; nàhà·- 'to us' plus imp. of ʔá-ná-ʔi-...(hi- perf.)-d-lá 'something happens again' (pass.; ʔá- 'so'; ná- 'again'; ʔi- indef. pronoun).

19:15.

dò·nàhìⁿdî·dà 'she will not be ours'. -ⁿdî· 'belonging to, owned by'.

19:16.

(1) bìdlγìníbè· 'by means of his power'. dlγį 'power, shaman, he is holy', 3rd person of di-ni-...-γį 'to be holy' (imp. neut. intr.).

(2) dáhô·łè·ìyágònà 'only one thing'. dá-... -ná 'only, just'; dáhô·łè·- 'one' (see note 19:1, §4), -ì 'times'.

(3) kò·łą́í 'the fire'. kò· 'fire'; łą́ 'big, much'.

(4) ʔìgàhčì·yá 'a hole you will dig'. 2nd person dual imp. of ʔì-go-...(hi- perf.)-čì· 'to dig a hole' (see note 1:11, §8) plus -yá pp.

19:20.

(1) dĮ·ʔìłkà·í 'the fourth night'. dĮ·ʔ 'four', hìłkà· 'day is dawning'.

(2) kágòšdè·s?ą́ńí 'as he had promised them'. 3a person perf. of Oá-go-di-...(si- perf.)-ʔà· 'to plan something for someone, to promise someone'. á- 'for'; go- place object referring to plans, promises; di- ?. The theme: 'to handle a round object' (?).

19:21.

(1) ńnáńťìgò 'strung out in a line'. ńná- 'very' (procl.) plus perf. of ni-...(ni- perf.) -té 'to be strung out in a line' (act. intr.).

(2) łìbáyé 'the Gray One' (see III, note 19:13,). An archaic relative of the 3rd person of łi-ni-...-bá 'to be gray' (imp. neut. intr.). This spirit is also called gą́hélbáyé (see last sentence of this paragraph) which is a compound of gą́hé 'Mountain Spirit' and łìbáyé (łi- reduces to -ł-).

(3) dìłχìšì· 'sabres'. Cf. di-...(si- perf.) -ł-χìš 'to strike, beat with a club' (act. tr.).

(4) gą́hécòdìłxìłń 'the Big Black Mountain Spirit'. gą́hé 'Mountain Spirit'; -cò, compounded stem of ni-...-cò 'to be big' (imp. neut. intr.); dìłxìł, 3rd person of di-ni-...-ł-γìł 'to be black' (imp. neut. intr.). Sometimes this compound is given gą́héńcòdìłxìłń, in which the complete third person form of ni-...-cò 'to be big' is found.

(5) dásíʔè·šáńè· 'in the very first place'. dásí- 'very'; ʔè·šáń 'first, at the head'.

(6) gą́héńcòdàλ̌ìžń 'the Big Blue Mountain Spirit'. dàλ̌ìž, 3rd person of da-ni-...-λ̌ìž 'to be blue' (imp. neut. intr.). Cf. §4 above.

(7) gą́héńcòłìcòń 'the Big Yellow Mountain Spirit'. łìcò, 3rd person of łi-ni-...-cò 'to be yellow' (imp. neut. intr.). Cf. §4 above.

19:22.

gòʔìžà·žéí 'their furnishings'. ʔìžà·žé 'furnishings, camp equipment'.

19:23.

(1) hìčì·nádà·dìdìłdìsnáʔà 'they circled toward it several times'. hìčì· 'toward it' plus the 3rd person distrib. iter. of dì-di-...(si- perf.)-ł-dís 'to circle the fire in the ceremonial fashion of the mountain spirits' (act. intr.). No further analysis is possible.

(2) yè·šáń 'before them'. Cf. note 19:21, §5. evidently yi- 3rd person pronoun plus -è·šáń 'before, ahead of'.

(3) čéʔáťĮgó 'since he had failed'. Literally: 'he being in vain'.

19:24.

hìnô·ké·łnáʔà 'they ran around it'. 3rd person prog. of O-ná-...(si- perf.)-kè· 'several run around something' (act. intr.; ná- 'around').

19:26.

(1) dĮ·ì ʔìlà·è· 'the fourth time it was done'. dĮ·ì 'four times'. ʔìlà·, 3rd person perf. with indef. obj. of -lá 'to do' (act. tr.). The customary ʔá- prefix to this verb is replaced here by dĮ·ì. -è· 'at'.

(2) kè·hàžó·łλ̌ìžnáʔà 'he pulled her out'. 3rd person perf. of Oè·-hà-ži-...(hi- perf.)-λ̌í·š 'to pull someone out' (act. intr.). hà- 'out'. The function of è·- and ži- is not clear to me. The theme is that discussed in note 16:9, §1.

(3) ìkédà·žìyè·sλ̌ìžnáʔà 'they cut her up'.

3rd person distrib. perf. of nì-Oé-ǯi-yi-...(si-perf.)-ł-λí·š 'to knock down, to slash, cut' (act. intr.). nì- 'to a stop' (?); é- 'against' (?); ǯi-yi- ?. For the theme, see note 16:9, §1.

19:27.

(1) dà·dì·čàgò 'clashing'. Imp. of dà·-di-|...(si- perf.)-čà 'noises are heard' (act. intr.; dà·- distrib.; di-| noise).

(2) ḱłyà·dà·ʔdìλà·gò 'sparkling' should read ḱłyà·dà·ʔdì·λà·gò. Distrib. imp. of ḱł-yà·-ʔi-di-|...(ni- perf.)-λà· 'to flash, sparkle' (act. intr.). The prefixes cannot be analyzed, though di-| possibly refers to fire. The theme appears with no other prefix complex.

(3) čénáńsąnáʔà 'they went out'. 3rd person perf. of čé-ná-ni-...(ni- perf.)-ł-zé 'several move out as a group' (act. intr.). čé- 'out'; ná-thematic (?); ni- completive. See note 6:9, §6.

(4) céǹtè·línáńťlí 'a broad sheer rock wall'. cé 'rock'; ǹtè·l 'it is broad' (3rd person imp. neut.); -í relative; náńťl 'it extends upward' (perf. of ná-ni-...(ni- perf.)-ťé 'to extend upward'; prefixes ?

(5) bìčį·hàǹdàʔnô·sé·łnáʔà 'they were moving up toward it'. bìčį· 'toward it'; hàǹdàʔ 'upward'. nô·sé·ł, 3rd person prog. of the theme ná-...-ł--zé 'several move as a group' (act. intr.).

(6) hìčį·ǹnáńsąnáʔà 'they stopped before it'. hìčį· 'before it' plus 3rd person perf. of nì-ná-ni-...(ni- perf.)-ł-zé 'several stop moving as a group' (act. intr.). Cf. §3 above.

(7) yàʔnó·sąnáʔà 'they went in'. 3rd person perf. of yàʔ-ná-...(hi- perf.)-ł-zé 'several move in' (act. intr.). yàʔ- 'in' (see note 5:7).

19:28.

The first sentence of this paragraph may be translated literally as follows: "These / Mountain Spirits / of whatever kind / only the Gray One / all of them / being over them / he knows."

dáxàʔyágòʔáťédè·dà 'of whatever kind' is composed of dá- 'very', xàʔyágò 'some kind', ʔáťé 'it is so', -dè·dà 'even if, although'.

20:1.

(1) dáǯłłèʔé 'only one'. Cf. note 19:1, §4.

(2) A literal translation of the last sentence of this paragraph is as follows: "it is possible / those / a while ago / Mountain Spirits / they knowing about them / they about whom I told / perhaps / those same ones / they are so / perhaps / those only / no one has said so."

dáʔáťéšį 'it is possible'; dá- 'just'; ʔáťé 'it is so'; -šį dubitative enclitic.

20:4.

(1) yà·žį dè·sʔągò 'when the sun had begun to go down'. yà·- 'down'; -žį 'to'. dè·sʔą, 3rd person perf. of di-...(si- perf.)-ʔà· 'a round object begins to move' (act. intr.).

(2) dà·ʔdè·žł·žè· 'where they were to dance'. 3rd person distrib. perf. of ʔi-di-...(si- perf.)-ží·š 'to begin to dance' (act. intr.; ʔi- ?).

(3) ʔìsʒąyóí 'the women'. ʔìsʒą-, bound form of ʔìsʒáń 'woman'; -yó a plural suffix restricted to words denoting persons.

(4) hìnáǯàžòšnáʔà 'they were moving around it'. 3rd person prog. of O-ná-ǯi-...(si- perf.)-žó·š 'several move as a group around' (act. intr.; ná- 'around').

20:5.

(1) dásíʔídį· gònè·λìnágò 'when the celebration was at its height'. dásí- 'very'; ʔídį· 'exceedingly'; gònè·λì 'there is a celebration' (see note 17:6, §4); -ná 'just'.

(2) dáčé·yá 'very, exceedingly' (part.).

This sentence and the next could be considered independent clauses of the sentence following since both principal verbs are followed by the relative enclitic -í.

(3) dákídà·gòⁿdî·í 'those that belonged to them'. dákí 'just them'. dà·gò- 3a distrib. pronoun; -ⁿdî· 'belonging to'. Literally: 'those that belonged to them, them alone'.

(4) ʔìłłdé·lí 'those two who had come'. 3rd person perf. of ʔìł-ni-...(ni- perf.)-ł-dè·ł 'two come' (act. intr.). The function of ʔìł- is not clear; ni-completive. Perhaps the literal meaning is 'to cause one another to move completively'; i. e., 'two move completively [in company with] one another'.

(5) łągò ʔáťéná?à 'they were outstanding'. Literally: 'being much, they are so'.

20:7.

(1) čà·nágòłγè·łgò 'it being yet dark'. Imp. with place subj. of čà·-ná-...(? perf.)-l-γè·ł 'to become dark again, to be still dark' (act.

intr.). čà·- 'darkness, shade'; ná- 'again' (requires the -l- class). The -l- class is indicated in the text form by the fact that the initial stem consonant does not assimilate in voice to the -ł- (historically -l-) preceding it.

(2) ʔìłyàłdìłná?à 'they were going'. 3rd person prog. with prefix ʔìł- of the theme -l-dè·ł 'two move' (act. intr.). Only in the prog. can this theme be used with only the prefix ʔìł-. Cf. note 20:5, §4. I do not know why ʔìł- plus the prog. prefix becomes ʔìłyàł- rather than ʔìłàł-.

20:8.

(1) ʔìná?ìłyàłdìł 'they went back'. The prog. form ʔìłyàłdìł (see note 20:7, §2) with the prefixes ʔì- 'away' and ná- 'back'.

(2) nì?ìłyàłdìłná?à 'they stopped'. The prog. form with the prefix nì- 'to a stop'.

20:9.

(1) dá?ìłcòłǩé·?dà 'every night'. dá-...-dà 'just, absolutely'; ʔìłcò 'all, every'; -ł- ?; ǩé·? 'night'.

(2) ná?ìłìłdìłná?à 'they kept coming'. 3rd person iter. of ʔìł-ni-...(ni- perf.)-ł-dè·ł 'two come' (act. intr.). See note 20:5, §4.

20:10.

(1) náǹžǫ́ 'it is better'. 3rd person of ná-ni-...-žǫ́ 'to be better' (imp. neut. intr.). Cf. ni-...-žǫ́ 'to be good'.

(2) dá?dì?à· 'it is the time'. dá- 'just' plus the imp. of ?i-di-...(si- perf.)-?à· 'a round object begins to move' (act. intr.; ?i- indef. pronoun; di- inceptive). Literally: 'a round object (i. e., the sun) is just about to move'.

20:11.

(1) dásí?ìtìsgò dà·dìʒáí 'those which run the fastest'. dásí- 'very'; ?ìtìs 'over, above'. dà·dìʒá, 3rd person distrib. of di-...-ʒá 'to run fast, to be a fast runner' (imp. neut. intr.).

(2) ǩèdà·dà?àhⁿdí·ł 'saddle them'. Literally 'put several objects on top of them'. ǩè- 'on'; dà- (also dàh-) 'on top, on'; dà·?i- distrib. indef. pronoun; àh- 2nd person dual imp.; -ⁿdí·ł 'to handle several objects' (act. tr.).

(3) Literally, the last sentence of this paragraph means: "dawn coming / over yonder / that [way] in which they usually go away / there / horses / they standing with you in a line after one another / you do so / they said to one another."

?ìná?ìłìłdìł 'they usually go away' is the 3rd person iter. of ?ì-?ìł-...(hi- perf.)-ł-dè·ł 'two go away' (act. intr.; ?ì- 'away'). See note 20:5, §4.

nàł?ìłkéńzǭ 'they stand with you in a line after one another'. 'They' refers to the horses; 'you' to the riders. nàł- 'with you'; ?ìłké 'after, or next to, one another'. ńzǭ 'they stand in a line' (3rd person ni- perf. neut. intr.).

20:12.

(1) nódáhà· 'the high step' (see III, note 20:4). Cf. nódá 'high' (part.).

(2) dà?ǹ?ąná?à 'the sun had risen'. Perf. of dà-?i-di-|...(ni- perf.)-?à· 'a round object arises, goes up' (act. intr.). dà-di-| (also dàh-di-|) 'upward'; ?i- indef. pronoun.

20:13.

dásí?íǩè?áńyá 'he was farthest away'. dásí- 'very'; ?íǩè?áńyá is possibly ?íǩè?á 'to the last, farthest' plus ńyá, 3rd person perf. of ni-...(ni- perf.)-yá 'one goes' (act. intr.).

20:14.

(1) čé?ìłíłdé·lná?à 'they ran out'. 3rd person perf. of čé-?ìł-ni-...(ni- perf.)-ł-dè·ł 'two run out' (act. intr.). čé- 'out'; see note 20:5, §4.

(2) bìčǫ̀·łǫ́dà·ʒíńtálná?à 'they spurred their horses after them'. bìčǫ̀· 'toward them', łǫ́ 'horses' plus the 3rd person distrib. perf. of ni-...(ni- perf.)-tà·ł 'to kick' (act. tr.; ni- ?).

(3) ǩó?édǫ̀ 'nothing'. ǩó- 'absolutely'; ?é-dǫ̀ 'there is none' (3rd person imp. neut. intr.; ?é- thematic).

20:15.

(1) dìhⁿdígò ǩąyágò gòčǫ̀·gò náhàłγòłná?à 'turning back toward them and making a noise'. Literally: "Making a noise / being backward / being toward them / they were turning around."

náhàłγòł is the 3rd person prog. of ná-hi-...(si- perf.)-l-γè· 'to turn around' (act. intr.; ná- 'around'; hi- ?).

(2) cénáńdà·ńtìàí 'the big rock wall'. cé 'rock'; náńdà·ńtì, 3rd person distrib. perf. of

náń-ni-...(ni- perf.)-té 'to extend upward' (act. intr.; náń- 'upward' ?; ni- completive). Cf. cénáńtì in note 19:27, §4.

(3) yànáʔìłàłdé·lnáʔà 'they went in'. 3rd person perf. of yà-ná-ʔìł-...(hi- perf.)-l-dè·ł 'two go in again' (act. intr.). yà- 'in' (?); ná- 'again'. See note 20:5, §4.

20:16.

ʔìłčǫ·bàńdà·ǯìťíǫná?à 'they discussed it among themselves'. ʔìłčǫ· 'toward one another' plus the 3a person distrib. of 0à·-ní-...-ťǫ 'to talk about, to discuss' (imp. neut. intr.). The theme appears with only these prefixes.

20:17.

(1) ʔìtéńλì·gò 'you, praying'. 2nd person imp. of ʔìté-di-...(hi- perf.)-d-λì· 'to pray' (act. intr.). ʔìté- ?; di- noise (?). The theme, since this is a -d- form, may be -lì· but it occurs with no other prefixes.

(2) dò·nà·hì·ʒì·dàgò 'if we had not bothered them'. 1st person dual imp. of nà·-|...(si- perf.) -zí 'to do with, to meddle with' (act. tr.). Cf. note 6:11, §1.

20:18.

(1) dáʔáǯílǫná?à 'they were many'. dá- 'very' plus the 3a person of ʔá-ni-...-lǫ 'to be many' (imp. neut. intr.). Cf. ǯílǫgò 'many of them' in the third line of this paragraph.

(2) dò·ʔà·ⁿdàgòdè·yádàgò 'not long afterwards'. dò·-...-dà negative; ʔà·ⁿdà 'it is distant, far' (see note 6:12, §1); gòdè·yá 'a place or time has started to move', perf. with place subject of di-...(si- perf.)-yá 'one begins to move' (act. intr.).

(3) ʔégò·sdì·náʔà 'they died'. Literally: 'they were finished, they disappeared'. 3rd person perf. of ʔé-go-...(si- perf.)-dǫ· 'to disappear' (act. intr.; ʔé- thematic; go- ?).

20:19.

(1) nébìłʔílǫná?à 'they respected them'. This should read: ⁿdé bìłʔílǫná?à 'the Indians respected them'. bìł- 'with them' plus 3rd person of ʔi-ni-...-lǫ 'to be valuable' (imp. neut. intr.). Literally: 'they were valuable to the Indians'.

(2) dò·dánàhíťèh nàhčǫ·yáłtìlèʔáťédà 'they cannot speak to all of us'. dò·-...-dà negative; dá- 'just'; nàhíťèh 'all of us'. nàhčǫ· 'to us'; yáłtì 'they speak'; -lè opt. encl.; ʔáťé 'it is so'.

See the last sentence in this paragraph for a similar construction involving the verb bégòh-ǯǫ 'we know about it'.

21:1.

(1) ǯìsǫ́·néí 'old woman, she who is old'. Relative form of the 3a person of ni-...-sǫ́·né 'to be old' (imp. neut. intr.). Curiously enough, this relative is used only of old women.

(2) ʔákò·šǫ́ 'and it seems'. ʔákò· 'then, and' plus -šǫ́ denoting probability or doubt.

(3) kà·nà·dà·ǯìňǎànáʔà 'they did not like her'. kà·- 'to her' plus the 3a distrib. of nà·-ni-...-ǎà 'to be mean, bad, a nuisance' (imp. neut. intr.).

21:2.

(1) sǫ́ń 'old woman'. sǫ́ 'old age' plus the relative -n. Cf. note 21:1, §1.

(2) γàhá ʔìdà·hì·łťè 'let us abandon her'. γàhá 'away', γàh- 'over there' plus -yá pp. ʔi-dà·hì·łťè, 1st person distrib. imp. of ʔì-|... (hi- perf.)-ł-ťè 'to leave behind, to throw away' (act. tr.; ʔì-| 'away'). The theme: 'to handle a long object, to handle a person'. Note the perf. of this verb in the last sentence of this paragraph. It has the si- perf. because of the distributive prefix.

21:7.

(1) kádà·gòdè·sʔǫ́í 'the ceremony they had done for her'. Literally: 'that which they had promised her, that which they had planned for her'. See note 19:20, §2.

(2) bìkéťèhyá 'in their way'. Literally: 'in their trail'. -kéťèh 'trail, path', see note 1:14, §5.

22:1.

(1) ʔìťê·ké 'girl' (also heard ʔìdè·ké); ʔìčè·šké 'boy' (also heard ʔìǯè·šké). This text is from a member of the Warm Springs band of the Chiricahua. It may be, therefore, it these are dialectical variants.

(2) bè·náʔì·sλǫ́ 'in a cradle'. Literally: 'it had been wrapped around it'. A passive

perf. of the theme -ǩó 'to tie up, to wrap' with the prefixes è·- 'by means of'; ná- 'around' and ?i- indef. pronoun.

22:2.

ylǩéǯíńʒ̨·s 'he tore it open'. 3rd person perf. of 0-ǩé-ǯi-ni-...(ni- perf.)-ʒ̨ s 'to tear open' (act. intr.). ǩé- 'off, open'; ǯi- ?; ni- completive (?).

22:3.

(1) Note, in the second sentence, that the object precedes the subject; i. e., ćàł 'cradle', the object of yó·tą 'he took hold of it' precedes šàší 'the bear'. Cf. the sentence preceding.

(2) céyè·hàyó·łxà·l 'he struck a rock with it'. cé 'rock'. yè·- 'with it' plus the 3rd person perf. with 3rd person obj. of hà-|...(hi- perf.)-ł-γà·ł 'to strike' (act. tr.).

22:4.

ťô·dàgòbílà· 'he had done nothing to them'. ťô·dà 'nothing', a Warm Springs variant of dò·dà 'nothing' (?). gòbílà·, 3rd person perf. with 3rd person dual obj. of -lá 'to do to' (act. tr.).

22:5.

nô·ká 'come'. Literally: 'let us go'. 1st person dual opt. of the theme -ká 'several move' with a prefix ni- ?.

22:6.

(1) dà·nádéńtàń or dà·nádéńtą? 'door, gateway' (no analysis).

(2) kágóťéžą 'to a place like this'. ká-ni-...-ťé 'to be that' (imp. neut. intr.) with a place subject. ká- is a demonstrative prefix.

22:8.

šìkéšą 'follow me', ši- 'me'; -ké 'behind, after'; -šą 'from'.

22:10.

sàké 'you stay' and sì·ké 'we stayed' are the 2nd person dual and 1st person dual respectively of -ké 'two persons sit' (si- perf. neut. intr.).

22:12.

(1) γàhá?áťé 'they were open'. γàhá 'over there' plus ?áťé 'it is so'.

(2) gòłką̀·dí 'sugar' may be related to the theme -ł-ką̀· 'to become sweet' (act. intr.) or to łi-ni-...-ką̀ 'to be sweet' (imp. neut. intr.).

(3) gàxê· 'coffee' > Spanish café.

22:13.

(1) béhè·sǩǫ 'he had been tied up'. Perf. pass. of 0é-hi-...(si- perf.)-ǩó 'to tie on' (act. tr.; é- 'against, on').

(2) bé·šbè· 'with chains'. bé·š 'flint, metal, iron, chains, knife'.

22:14.

dàhè·sǩǫ dáhìⁿdážą 'he has been tied up for life'. dàhè·sǩǫ, perf. pass. of dàh-hi-...(si- perf.)-ǩó 'to tie up, to tie to' (act. tr.; dàh- 'up, on'). dá- 'just'; hìⁿdá 'he lives, he is alive'; -žą 'to'.

22:16.

(1) dàhàhⁿdá 'what do you want to do?'. dà- interrog. procl. plus 2nd person dual imp. of the theme -ⁿdá 'to do' (act. intr.). This theme, like -lá 'to do', is usually found with the prefix ?á- 'thus, so' (see note 3:8, §5). Here the interrog. procl. replaces ?á-.

(2) dò·dàgòdó 'or' (part.). dò·dà 'not' plus -gò subord. and the enclitic -dó 'also'. (?).

22:18.

nàhkéyà·yá 'to your country'. kéyà· 'country, homeland', a compound of ké- 'foot' and -yà· 'under'.

22:20.

nàhà·è· náká 'they will come back to you'. nàhi- 2nd person dual pronoun plus à·- 'to' and è·- 'at'. náká, 3rd person imp. of ná-ni-...(ni- perf.)-ká 'several come back' (act. intr.). Cf. ?á·?nàhà·náká 'they came back there to us' in the second sentence of paragraph 21 of the text.

23:1.

bìčą?nádà·zą 'they had been abandoned'. bì- čą 'from them' plus distrib. perf. of ?ì-ná-...(hi- perf.)-zé 'there is a movement of people away' (act. intr.). ?ì- 'away'; ná-...-zé 'there is a movement of people'. The text form has the si- perf. because of the distrib. -dà·zą > -dà·szą.

23:3.

(1) ǯà·žá·dà another word denoting the Mountain Spirits; synonymous with gąhé. No analysis.

(2) gòłnłhéńⁿdà? 'it surrounded them'. Analysis uncertain. gòł- 'with them' plus a 3rd person ni- perf. with prefix complex nł-hi-ni- and a stem -ⁿdà?. This may be related to the theme -ⁿdàh (perf. stem -ⁿdà?) 'to a stream (of water, sand); to flare, blaze (of fire)' (act. intr.).

23:4.

?łtànáǯíťá·žná?à 'they returned to them'. ?łtà 'among' plus 3a person perf. of ná-ni-...(ni- perf.)-d-?à·š 'two go back, 'return' (act. intr.).

24:1.

cłłkłžénè 'Foolish People' (see III, note 24:1). There is no certain etymology for this word. It may be composed of cł 'tree, wood'; -łkłž > łłkłž 'it is spotted' (3rd person imp. neut. intr.); -é relative and -nè 'people of such and such a group'.

24:2.

(1) xé·ł 'pack, burden'. Cf. the theme -γè· 'to carry a burden' (prog. stem -γé·ł).

(2) dàíγè·ná?à 'they were carrying them'. 3rd person distrib. imp. with 3rd person obj. of ni-...(ni- perf.)-γè· 'to carry a burden' (act. tr.; ni- completive). dàí- > dà·- plus yi- plus ni-.

(3) dábłkádé 'any place, any where'. dá- 'just'. -kádé may be related to -ká 'surface'.

24:3.

gòsdá·dé 'a slope'. Cf. gòsdà 'a cliff, bluff, sheer drop' in the second sentence of this paragraph. Neither form can be analyzed.

24:4.

(1) ǹnádà·hè·zą́yá 'to where the encampment had been made'. Distrib. perf. of nł-ná-hi-...(si- perf.)-zé 'a movement of people stops, comes to an end' (act. intr.). nł- 'to a stop'. See note 23:1.

(2) błγélè 'his pack'. -γélè, poss. form of xé·ł 'pack'.

(3) nágòdè·?ą́ 'a slope'. No analysis.

(4) bà·?łsdà?ó·má·zná?à 'it had rolled away from him'. bà·- 'from him' plus the 3rd person perf. of ?łsdà-?ł-|...(hi- perf.)-má·s 'to roll away' (act. intr.; ?łsdà- 'down, off'; ?ł-| 'away'). It seems likely that -?ó·má·z was misheard for -?ǒ·mâ·z.

(5) nàłłkà·ná?à 'he trailed it here and there'. 3rd person imp. with 3rd person object of nà·-|...(si- perf.)-ł-kà· 'to go about trailing, to trail here and there' (act. tr.).

(6) ?łsdà?ò·łtǫ́ná?à 'it had fallen'. 3rd person perf. of ?łsdà-?ł-|...(hi- perf.)-ł-tǫ́ 'to fall off' (act. intr.). Cf. §4 above.

24:5.

ǯò·ⁿdéí 'friends'. ǯò·ⁿdé 'friend' is the noun base for the verbs ǯò·-ni-...-ⁿdè· 'to be helpful, friendly' (imp. neut. intr.) and 0-ǯò·-|...(si-perf.)-ⁿdè· 'to help, assist' (act. intr.).

24:6.

bà·ǯłyè·žò·žná?à 'they came to him in a body'. 3rd person perf. of 0à·-ǯi-yi-...(si- perf.)-žó·š 'a group comes to someone' (act. intr.; à·- 'to'; ǯi-yi- ?).

24:8.

(1) néńgònáʔà 'it seems to have gone'. Here the narrative enclitic gives a dubitative significance. néńgò cannot be analyzed.

(2) ǹnádàłłkà·ná?à 'they trailed it back and forth'. 3rd person distrib. imp. with 3rd person obj. of nł-ná-...(ni- perf.?)-l-kà· 'to trail back and forth' (act. tr.). nł- 'to a stop'; ná- 'back'. Cf. note 24:4, §5.

(3) dò·xáń góńʔáyá dłγà·łná?à 'no one looked in the arroyo'. Note that dò·- alone denotes the negative in this phrase. dłγà·ł, 3rd person imp. of di-...(si- perf.)-γà·ł 'to look' (act. intr.).

24:9.

màšgàléń > Mescalero.

24:10.

dágòłgàyá 'in plain sight'. dá- 'just' plus gòłgà 'a plain, a clearing' which is probably łi-ni-...-gà 'to be white' (imp. neut. intr.) with the place subject. Literally: 'right in an open place'.

25:1.

(1) The first sentence of this paragraph is

literally as follows: "Their camps, it is said / many, it is said / on the flat."

gǵńtè·l 'flat, plain' is the ni- perf. neut. of the theme -tè·l 'to be flat' with place subject. Cf. ni-...-tè·l 'to be broad, flat' (imp. neut. intr.).

(2) bánàńťáń 'their chief'. nàńťá 'chief, he commands', 3rd person of nà·-ni-...-ťa 'to command, direct' (imp. neut. intr.). bá- 'for them'.

(3) ?ìdı̨·gò bà·?ándì·dìhndì·ná?à 'they were very obedient'. ?ìdı̨· (also ?ídı̨·) 'very, exceedingly'. bà·?ándì·dìhndì· 'they are obedient, they do what they are told' cannot be analyzed. Cf. šà·?ándì·dìhndì· 'I am obedient'.

25:2.

(1) dáxą̀hgò łè·?éslı̨ná?à 'they came together er hurriedly'. dá- 'just'; xą̀h 'quickly'. łè·?é- 'together' plus the 3rd person perf. of ...(si- perf.)-lą̀· 'to become' (act. intr.).

(2) hàdà·hákàgò 'when you have intercourse'. 2nd person distrib. perf. of hà-hi-...(si- perf.) -ká 'several go out' (act. intr.), a euphemistic expression for 'to copulate'. In the second person dual, the dual prefix à- combines with the si- perfective to form á-.

(3) gà·?yè dábí?dàłndí 'make a noise like the crow'. gà·?yè 'crow' (also heard gà·dé). dábí 'just him' plus the 2nd person dual imp. of ?i-di-...(si- perf.)-ł-ndí 'to make a noise' (act. intr.). ?i- ?; di- noise (?).

25:3.

bìzà· hàgòdó·λáná?à 'his voice was heard'. -zà· 'voice'. hàgòdó·λá, perf. of hà-gò-di-... (hi- perf.)-λà· 'a noise is heard' (act. intr.). hà- 'out'; gò- ?; di- noise. The theme occurs only with this prefix complex.

26:1.

čédégòdà ?ádàllána?à 'they didn't know what to do with him'. Literally: 'they did so to him in vain'.

26:2.

(1) ǩòh yá?édı̨šı̨ 'where there was no grass'. ǩòh 'grass'. yá- 'absolutely' plus ?édı̨ 'there is none' and the postposition -šı̨ 'from'.

(2) ?ìyâ·šı̨ yìyą́šı̨ 'what does he eat?'. ?ìyâ· 'what'; -šı̨ interrog. encl.; yìyą́, 3rd person imp. with 3rd person obj. of ...(hi- perf.)-yą́ 'to eat' (act. tr.).

(3) yátà·?ó·ndìlná?à 'they had made gravy for him'. yá- 'for him' plus 3rd person perf. of tà·-?i-...(hi- perf.)-ndí·ł 'to make gravy'. tà·- incorporated form of tó 'water' (?); ?i- indef. obj. (?); -ndí·ł 'to handle several objects'. In the next sentence of the text is found the 2nd person dual imp. of this verb. Cf. also tà·ndìlè 'gravy'.

(4) bìčı̨·ǹǯíńkąná?à 'they put it before him'. bìčı̨· 'toward him' plus 3a person perf. of nì-ni- ...(ni- perf.)-kà· 'to put down something in a container' (act. tr.).

(5) ?ìǩè?éńłčòžná?à 'he began to eat'. Perf. of ?ìǩè-?i-ni-...(ni- perf.)-ł-čó·š 'to begin to eat a grass-like substance' (act. intr. ?). The theme occurs only with this prefix complex.

26:3.

(1) hìǩè?ó·?àná?à 'he untied him'. 3rd person perf. of ǩè-?i-...(hi- perf.)-?à 'to untie, to loosen' (act. intr. ?). The pronoun before ǩè- appears only in the 3rd person. The theme occurs only with this prefix complex.

(2) bíčı̨í 'his nose'. -čı̨ 'nose' requires a high toned prefix.

(3) ?ìná?ì·sťìná?à 'he put a rope around it'. 3rd person perf. with indef. obj. of 0-ná-...(si perf.)-ťé 'to put a rope around' (act. tr.). ná- 'around'.

(4) hìǩìdàhnè·sdáná?à 'he sat on him'. hìǩì 'on him' plus the 3rd person perf. of dàh-ni-... (si- perf.)-dà· 'one sits down upon' (act. intr.; dàh- 'upon'; ni- terminative).

(5) ná·náłì?ńgò 'others also'. ná·ná- 'again, also'; łì? 'one, the other'; -ń relative; -gò subordinating.

(6) dàhnádì·łyòná?à 'they got on him'. 3rd person iter. of dàh-di-|...(ni- perf.)-l-yè· 'to go up, to get on' (act. intr.; dàh-di-| 'upward').

(7) nà·bó·ndìlná?à 'they were thrown off'. perf. of nà·-0-...(hi- perf.)-ndí·ł 'several are thrown off' (pass.; nà·- 'off, down'). Here the theme -ndí·ł 'to handle several objects' is used to refer to several people. Note, too, that though this is a passive verb there is no sign of the -d- classifier (see II A, §7).

26:4.

(1) The second and third sentences of this paragraph are literally as follows: "Down [a hill] / away from each other / he whipping him / he ran with him. / From a distance / to here again".

(2) hàʔdà·ǯl·scàsgò 'he, whipping him'. This is apparently a 3a person si- perf. form with a prefix complex hà-ʔi-dà·- and a stem -càs. Cf. ni-...(si- perf.)-ł-cìs 'to whip' (act. tr.).

26:5.

(1) bìcìlèšı̨ 'on his anus'. -cìlè 'anus'.

(2) dáhó·ǯà·bédè·sǯl·žnáʔà 'evidently pitch has been rubbed on it'. dáhó·- emphatic proclitic; ǯà· 'pitch' plus 0é-di-...(si- perf.)-ǯlš 'something is rubbed on one' (pass.; é- 'against, on'; di- ʔ).

27:1.

dà·bó·łťònáʔà 'they shot at them'. 3rd person imp. with distrib. 3rd person obj. of hó-...(ʔ perf.)-ł-ťò 'to shoot at' (act. tr.). Cf. ni-...(ni- perf.)-ł-ťó 'to shoot at' (act. tr.).

27:2.

(1) dò·dà·dà·łʔı̨·dà 'don't bother them'. Negative 2nd person dual imp. with 3rd person distrib. obj. of dà·-|...(si- perf.)-ł-ʔı̨· 'to bother, trouble, do something to' (act. tr.). dà·-| distrib. (ʔ).

(2) dánó·yòʔô·ⁿdí·ł 'it will be worse'. dá- 'just'; nó·yò 'farther on, more' plus 3rd person prog. of ʔá-...(ʔ perf.)-ⁿdá 'to do' (act. intr.).

27:3.

(1) bìtàńǯéná?à 'they came among them'. 3rd person perf. of 0-tà-ni-...(ni- perf.)-ǯà· 'several come among, several get to be among' (act. intr.; tà- 'among'; ni- completive). The theme alone: 'several lie down'.

(2) bìγádà·dàʔlšì·šná?à 'they sabred them'. 3rd person distrib. imp. of 0-γá-dà-ʔi-...(ʔ perf.)-ł-žì·š 'to sabre, to slash with sabres' (act. intr.ʔ). γá- 'through'; dà-ʔi- ʔ. The theme alone: 'to thrust with a pointed object'.

(3) nádà·yótı̨náʔà 'they went between them'. 3rd person with distrib. 3rd person obj. of náhó-ni-...-tı̨ 'to get between (e. g., two persons fighting)' (imp. neut. tr.). Cf. hó-ni-...-tı̨ 'to have hold of' (imp. neut. tr.).

(4) sìγó·yé 'my uncle'. -γó·yé (also -γóyé) 'mother's sibling'.

27:4.

(1) bè·ʔìłcè·náʔà 'they began to be killed'. perf. of 0è·-ʔi-ni-|...(ni- perf.)-ł-cè· 'several are beginning to be killed'. Cf. notes 2:11, §1 and 2:8, §1. The theme alone: 'to kill several'.

(2) dò·gòdó·ʔò·dà 'nothing can stop them'. Perf. of go-di-...(hi- perf.)-ʔè· 'to let up, stop' (act. intr.). No analysis.

28:1.

(1) dádàǩìžgò 'still green'. dá- 'just' plus 3rd person of da-ni-...-ǩìž 'to be green, to be blue' (imp. neut. intr.).

(2) ʔísà· yó·ⁿdìlná?à 'they put it in a pot'. ʔísà· 'pot'. yó·ⁿdìl should probably be ʔìyó·ⁿdìl, 3rd person perf. with 3rd person obj. of ʔì-|...(hi- perf.)-ⁿdí·ł 'to put several objects away' (act. tr.).

(3) hìbé·žgò 'it, boiling'. 3rd person imp. of ...(si- perf.)-bé·ž 'to boil' (act. intr.). In the line below is the 3rd person perf. of this verb and in paragraphs 2 and 4 of this text may be found the causative: ...(si- perf.)-ł-bé·ž 'to boil' (act. tr.).

28:4.

(1) hìtàʔì·sⁿdìná?à 'he pounded it'. 3rd person perf. of tà-ʔi-...(si- perf.)-ł-ⁿdì 'to pound, to crush, to pulverize'. The pronoun before tà- occurs only in the 3rd person. Cf. hi-|...(si- perf.)-ł-ⁿdì· 'to hit, strike' (act. tr.).

(2) ʔìłčı̨yì·sʔı̨náʔà 'he took it off the fire'. I do not understand this form. It seems to me to be ʔìłčı̨ 'from each other' plus yì·sʔı̨ 'he has caused a round object to move'.

(3) káyà·dàyà·ⁿdí·łnáʔà 'he poured it for them'. I cannot analyze the prefix complex. The stem looks like the imp. stem of -ⁿdí·ł 'to handle several objects' (act. tr.).

29:1.

dà·dè·bà· 'let's go to war'. 1st person dual perf. of di-...(si- perf.)-bá 'to start to go to war' (act. intr.; di- inceptive). In the 2nd sentence of paragraph 2 will be found the 3rd person perf. of this verb.

29:2.

(1) łɩ̨bè·ʔìłédà·sʎǫ́náʔàí 'which had apparently been used to hobble a horse'. łɩ̨ 'horse'; bè·- 'by means of it'; ʔìł- reciprocal; é- 'against'; dà·- distrib.; and the si- perf. of -ʎó 'to tie, bind'. Literally: 'that with which horses had been tied together, it is said'.

(2) hìłdà·híbáí 'those with whom he was going to war'. hìł- 'with them' plus 3rd person distrib. imp. of ni-...(ni- perf.)-bá 'to go to war' (act. intr.).

29:3.

dò·kágòʔł·sⁿdédàłè· 'one need not share with anyone'. Oá-ʔi-...(si- perf.)-ł-ⁿdé 'to share with someone'. dò·-...-dà negative; -łè· ʔ. I cannot account for the prefix go- in the text form.

30:1.

(1) łɩ̨bìčɩ̨·dàhìàⁿdìlnáʔà 'they came to them on horseback'. 3rd person perf. of łɩ̨-O-čɩ̨·-dàh-di-|...(ni- perf.)-ⁿdí·ł 'several come to someone on horses' (act. intr.). łɩ̨ 'horses'; -čɩ̨· 'toward'; dàh-di-| 'upward'. In the 3rd person of the ni- perf. di- becomes n-.

(2) hànádà·sʔáná?à 'there were hills here and there'. hànádà·sʔá 'rolling country' probably hà- 'out'; ná- 'again and again'; dà·- distrib.; and the si- perf.neut. of -ʔá 'a rigid object lies'.

(3) hànàdà·gò·stè·lnáʔà 'between were flat places'. hànàł 'across' plus dà·-go-...-tè·l 'several places are broad, flat' (si- perf. neut. intr.). dà·- distrib.; go- place subject.

30:2.

(1) bìké 'after them'; -žɩ̨ 'to'; -ňžɩ̨ ʔ.

(2) łɩ̨bìłhàhàké·łnáʔà 'they were running on horseback'. łɩ̨ 'horse'; bìł- 'with them'; and the 3rd person prog. of hà-|...(hi perf.)-kè· 'several run out' (act. intr.).

30:3.

dò·bégònè·ʔǫ́dàyá 'ahead of them'. bégònè·ʔǫ́ 'he is gaining, he is catching up'. No analysis.

31:1.

bìgòⁿdìdè 'their story'. gòⁿdì 'story, news'.

31:2.

(1) bítáyá 'to his forehead'. -tá 'forehead' requires a high tone on its prefixes.

(2) hàňščàì 'grasshoppers'. Cf. the theme -čá 'to hop' (act. intr.).

(3) dàhnè·sǯɩ̨náʔà 'he flew onto'. Literally 'he alighted, it is said'. See note 4:19, §3.

31:5.

ʔìkáʔsì·kágò 'when we have intercourse'. Should probably read: ʔìkáʔsì·kégò; ʔìkáʔ- bound form of -ká 'on top' with indef. pronoun; sì·ké 'we sit' (1st person dual si- perf. neut. intr.). See note 25:2, §2.

31:7.

ʔáⁿdè·yégòsɩ̨·náʔà 'they learned it for the first time'. ʔáⁿdè· 'it is new, recent' (see note 1:18, §3) plus yégòsɩ̨· 'they learned about it' (see note 19:8, §4).

32:1.

ʎé·ʔgò bèłkà·náʔà 'they stopped for the night'. Literally: 'being night, day was coming with them, it is said'. bèłkà· > bè·- 'with them' and hłkà· 'day is dawning' (see note 7:1).

32:2.

(1) bìⁿdèʔšɩ̨ 'on the other side of it'. -ⁿdèʔ 'back of, behind'.

(2) gòmáňčí > Comanche.

(3) bìčɩ̨·dà·hídǫ́·snáʔà 'they were crawling toward them'. bìčɩ̨· 'toward them' plus 3rd person distrib. imp. of ni-...(ni- perf.)-dǫ́·s 'to crawl up to' (act. intr.; ni- completive).

32:4.

ʔò·λònáʔà 'he laughed'. 3rd person perf. of ʔì-|...(hi- perf.)-d-λǫ́ 'to laugh' (act. intr.). Cf. ...(hi- perf.)-d-λó 'to laugh'. ʔì-| ʔ.

33:1.

nédà·ǯłłǯlnáʔà 'they were afraid'. 3a person distrib. imp. of né-...(si- perf.)-l-ǯl 'to be afraid' (act. intr.). né-ʔ.

32:2.

(1) bìłkégózɩ̨ hálíń 'he who may have power'. bìł- 'with him'; kégózɩ̨ 'there is knowledge about it'; hálí 'perhaps'.

(2) nàhánà·łʎò 'he will perform a ceremony for us' (see III, note 33:1). nàhá- 'for us' plus the 3rd person imp. of nà·-|...(si- perf.)-l-ʎò 'to move one's arms about, to perform the ceremony for finding lost objects' (mediopas.).

(3) dà·gò·ťéí 'that which is'. dà·gò·ťé is probably the theme -ťé 'to be' with the distrib. prefix and the prefix gò·- ?.

33:3.

dáʔìłké ʔáyádà·gòłǯìⁿdìná?à 'they asked him again and again'. Literally: 'they spoke thus to him just one [time] after another'.

33:4.

(1) ʔìʔó·ʔáníˇ bìyà·yá 'to the westward'. ʔìʔó·ʔą́ 'a round object has moved away'. bìyà· 'under it'.

(2) łǫ́yé·ł 'saddle'. łí 'horse'; -yé·ł, combining form of xé·ł 'burden'.

(3) sìsí ǩà·í dábìłànáńťìgò 'a belt filled all around with cartridges'. sìs 'belt'; ǩà· 'cartridges'; dá- 'just'; bìł- 'with it'; ànáńťì perf. of nî-ná-ni-...(ni- perf.)-ťé 'to put a string-like object around, in a circle' (act. intr.; nì- 'to a stop'; ná- 'around'; ni- completive).

33:5.

ǩé·ʔnà·ʔáí 'moon'. Probably ǩé·ʔ 'night' plus nà·ʔá 'a round object moves about' and the relative -í. Cf. note 9:1, §1.

33:6.

(1) čéǯìnéńgònáʔà 'he ran outside'. čé- 'out' plus the 3a form of the verb noted in 24:8, §1.

(2) ǩìǯìdàšdì·łyònáʔà 'he jumped on it'. ǩìǯì 'to on' plus dàšdì·łyò, 3a person perf. of dàh-di-|...(ni- perf.)-l-yè· 'to move upward' (act. intr.).

(3) gòłnádì·łyònáʔà 'he rode away'. Literally: ' [the horse] ran with him [the man]'.

33:8.

yàʔnáǯíłyònáʔà 'he came back'. yàʔ- prefixed form of yà-, yàh- 'there' plus náǯíłyò 'he came back'.

34:2.

(1) ʔìłčą́náǯà·łčǫ́·łnáʔà 'she was waving her arms about'. ʔìłčą́ 'from one another'; ná- 'around, in a circle' plus the 3a prog. of -čǫ́ 'to move one's arms' (act. intr.).

(2) gògànî 'her arms'. -gàń 'arms'.

(3) dò·xàšǫʔìyâ·dà 'there is nothing anywhere'. dò·-...-dà negative; xàšǫ 'from anywhere'; ʔìyâ· 'something'.

34:3.

(1) ńdà·hè·sdǫ́·zná?à 'they had crawled there' 3rd person distrib. perf. of nì-hi-...(si- perf.) -dǫ́·s 'to crawl there, to that point' (act. intr.). Cf. note 32:2, §3.

(2) dàšdłⁿdìńí 'the arms which she had been moving about'. 3a person imp. of dàh-di-...(si- perf.)-l-ⁿdì 'to move one's hands, arms about' (mediopas.).

(3) hìtìsgó·zǫ́·zná?à 'they pulled her over it'. hìtìs 'over it' plus 3rd person perf. with 3a object of ...(hi- perf.)-zǫ́·s 'to pull' (act. tr.).

35:1.

yè·gòⁿdì· 'she had power by means of it'. yè·- 'by means of it' plus the 3rd person imp. of go-...(hi- perf.)-ⁿdì· 'to hear of, to know, to have power' (act. intr.; go- ?).

35:2.

(1) yìšǫ̀· 'he was breaking them'. 3rd person imp. with 3rd person obj. of ...(hi- perf.)-ł-žǫ̀· 'to cause to be good' (act. tr.).

(2) bì·slòh 'a coil of rope caught him'. perf. pass. of hi-|...(si- perf.)-lòh 'to rope, lasso' (act. tr.). Note the text form has not the -d- classifier.

(3) ʔágòkò 'as far as' (no analysis).

35:3.

gòǩègòtà·ł 'she sang for him'. gòǩè- 'for him' (?) plus the 3rd person imp. of go-...(hi- perf.)-tà·ł 'to sing a ceremony' (act. intr.).

35:6.

yè·nágòyàłté·ł 'he turned him over with it'. yè·- 'by means of it' plus the 3rd person prog. with 3a object of ná-hi-...(si- perf.)-ł-tè· 'to turn an animate being over' (act. tr.).

35:7.

gòčḭ·ńńyá 'he faced him'. Literally; 'he stopped moving before [or toward] him'.

35:8.

díń ʔìsʒáńń bìǩèhgò 'having been cured by this woman'. Literally: 'this woman, being by reason of her'.

36:1.

(1) hàʔó·ǩìs 'she was lost'. This is evidently a 3rd person hi- perf. pass. with prefix complex hà-ʔi- and stem -ǩìs. No further analysis is possible, however.

(2) t̂ô·nádà·šńłtḭdà 'they did not find her'. t̂ô·-...-dà variant form of the negative affix plus the 3a distrib. perf. of ná-di-|...(ni- perf.) -ł-tè· 'to pick up an animate being' (act. tr.).

36:3.

ⁿdì·ʔłłǩáòλàʔ 'the ground was cracked open'. ⁿdì· 'ground'; ʔłłǩáòλàʔ 'it has been cracked' (no analysis).

36:4.

káhìké·ʔgòtà·ł 'he made a ceremony for her'. Literally: 'he sang after it for her'. ká- 'for her'; hìké·ʔ- bound form of hìké 'after it, behind it, following it'; gòtà·ł, 3rd person imp. of go-...(hi- perf.)-tà·ł 'to sing a ceremony' (act. intr.).

37:1.

(1) háʔó·yáná?à 'she went after it'. há- 'for, in order to (get, find)' plus the 3rd person perf. of ʔì-|...(hi- perf.)-yá 'one goes away' (act. intr.). Though I have recorded this combination of ʔì-| and the hi- perf. prefix rather consistently as ʔó·-, I suspect that it should read ʔŏ·-.

(2) tóè· 'at the water-hole'. Literally: 'at the water'.

(3) tábó·tḭná?à 'it had pulled her into the water'. Perf. pass. of tá-0-...(hi- perf.)-d-tè· 'to be pulled into the water'. tá- 'into the water' (?); cf. tó 'water'. The theme: 'to handle an animate being'.

37:2.

bìčìnéń 'her grandmother'. -čìné 'father's mother'.

37:5.

čìⁿdáhó·γą̨gò 'should you be hungry'. čìⁿdá 'hunger' plus the 2nd person opt. of ...(hi- perf.) -γą̨ 'to kill several' (act. tr.).

38:1.

(1) The first sentence of this paragraph is literally as follows; "Long ago / the earth which has been made / near that time / an old woman, it is said / her daughter's child, it is said / a boy, it is said / just so / she was going about with him, it is said."

(2) kį̰slʒà·ná?à 'a town'. kį̰ 'houses'; sì-ʒà· 'a mass or clump lies' (3rd person si- perf. neut. intr.). Note, in the first line of paragraph 2, that kìní, the relative form of kį̰, is used alone to mean 'town'.

(3) ʔìtéʒìsì·nénáʔà 'they were very poor'. 3a person of ʔìté-...-ł-zì·né 'to be poverty-stricken' (imp. neut. intr.). No further analysis.

38:2.

(1) yátáʔdìłʔè·łná?à 'she washed for them'. yá- 'for them' plus the 3rd person imp. with indefinite object of tá-di-...(hi- perf.)-ł-ʔè·ł 'to wash' (act. tr.). tá- 'in the water' (?); di-?. The theme alone: 'to cause to float, to cause to become wet'.

(2) nà·kìžá·lí 'twenty five cents'. A compound of nà·kì 'two' and žá·lí > Spanish real plus the relative -í.

(3) hìyà·łbį̰·łná?à 'she earned it'. 3rd person prog. with 3rd person obj. of ho-| (or hi-|) ...(si- perf.)-ł-bį̰· 'to win (a wager)' (act. tr.).

38:3.

báń 'bread' > Spanish pan.

38:4.

(1) čį̰ʔbáyàhá 'to the store'. čį̰ʔ 'goods of all kinds' plus bi- 3rd person pronoun; -áyàh 'place for' and the postposition -yá.

(2) kéʒà·bìzą̨·yéí 'a little dog'. kéʒà· 'dog', probably a compound of ké- 'toes' and the stem of the verb -ʒà· 'a mass or clump lies' (si- perf. neut. intr.). bìzą̨·yéí 'little' (see note 1:5, §7).

38:5.

bà·nà·ʔlⁿdì·ń 'storekeeper'. nà·ʔlⁿdì· 'it is bought, purchased', 3rd person imp. with prefixes nà·-ʔi-. Cf. nà·hi-...(si- perf.)-ⁿdì· 'to be bought, purchased' (act. intr.). The text form is literally: 'he from whom things are bought'.

38:9.

(1) kı̨ʔízìsí 'the big town'. kı̨ 'house, town' plus ʔízìs 'big, superlative, chief'.

(2) ʔìⁿdà·ží·gòń 'a rich white man'. ʔìⁿdà· 'white man' plus ží·gò > Spanish rico 'rich'.

38:10.

gòscàh nà·dàʔsìʔą́í 'the ring that you are wearing'. gòscàh 'ring'. nà·- 'to you'; dàʔ- 'on'; sìʔą́ 'a round object lies' (3rd person si- perf. neut. intr.); -í relative.

38:14.

dí·ḱèhá 'certainly'. dí·ḱèh 'all, every' plus the postposition -yá.

38:19.

ǹcì·γáhá 'on your pillow'. -cì·γá 'pillow', a compound of -cì· 'head' and -γá ?. Note that ǹcì·γá plus -yá becomes ǹcì·γáhá which indicates a final -h on -γá. This -h however, appears only when the form is followed by -yá.

38:20.

(1) bìyáčèʔ 'his daughter'. -yáčèʔ 'daughter'. Also -čèʔ.

(2) bìłsìšǯò·lgò 'lying with her'. bìł- 'with her' plus the 1st person of -l-ǯò·l 'two persons lie' (si- perf. neut. intr.).

38:21.

ží·šgògò 'I, being rich'. ží·šgò, 1st person of ží·-...-gò 'to be rich' (imp. neut. intr.). This is an interesting example of how a borrowed word may be adapted to the formal structure of the borrowing language. The Chiricahua apparently borrowed the Spanish rico 'rich' pronouncing it ží·gò. But, since most Chiricahua adjectives are verbal in form (see II A, §13), ží·gò was treated as the 3rd person of a verb with prefix ží·- and stem -gò and therefore conjugable. The same thing has happened in the case of Spanish loco 'crazy' which has become Chiricahua ló-... -gò 'to be crazy' (imp. neut. intr.).

38:22.

(1) tóhígàʔí 'ocean'. tó 'water'; hígàʔ-, bound form of hígà 'there is a streak of whiteness' (ni- perf. neut. intr.; prefix hi-).

(2) ⁿdì·bìzą́·í 'island'. Literally: 'land that is little'.

38:25.

(1) ťô·náńʔą́dàgò 'if you do not find it'. Literally: 'if you have not picked the round object up'.

(2) ʔáń ńtè· 'you will be put in'. This phrase cannot be analyzed. It is probably a mishearing for ʔáhńtè· 'you will lie in', 2nd person imp. of ʔáh-|...(hi- perf.)-tè· 'one being lies in' (act. intr.; ʔáh- 'in').

(3) béšċà·í 'iron pot'. béš- bound form of bé·š 'iron, metal' plus ċà· 'basket'.

38:27.

ʔìłhàʔò·łγònáʔà 'they went together'. ʔìł- 'together'; hà- 'out'; ʔì-| 'away'; plus the hi-perf. of -l-γè· 'to go' (act. intr.).

38:28.

(1) hàyìłťò·náʔà 'he was pumping it out'. 3rd person imp. with 3rd person obj. of hà-|...(hi-perf.)-ł-ťò· 'to cause to be sucked out' (act. tr.; hà- 'out').

(2) tóbì·łxé 'he will drown'. Literally: 'he will be killed by water'.

38:29.

háná·dàhgà·ł 'search for it again'. 2nd person dual imp. of há-ná·-di-...(si- perf.)-d-γà·ł 'to look for again' (act. intr.). Cf. di-...(si-perf.)-γà·ł 'to look' (act. intr.).

38:31.

(1) tábą̀·yá 'on the shore'. tá- compounded form of tó 'water'; -bą̀· 'edge, border'.

(2) čı̨ʔǹšxòdé 'frog' (no analysis). Also čı̨ʔìšxòdé, see paragraph 33 of the text.

38:33.

bìłhànàńńšká 'I'll go across with them'. bìł- 'with them'; hànàń 'across'; ni- completive and the 1st person imp. of -ká 'several move' (act.

intr.).

38:34.

(1) blnáʒl·sťlná?à 'they surrounded it'. 3a person perf. of O-ná-...(si- perf.)-ťé 'to stand in a line around' (act. intr.). The theme: 'to stand in line, to be strung in a line'.

(2) ló·?scǫ̀·sé 'mice'. Cf. ló·?scò 'wood rats' and ló·?scòñcàl 'oppossum'. ló·?s- ?; -ċǫ̀·-sé is probably related to ?á-ni-...-ł-ċǫ̀·sé 'to be slender' (imp. neut. intr.).

(3) blłdàhdè·sǩǫ́ná?à 'she had locked it up'. 3rd person perf. of O-ł-dàh-di-...(si- perf.)-ǩó 'to lock up, to tie up' (act. intr.). The theme means 'to tie up, to bind' and it is usually transsitive. I do not understand this form.

(4) yá?l·?áńyá 'the keyhole'. yá- 'through' plus ?l·?áń 'hole'.

(5) čédàhlyákáná?à 'they tried in vain to go through'. čédà- 'in vain' plus O-yá-ni-...(ni- perf.)-ká 'several go through' (act. intr.).

38:35.

gô·šžlné 'black ants'. Also heard gó·?žlné. See note 15:1, §1.

38:36.

cé?lsḱèh 'bed, sleeping place'. Cf. tê·sḱèh 'bed, sleeping place' (note 18:2, §4).

38:37.

čí·lí ...hó·ḱą́í 'chili powder'. čí·lí > chili. hó·ḱą́í 'that which has been ground', relative of the 3rd person perf. of ...(hi- perf.) -d-ḱá 'to be ground' (pass.).

38:38.

(1) yéldè·šl·žná?à 'he thrust it into it'. yé- 'against it'; -l- > yi- 3rd person pronoun; dè·- > di- ? plus si- perf., 3rd person; -šl·ž > -ł-žl·ž, perf. of -ł-ží·š 'to thrust a spear-like object' (act. tr.).

(2) yélsláná?à 'he put it against it'. 3rd person perf. with 3rd person obj. of Oé-...(si- perf.)-lé 'to put a rope-like object against' (act. tr.).

(3) ?étòné ʒl·slą́ná?à 'she sneezed'. ?étòné a particle denoting the sound of a sneeze; ʒl·slą́, 3a person perf. of ...(si- perf.)-là· 'to become' (act. intr.).

(4) hàhà·tàná?à 'it flew out'. 3rd person perf. of hà-hi-...(hi- perf.)-tá 'to break out and scatter' (act. intr.). This analysis is uncertain.

39:1.

(1) ʒò·gòbàgò 'poorly'. ʒò·gòbà 'it is poor, sad, in need of help'. Cf. ʒò·-|...-bà 'to be kind' (imp. neut. intr.).

(2) čldlká·gò > Chiricahua.

39:2.

(1) bégò·s?è·lyá 'that had been spread out'. pass. perf. of Oé-go-...(si- perf.)-?òł 'to spread out' (act. with go- place object?).

(2) ?lbàñ ?ádà·ťéí 'things like deerskin'. -bàñ 'tanned skin'. Distrib. 3rd person of ?á-ni-...-ťé 'to be so' (imp. neut. intr.).

(3) ñkè·dàñlą́ 'it flowed down'. ñkè·- 'down'; dà- > dà·- distrib.; ñlą́ '(water) flows' should read ńlą́ (ni- perf. neut. intr.).

(4) zàs nà·łtą́gò 'when it snowed'. zàs 'snow' plus na·łti 'it rains' (imp. neut. intr. with prefix nà·- 'down').

(5) xàgò 'in the winter'. xà 'winter'.

39:3.

(1) ḱà·sťą́ 'they were feathered'. ḱà· 'arrow' plus the pass. perf. of ...(si- perf.)-ťá 'to feather an arrow' (act. tr.).

(2) hl·sḱàšgò 'sharpened'. Pass. perf. of hi-|...(si- perf.)-ḱàš 'to sharpen' (act. tr.).

(3) ḱádà·s?ą́ 'they were set in'. Distrib. pass. perf. of ḱá-|...(hi- perf.)-?à· 'to set a round object in' (act. tr.). ḱá- ?. The text form has the si- perf. because of the distrib. prefix. Note that the text form lacks the -d- classifier.

39:4.

(1) cébè·šdlłXą́dé 'slingshot'. cé 'stone'; bè·- 'by means of it' (?). No further analysis.

(2) ?ílą́·hdé 'spear'.

(3) bè·dà·ʒó·šl·žná?à 'they fought with them'. bè·- 'by means of them' plus the 3a person distrib. perf. of hi-|...(hi- perf.)-žlš 'to spear, stab with a spear' (act. tr.).

39:5.

(1) blḱà?ná?à '[were] their weapons'.-ḱà?, poss. of ḱà· 'arrows, weapons'.

(2) gò·stáńdlłtàłí 'six-shooter'. gò·stáń 'six'. dlłtàł, also heard dl·łtàł, imp. of di-|...(si- perf.)-tàł 'to burst, pop, explode' (act. intr.; di-| noise).

(3) ⁿdédáłè·ńdàslǯà·í 'a whole camp of Indians'. ⁿdé 'Indians'; dáłè·ń 'just one time'; dàslǯà· 'a mass or clump lies upon' (3rd person si- perf. neut. with prefix dàh- 'on').

(4) bè·nà·ł?à?áłádą 'you could make slaves of them by means of it at that time'. bè·- 'by means of it'; nà·ł?à 'slave, he is sent about', pass. imp. of nà·-|...(si- perf.)-ł-?à 'to command, send for'; ?áłá, 2nd person dual of ?á-...(? perf.)-lá 'to do, make' (act. tr.); -dą 'at that time'.

39:6.

(1) Literally, the first sentence of this paragraph reads: "Being difficult (or dangerous) / Indians / it was, it is said."

(2) bè·?lcè·łhcà·í 'big axes' and bè·?lcè·ł-blzą·yéí 'small axes'. bè·?lcè·ł 'axe'; bè·- 'by means of it' plus the 3rd person imp. with indef. obj. of ...(hi- perf.)-cè·ł 'to chop' (act. tr.).

(3) dácédè·ndíná 'only sharp stones'. dá-...-ná 'just, only'; cé 'stones'; dè·ⁿdí 'it is sharp' (no analysis).

(4) dà·gòbéžènáʔà 'their knives'. -béžè, poss. form of bé·š 'knife'.

39:8.

(1) The second sentence of this paragraph is literally as follows: "Sticks / two / one / on the ground / it lying / the other / from on it / it standing / they customarily twirling it into it / they customarily took fire out by means of it, it is said."

(2) bà·?nádà·?šdłłxlsgò 'they customarily twirling it into it'. 3a person distrib. iter. with indef. obj. of 0à·-?l-di-...(hi- perf.)-ł-γé·s 'to twirl in something' (act. tr.). à·- 'to'; ?l- 'away, in'; di- ?.

(3) bè·kǫ·hànádà·ǯl?ánáʔà 'they customarily took fire out by means of it'. bè·- 'by means of it'; kǫ· 'fire' plus 3a person distrib. iter. of hà-|...(hi- perf.)-?à· 'to take out a round solid object' (act. tr.).

(4) ?lcl·sbé·ží 'boiled meat'. -cl· 'meat' plus hl·sbé·ž 'it has been boiled' (3rd person si- perf., act. intr.).

(5) nábé?ǯlyàłclná?à 'they turned it over'. 3a person prog. of ná-0é-?i-|...(si- perf.)-ł-cl 'to turn over' (act. intr.). The theme: 'to cause a long pointed object to move'. ná- 'around'; é- 'against'; ?i-| ?. See note 17:1, §6.

(6) hàdà·?ǯlčl·ší 'that which they had hollowed out'. 3a person distrib. imp. with indef. obj. of hà-|...(hi- perf.)-čl·š 'to hollow out' (act. tr.; hà-| 'out').

(7) gòbè·?hłⁿdédíná?à 'their spoons were'. bè·?hłⁿdédí, an archaic relative of bè·- 'by means of it' plus the 3rd person imp. with indef. obj. of ni-...(si- perf.)-ł-ⁿdé 'to eat soup or mush-like substances' (act. tr.).

(8) A literal translation of the sixth sentence (lines 7, 8, and 9) of this paragraph follows: "Trees that are big / that stand erect / being from [their] sides / wood that is ball-shaped / that which juts out from them here and there / its insides / that which they hollow out / just that / their cups, it is said."

39:9.

(1) blxó·lèídà 'even beans'. blxó·lè > Spanish frijole 'beans'.

(2) Only those of the names of the plants and animals mentioned in this paragraph which can be analyzed are discussed below.

?lyè?éłcòl 'acorns'. ?lyè?é 'seed' plus -łcò- bound form of łlcò 'it is yellow' and -l a relative ?.

číłčl 'sumac berries'. čí- ? plus the theme -ł-čl 'to give off an odor'.

xòšǯlšóhé 'cactus [sp.]'. xòs 'cactus, thorn' plus -ǯlšóhé ? (perhaps related to -ł-žó 'to sweep, brush').

ⁿdâ·žlń 'spurge'. ⁿdâ·- 'eye'; -žlń 'black' (related to łi-ni-...-žl 'to be black'?).

łàhcò 'dropseed'. łàh- bound form of łòh 'grass'; -cò compounded form of ni-...-cò 'to be big'.

łòhgàxê· 'lip fern'. łòh 'grass'; gàxê· > Spanish café 'coffee'.

ǯlłdàlskáné 'mountain plants'. ǯlł 'mountain'; dàlskáné ?.

gàhblⁿdâ· 'wild potatoes [sp.]'. gàh 'rabbit'; blⁿdâ· 'his eyes'.

màdá·yà > Spanish pitahaya.

clłⁿdá·? 'bee'; -łcò > łlcò 'it is yellow'. bltò?í 'its juice', -tò? poss. form of tó 'wa-

ter'.

dìɬtàɬé 'juniper berries [sp.]', archaic relative of dìɬtàɬ 'it bursts, explodes' (3rd person imp., act. intr.).

dìɬtàɬécǒ 'juniper berries [sp.]'. -cǒ 'big'.

nâ·ʔcíllìdìɬxìɬí 'buffalo'. nâ·ʔcíll 'cattle' dìɬxìɬ 'it is black'.

39:10.

bìḱèhnà·kànáʔà 'they were obedient'. bìḱèh 'in accordance with it, by reason of it' plus nà·kà 'several move about, live' (3rd person cont. imp. of -ká 'several move' with prefix nà·-| 'about').

39:11.

(1) dò·xáń bìčı̨·lóǯìgòdà 'one behaves foolishly to no one'. dò·-...-dà negative; -čı̨· 'toward' plus 3a person of ló-...-gò 'to be crazy, foolish' (imp. neut. intr.). This verb is derived from Spanish loco (see note 38:21).

(2) yó·sń 'God'. yó·s- > Spanish Diós; -ń relative.

39:12.

(1) ǯè·kı̨́yóí, ʔìɬáyóí 'the girls, the boys'. ǯè·kı̨́ 'girl'; ʔìɬá- bound form of ʔìɬáń 'boy'. -yó plural suffix (see note 20:4, §3).

(2) nà·dìń ʔàńšλá·ńšı̨ ⁿdásá bè·nádà·ʔnàt́ı̨·ɬ 'they were twenty five and over'. nà·dìń 'twenty' (cf. nà·kì 'two'; -dìń '-ty'); ʔàńšλá·- bound form of ʔàńšλáí 'five'; -ń 'times'; -šı̨ 'from'; ⁿdásá 'farther on'. bè·nádà·ʔnàt́ı̨·ɬ, distrib. prog. of 0è·-ná-ʔi-ni-...(si- perf.)-t́ı̨ 'so many years have passed with one' (act. intr.). è·- 'with'; ná-ʔi- ?; ni- terminative. The theme alone: 'to grow'.

(3) gònì·ńɬt́é 'they overmastered them'. 3rd person of 0-nì·-di-ni-...-ɬ-t́é 'to get the best of, to overcome' (imp. neut. intr.). nì·- ?; di-ni- adj. (?).

(4) yè·nà·cékè·s 'they thought by means of them'. yè·- 'by means of them' plus the 3rd person imp. of nà·-cé-...(si- perf.)-kè·s 'to think' (act. intr.).

40:1.

(1) The first line is literally: "Galena / tipi poles / they have made them so."

(2) ǯígònà·ʔáí bìɬ́ólè 'the rays of the sun'. Literally: 'the sun, its ropes'.

(3) bìḱèhgóžóní 'its power is good'. bìḱèh 'its power' plus the relative form of góžǫ́ 'it is good'.

(4) ćìsʔàhnà·yáí 'long life'. ćìsʔàh 'long time', cf. ʔó·sʔàh 'later, a while' and ʔìsʔàh, synonymous with ćìsʔàh. nà·yá 'he goes about, he lives'.

40:2.

(1) yè·nìλè·š 'he will paint you with it'. yè·- 'with it'; ni- 'you'; -λè·š 'to paint white' (imp., act. tr.).

(2) yè·nìčí 'he will paint you with it'. -čí 'to paint red' (imp. act. tr.).

40:3.

yìɬdàhdàɬⁿdì 'he his holding up his hand with it'. yìɬ- 'with it' plus the 3rd person prog. of dàh-di-|...(ni- perf.)-ɬ-ⁿdí 'to move one's hands up' (act. intr.).

40:5.

yèńkè·ɬ́àh 'by means of it she starts to run'. yè- > yè·- 'by means of it'; ńkè·ɬ́àh 'she starts to run' (no analysis).

40:8.

bà·gòɬʔà·ⁿdí 'she is happy over it'. bà·- 'about it, over it'; gòɬ- 'with her'; ʔà·ⁿdí 'there is joy, happiness' (no analysis).

40:9.

yè·sı̨́hìλà· 'by means of this, old age has come'. yè·- 'by means of it'; sı̨́ 'old age'; hìλà· pass. perf. of -lá 'to do, make' (act. tr.).

40:16.

(1) šìɬhànáyòɬ 'it is breathing with me'. šìɬ- 'with me' plus the 3rd person of hà-ná-...-yòɬ 'to breathe' (imp. neut. intr. ?).

(2) bè·ʔášdè·yà· 'she has been made by means of it'. bè·- 'by means of it' plus the 3a person perf. of ʔá-di-...(si- perf.)-ⁿdá 'to be made' (pass.). This analysis is uncertain.

(3) The last line of this verse is literally as follows: "All of these / the body / it being by means of one another / they have made her so for me."

41:1.

(1) ťą·nábą·zé 'aspens'. ťą·- 'leaf'; nábą·z 'it is round, it is full (as of the moon)'. ná- 'around, in a circle' (?); -bą·z 'to be round' (imp. neut. intr.).

(2) šá?łłè·šñʒlgò 'when they have been put together for me'. šá- 'for me' plus the perf. of ?łł-è·-ǯi-di-|...(ni- perf.)-d-zł· 'to be put together (as are the poles of a tipi at its apex)'(pass.). ?łł-è·- 'by means of one another'; ǯi-di-.

(3) ?á·ñšá 'I shall go there'. ?á·- 'there' plus the 1st person imp. of ni-...(ni- perf.)-yá 'one person moves completively' (act. intr.).

41:3.

hà?ó·?ánî błčł·šł ñkè·ñ?áî 'that which lies extended toward the east'. hà?ó·?ánî 'east'; bł-čł·šł 'from toward it'; ñkè·ñ?á 'a rigid object lies extended' (ni- perf. neut. intr. with the prefix ñkè·- ?).

41:4.

(1) kòyá ?á?ítłñ 'a road leads here'. kòyá 'here'; ?á 'here'; ?ítłñ 'road', cf. ?íńtłñ.

(2) sągłš 'old age staffs'. są 'old age'; głš 'stick, cane'.

(3) cł·bà? 'gray hair'. cł·- 'head', -bà? 'gray', cf. łi-ni-...-bá 'to be gray' (imp. neut. intr.).

(4) bè·kò·yą 'the tipi is made of'. bè·- 'by means of it'; kò·yą 'tipi, dwelling'. This construction occurs quite commonly in the songs and prayers.

41:15.

(1) ⁿdł·î dáñhè·šťóî ?ážł 'on the earth which has become old'. ⁿdł· 'earth'; ?ážł 'to there, on there'. dá- 'just' plus the perf. of nł-hi-...(si- perf.)-ťò· 'to wear out, to become old' (act. intr.).

(2) ná?ǫoʒł· 'it remains, survives, is left over' (no analysis).

42:1.

(1) čè·łkénàłťáń 'the leader of the Mountain Spirits'; čè·łkédłyłń 'the holy Mountain Spirits'. čè·łké 'mountain spirits', synonymous with gąhé but usually confined to ritual contexts. nàłťá 'chief, leader' (see note 25:1, §2); dłył 'he is holy' (see note 19:16, §1).

(2) kǫ̀·yé·š 'mirage'. Cf. gònłyé·š 'mirage'. kǫ̀·- 'fire' (?); -yé·š ?.

(3) dàǎłžè bè·?łłnágàzł 'turquoise cross'. dàǎłžè 'turquoise', cf. da-ni-...-ǎłž 'to be blue' (imp. neut. intr.). bè·- 'with it'. ?łłnágàzł 'cross' probably ?łł- reciprocal; ná- 'across, around' (?); and the prog. with place subject of -zî '(an arrow or stick) moves through the air' (act. intr.). Also heard ?łłnô·zł which is the 3rd person prog. of the same verb.

42:2.

šłylnè 'my songs'. -ylnè, poss. of sł 'song'.

42:3.

yálátàkò·yąžł 'in a home above the skies'. yá 'sky'; -látà 'tip, end, above'.

42:6.

gó·ką 'spiritually hale' (no analysis).

42:7.

(1) błkélè·ž 'his foot-dust'. ké- 'foot'; -lè·ž 'dust'.

(2) bè·błdè·látà 'the tips of his horns are made of'. błdè' 'his horns'; -látà 'tips'.

(3) bè·?łłčąyè·ťł 'by means of them, one can see in all directions'. bè·- 'by means of them'; ?łłčą 'from one another'; -yè·ťł ?. The stem of the last form seems to be the -d- form of -?ł 'to see' but the prefix yè·- does not fit the prog. neut. conjugation of that verb.

42:10.

(1) yè·ċà·nà·ťł· 'he motions ritually by means of it'. yè·- 'by means of it' plus the 3rd person imp. ofċà·-nà·-|...(si- perf.)-ťł· 'to make ritual motions' (act. intr.). Cf. O-ł-ċà·-nà·-|...(si- perf.)-ťł· 'to bless, to confer sacred benefits upon' (act. intr.; ł- 'with, accompanying').

(2) ñgóžî, šłgóžî 'they are calling you, they are calling me'. Imp. with place subject and 2nd and 1st persons object of hó-...(hi- perf.) -žî 'to call by name' (act. tr.).

44:1.

(1) yóⁿdł 'inside'. Cf. yà·góⁿdł 'inside'.

(2) nłhłⁿdáî nà·hłhⁿdá 'your life is shak-

ing'. hł^{n}dá 'life, there is life, he lives'. nà·-hłh^{n}dá, 3rd person imp. of nà·-hi-...(si- perf.)-d-^{n}dá 'to move, tremble, shake' (mediopas.). Cf. di-yi-...(si- perf.)-d-^{n}dá 'to begin to shake' (mediopas.).

45:1.

gòdéńlı̨ 'you have begun to live'. 2nd person perf. of go-di-...(si- perf.)-là· 'to begin to be' (act. intr.). di- inceptive.

45:2.

dí· nà·γáí góžǫ̨gò bè·ńⁿdá 'you live by means of the good of this life'. dí· 'this'; nà·γáí 'life'; góžǫ̨gò 'it being good'; bè·- 'by means of it'; ńⁿdá, 2nd person of ni-...-ⁿdá 'to live, to be alive' (imp. neut. intr.).

46:1.

ʔádè·nágóλá 'make it like your own'. ʔád- reflexive; è·- 'like, similar to' (?); ná- 'again' plus the 2nd person imp. with 3a object of -lá 'to do, make (act. tr.).

46:2.

(1) bè·nášdò·ʒàʔ 'he wants to get up with it'. bè·- 'with it' plus the 3a person opt. of ná-di-|...(ni- perf.)-dá 'one gets up, arises' (act. intr.). -dá, -d- form of -yá 'one moves' (act. intr.); ná-di-| 'upward'. See note 1:15, §2 for the stem irregularity.

(2) ńnáʔʒílé 'he is performing this ceremony'. 3a person imp. with indef. obj. of nl-ná-ni-...(ni- perf.)-lé 'to put down a rope-like object or a mass' (act. tr.). nl- 'to a stop'; ná- ?; ni- completive. The theme alone: 'to handle a rope-like object, two beings, or a mass'.

46:3.

dò·xàʔyákà·dàhgò·sʔą́dàgò 'free from disease'. dò·-...-dà negative; xàʔyá 'something'; kà· 'disease'; dàh- 'on, upon'; gò·sʔą́ 'a round object lies' (si- perf. neut. intr. with place subject). Literally: 'that no kind of disease lie upon him'.

III. ETHNOLOGICAL NOTES

1:1.

Literally, "he by reason of whom there is life." This is one of the names by which the creator of the world is designated. The conception of a Creator is not sharply defined for the Chiricahua Apache and seems to have little relation to other phases of their religious thinking. It is quite possible that the concept is a result of Western European contact.

1:2.

White Painted Woman is the mother of the culture hero, as the myth relates, and is the author of important Apache ceremonies and customs. It was she who gave instructions in the use of beneficial herbs, it is said.

1:3.

The position of Killer of Enemies in Chiricahua and Mescalero mythology is most interesting. For the Navaho, Western Apache, Lipan, and Jicarilla, Killer of Enemies is the principal culture hero and performs deeds and exploits comparable to those attributed to Child of the Water in this story. By the Chiricahua and Mescalero, however, Killer of Enemies is relegated to a subordinate position, an unenviable position, or is forgotten altogether. In some versions he figures as an older but more timid brother of Child of the Water, again as a maternal uncle (brother of White Painted Woman) or as the step-father (husband of White Painted Woman) of Child of the Water. Very often, as in the present version, Killer of Enemies is charged with cowardice (see text I:2) or is represented as the protector and benefactor of the white man (see text 1:6). Some Chiricahua informants have said that the term Killer of Enemies is synonymous with "enemy" or "white man" and cases have been noted where parents and grandparents will not allow children to utter the name of Killer of Enemies, giving the children the explanation that it is the name of the "devil" or an "evil one" (see also text IV:8).

1:4.

A monster of huge size, usually described as having the appearance of a man. He is pictured as carrying a knife and a large burden-basket in which to put his victims. He is cumbersome and slow of foot and burdened with enormous testicles which he swings over a bush under which he lies, thus providing shade for himself. There is an independent body of stories about the monster, who is probably to be identified with the "big owl" of other Southern Athabascan myths.

1:5.

Some versions have it that she lay under a waterfall, others that she exposed herself to rain on a mountain top. According to some informants impregnation occurred when the water entered her vagina, others say this occurred when water fell upon her navel or upon her head.

1:6.

The footprints were made with the outer side of the clenched fist, the toes being added with the finger.

1:7.

The honey referred to is said to be deposited by bees in the stalks of yucca plants.

1:8.

In complete versions other encounters between Giant and White Painted Woman are described and other means (usually four in all) which she used to deceive Giant are related.

2:1.

The arrows of Child of the Water are often described as made of grama-grass.

2:2.

One version has it that Child of the Water swallows a bead of turquoise each time Giant shoots, and the arrows of the Giant are splintered in mid-air. Others say that Child of the Water recited certain prayers which caused the arrows to miss their mark. Still others say that Child of the Water, aided by lightning, blew outward each time and shattered the arrows. (See text IV:8.)

2:3.

Very often informants name some locality where the bones of the Giant, now turned to rock can be seen to this day. Lava beds and masses of dark or reddish rock are pointed out as the coagulated blood of the Giant. The Giant is said to have been so tall that his outstretched body covered four mountain ridges.

3:1.

Gopher also bares the heart of the monster by pleading that he needs fur for the nest of his children. When he gains permission to take some fur, he selects it from the region over the heart. (See text IV:8.)

4:1.

That is, he went out where Eagle could see him.

4:2.

While more than one explanation has been obtained, most informants say that male rain is a heavy shower accompanied by thunder, and female rain is a lighter shower without thunder.

5:1.

This same episode is also related with an owl as the monster. (See text IV:8.)

5:2.

This was true of all the monsters who had the power of killing with their eyes. That was why Child of the Water was not killed by the eyes of the Eagle (see text 1:4) when the latter took him to his nest.

6:1.

The creation of human beings from mud is not a common element of Chiricahua mythology. Most informants cannot give any account of the creation of man.

6:2.

See note 1:3.

6:3.

The speaker here is Child of the Water.

7:1.

The moccasin game is played at night and in the winter only. Should the game continue into the day the contestants must blacken their faces with charcoal. Sides are chosen (both men and women play and the sides are not limited as to number) and a fire is kindled. On its side of the fire each group buries four moccasins in a row, leaving only the open tops visible. The object of the game is for one side to hide a bone in one of the four moccasins so sucessfully that the other side cannot guess in which moccasin the bone lies. When one side is prepared to hide the bone, a blanket is held between the two opposing groups. While the hiding of the bone is in progress, the side in possession of the bone sings songs which the participants in the first game reputedly sang at that time. Thus there is a song concerning every being who took part in the game for night or day. When the bone has been hidden and the moccasin tops have been filled with grass, the blanket is lowered and someone of the other side steps forward, stick in hand, to strike the moccasin which he thinks contains the bone. If he is correct in his guess, the bone passes to his side and it is his side which will do the hiding. Should he miss the right moccasin, however, his side has to give their opponents a number of yucca counters, the number depending upon the position of the moccasin chosen in respect to the one which really contained the bone. If the representative of one side misses the bone, it remains in the possesion of the opposition and they proceed to hide the bone again until a correct guess takes it away from them. The game ends when all of the counters are in the possession of one side. This was one of the most common of

Chiricahua Apache gambling games. Not only was the betting high between the groups on the final outcome of the game, but there were also many individual wagers laid at each stroke of the stick. There are other ways of guessing where the bone lies besides striking the moccasin with a stick, and other tricks of hiding besides placing the bone in one of the moccasins. All these variations have their rules and count, but the details are too numerous and complex to discuss here.

7:2.

The Giant of text 1:2 is probably meant, for he plays the part in other versions that have been collected. Note the reference to his slow-footedness.

7:3.

Many informants claim to have seen the place; to have seen the gap in the cliff through which light first streamed, to have seen the rock crevice, with the arrows of the birds still wedged in them, into which the snake escaped, etc.

10:1.

Texts 10 through 18 are episodes belonging to the familiar coyote trickster cycle. Among the Chiricahua these stories were told as a connected series of episodes having a definite order. They were told at night and in the winter only. The story of the creation of the plant and animal life of earth is not introduced into the Chiricahua coyote cycle as it is in the Mescalero narrative. (See note 1:1 in section VI.)

10:2.

The winning of fire for man is always attributed to Coyote by the Chiricahua. The identities of those from whom he steals it and of those who aid him in the theft differ in various versions.

10:3.

The informant might have added that the same belief governs Apache behavior today. If an Apache curses and wishes ill to another shortly before some disaster occurs to the one upon whom the malediction falls, the person who spoke so rashly will be considered a "witch" by many and may find himself in serious trouble.

17:1.

In the songs of the war dance held after a battle the names of conspicuously brave men were mentioned. These men then danced to songs which had reference to their war deeds.

17:2.

The Chiricahua war dance was essentially a dramatization of the battle by those who had participated in it.

18:1.

"To be gone" is the accepted euphemism for death.

18:2.

That is, the members of Coyote's family knew that he had a large wart on the side of his head. The informant did not know this tale very well, and, in the first telling of it, omitted this detail which is important later (see paragraph 23, et. seq.). He afterward made this insertion which is, therefore, curiously out of context.

18:3.

Mention of the dead is forbidden by the Apache, especially in the presence of relatives of the deceased.

18:4.

Residence among the Chiricahua is matrilocal. The girl's mother, with the help of other female relatives, constructs a wickiup for the newly married couple not very far distant from her own home. House building is the work of the women.

19:1.

The Mountain Spirits are a race of supernaturals who dwell within the interiors of many mountains, according to Chiricahua Apache belief. There they are said to live and conduct their affairs much as the Apache used to do in aboriginal times. The Mountain Spirits conduct a dance and ceremony in which some of their men are masked and appear with their bodies painted in various patterns. Occasionally an Apache is fortunate enough to have a supernatural experience with the Mountain Spirits of a particular mountain, to witness the performances of these masked supernaturals, and to be instructed in the songs, designs, and prayers which

belong to the rite. After this Apache returns to the world outside, and to his own people, he masks and paints Apache men in imitation of the supernaturals he has seen, and sends them out to dance at times of widespread sickness or impending disaster. This procedure or rite is expected to establish rapport between the shaman and the original supernaturals from whom he gained his power, and to enlist the aid of the Mountain Spirits in the emergency which confronts the encampment.

Formerly, as this text and others which follow indicate, the real Mountain Spirits sometimes came out upon this world in person to punish those who have profaned their rite or to succor Apache in need of their assistance. Now it is said that only those appear who are "made" or dressed in imitation of the true Mountain Spirits. These Apache masked dancers, however, are called gąhé, just as are the masked supernaturals of the mountains. (See also note 40:1 and following.)

19:2.

Formerly, the masked dancers were not "made" within the encampment, but had to be painted in an enclosure constructed in the mountains. From there they would march down the slope in single file, sometimes carrying firebrands.

19:3.

This rule has been greatly relaxed, but is still somewhat in force. Informants claim that it used to be strictly maintained.

19:4.

The people are advised, at the entrance of the masked dancers, to lower their eyes and pray.

19:5.

To "worship the fire" the masked dancers approach it in single file from the east, swaying their arms and bodies, and emitting, when near the flames, a cry peculiar to them. Then they shuffle backwards without turning, circle the fire clockwise, stop at the south and repeat the worship from the south side. This is done from each direction, continuing in the sunwise ceremonial circuit. The "worship" described is the standard method by which the masked dancers purify any place, object, or person, and drive away disease and evil. A sick person who is being ceremonially treated by the masked dancers is approached from the four directions in the same manner.

19:6.

The prohibition against calling out the name of a masked dancer whom one recognizes is still observed.

19:7.

A shaman, since he is in direct communication with the source of his supernatural power, is often said to be aware of whatever anyone is saying or thinking about his power or his rite.

19:8.

The shaman probably sang the songs of the rite in order to learn the fate of the child. His attempts at intercession on her behalf, to judge by analagous tales that have been gathered, were probably extempore prayers.

19:9.

A periphrastic reference to the shaman's power or spirit guide.

19:10.

This motif of protection by being hidden beneath a fire occurs in other connections. It will be remembered that Child of the Water was preserved from the Giant by this means. (See text I:1.)

19:11.

That is, they tried in vain to feel at ease and enjoy the ceremony.

19:12.

These are the true supernaturals of the mountain.

19:13.

The Gray One, when the masked dance is held as a spectacular part of a feast or celebration (as occurs in connection with the Girl's Puberty Rite) acts the part of a clown. Then he awkardly imitates his fellow-dancers and performs for the amusement of the on-lookers. In the myths, and when serious work such as curing is at hand, however, his role is entirely changed. He becomes a most important source of supernatural power, and by many, as by the narrator of this story, is con-

sidered the most potent masked dancer of the rite.

19:14.

The masked dancers are associated with directional-color symbolism. Ordinarily four masked dancers and the clown are "made" by one man. The leader, the one who heads the single file of dancers, is called the Black Mountain Spirit of the east. Next comes the Blue Mountain Spirit of the south, the Yellow Mountain Spirit of the west, and last the White Mountain Spirit of the north. Occasionally, as in this story, the clown or Gray One is substituted for the White Mountain Spirit and then takes his place as representative of the north. The association of colors and directions noted above is the one most commonly encountered in Chiricahua ritual. Due to the extremely individual character of religious experiences, however, variations are possible and do occur. (See text 1:42 and note 42:2.)

20:1.

That is, in text 19.

20:2.

The "horns" refer to uprights of yucca stalk wood which rise above the buckskin masks.

20:3.

It is not difficult to tell to whom a certain set of dancers "belong," that is, by whom they were dressed and designed, for the symbols, colors, and patterns used by each man who knows a masked dancer ceremony, are distinctive.

20:4.

The masked dancers perform three dance steps or types of dancing and for each kind a different set of songs is sung. One of these types is the "high" step mentioned in the text, which, because it requires that the legs be raised very high, is considered to be the most strenuous and tiring of the three.

20:5.

This "relay" method of pursuit is utilized in hunting. A deer is started in the direction in which a number of men, each quite a distance from the next, wait on horseback. Each pursues the quarry in turn and forces the animal to extend itself to the utmost. Then the last rider, on his fresh horse, can easily overtake and kill the exhausted animal.

20:6.

That is, they kept ahead of the horsemen who were not able to catch them.

20:7.

That is. he returned without having caught the strange Mountain Spirits.

20:8.

The reference is to a peculiar warbling cry made by the Mountain Spirits.

20:9.

That is, they were frightened to learn that that had been pursuing the true Mountain Spirits.

21:1.

That is, they conducted a ceremony over her.

21:2.

This motif of a person cured or aided by some supernatural agency which thereupon instructs him in a ceremony, is a common one in Apache ritualism and is especially characteristic of the Mountain Spirit ceremonies.

21:3.

This sentence must not lead one to think that there is but one Mountain Spirit ceremony and that this is its origin story. The old woman's ceremony would be followed only by those to whom she (with approval of her power) handed down her lore. Other shaman's and their descendants, controlled Masked Dancer ceremonies obtained from the Mountain Spirits of other localities, and all these rites, though they exhibited a definite common pattern, were dissimilar in detail. Incidentally, this story evidences that women as well as men were the recipients of significant supernatural experiences and rites. (See also I:34 and I:35.)

22:1.

When Chiricahua are conducted into the mountain interiors, into the homes of the Mountain Spirits, it is usually the Gray One or clown who acts as a guide for them.

22:2.

From here on, the informant tells the story in the first person.

22:3.

That is, this is the bear who killed the woman, their mother, and her baby.

22:4.

This incident is supposed to have occurred at the time the Warm Springs band of the Chiricahua Apache were being removed from their New Mexico home to Arizona. Later they were allowed to return to the vicinity of Warm Springs once more and these two children were united with their reltives.

23:1.

This story is usually told of a boy and his sister. The former was blind; his sister was legless.

23:2.

Due to the rigors of a nomadic, hunting, and gathering life, and the insufferable handicap which a crippled member placed on a family, the helplessly deformed were sometimes disposed of or abandoned as described. (See also text I:21.)

24:1.

These "foolish people" are said by the Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache to have been an actual group, formerly living near or in Mescalero territory and speaking an Apache language. Two persons now living on the Mescalero Apache Reservation are pointed out as the last living descendants of members of this group. It is barely possible that some small Mescalero family or local group whose members were not considered over-bright and which has since been decimated and scattered, has been made the butt of these stories. The stories themselves are purely traditional, however, and are now used to rebuke the stupid, to train the young (by teaching them what not to do), to furnish a socially controlled outlet for pent-up sexual interest and repression (most of the episodes of this type do not appear in these texts), and to serve as good stories for the long winter evenings. Other Apache tribes tell almost identical stories.

25:1.

To remark, in pointed context about the crow's call, is a jest understood by all Apache on the Mescalero Reservation.

29:1.

That is: "I'm going to keep this prize for myself." The point of the story is that the Foolish People were satisfied and elated at the first poor object which fell into their hands, and turned back without securing any worth-while booty.

30:1.

Whatever their faults and stupidity, the Foolish People are always represented as being swift runners, able to outdistance an antelope or a horse.

31:1.

These incidents were told by another informant and are therefore included here in spite of the fact that some of them occur in other texts. (See texts I:24, I:25, and I:26.)

32:1.

The informant told this story of the Chiricahua Apache. Others include it with the stories of the Foolish People.

33:1.

This is the ceremony for locating the enemy. (See note 34:1.)

33:2.

The directions of the shaman cannot be questioned, no matter what taboos, restrictions, and requirements he may pronounce. To do so is to indicate lack of faith, which in itself is fatal to the success of the ceremony.

33:3.

In this ceremony (see note 34:1), the shaman moves his arms about.

34:1.

This ceremony is one used to locate missing objects, missing persons, and the enemy. The shaman sings and prays and supernatural power is expected to take possession of him and move his arm in the direction of the enemy or missing object.

If no enemy is near this information is communicated to the singer by his power.

35:1.

The Chiricahua believe that an accident which takes place while riding horseback, or some grave misfortune in connection with horses may occur at the will of the horse involved as revenge for some neglect or ill-treatment suffered. In the ceremony to cure the injured, the co-operation of the horse is required. It is usually staked near the place where the ceremony is held and appeals are addressed to it, in song and prayer, to undo the damage that it has caused. The horse is usually led to the patient during the latter part of the rite and if it neighs or demonstrates any interest in the patient at this time, it is considered a fortunate sign and an indication that the animal is relenting and will permit the cure to take place.

35:2.

Chino is one of the informant's neighbors. The distance is about one hundred feet.

35:3.

That is, they removed the outer covering, leaving the bare poles.

37:1.

The springs and water courses are believed by the Chiricahua to be inhabited by supernaturals who control them and are responsible for death by drowning. They are reputed to pull under the water those who anger or insult them. But supernatural power and many benefits can be secured from them also.

38:1.

This tale, a plain case of diffusion from Mexican sources of Western European folk-lore, is told by the Warm Springs Apache, one of the three Chiricahua bands. Before the United States reservation period was inaugurated the Warm Springs Apache were on friendly terms with nearby Mexican towns and in close contact with them.

38:2.

The informant explained that it was hidden in her anus.

39:1.

The Chiricahua home was of the wickiup type, often thatched with grass.

39:2.

The informant is alluding to the cotton and woolen blankets sold by the white men today. Of course, the Chiricahua used robes of animal skin before white contact. (See the third sentence following.)

39:3.

The reference is to wild cattle which seem to have been present in the territory before the white men had arrived in any appreciable numbers.

39:4.

The Apache sling is a diamond-shaped piece of rawhide, made pliant or partially perforated down the center. A thong is tied to each side. One of these thongs only is looped at the end. The stone is placed on the diamond-shaped piece of rawhide and the rawhide is folded over it. The thongs are held in the hand, a finger being passed through the loop to hold the one cord. The sling is whirled around the head once and then thrown forward. The unlooped cord is released at the same time, so that the rawhide may unfold and allow the missile to fly.

39:5.

Mountain mahogany was one of the woods used.

39:6.

The reference is probably to the culture hero, Child of the Water.

39:7.

Flint knives were used for the purpose.

39:8.

Protuberances on the trunks of oak trees especially, were utilized in this manner.

39:9.

A better account of Chiricahua Apache food plants may be found in E. F. Castetter and M. E. Opler, The Ethnobiology of the Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache (University of New Mexico Bulletin, Biological Series, Vol. 4, No. 5, 1936.)

40:1.

The texts of the Girl's Puberty Rite which are here included can give little hint of the many facets of the feast and ceremony, for they are the property of the shaman who is hired for the specific pupose of erecting the ceremonial structure for the girl and singing of the songs which shall bring her the desired benefits. As such, they refer to points of the ceremony in which the singer is primarily concerned and fail to call attention to equally important elements to which his duties do not extend. As it happens, the shaman who sings the particular songs recorded in these texts is not the only person hired by the girl's relatives to participate in the ritual on her behalf. In addition, an old woman is hired whose functions shall be described presently.

Therefore, in order that the ceremony may be understood as a unity and that the songs which follow may fall into proper context, a short outline of the most general and important features of the rite may be in order.

The Girl's Puberty Rite performs, among other things, a social function. At one time these Apache depended almost entirely upon hunting and the gathering of wild plants. Since the semi-desert territory through which they ranged was not too productive, no large section of a tribe could be together for a long period of time. The Girl's Puberty Rite acted as the social occasion for these Apache; it became the focal point around which the natural desire for tribesmen of a locality to meet, exchange views and property, greet old friends and make new ones, became crystallized. And so the custom arose of expressing thanks and delight that a daughter or close relative had grown to womanhood by playing host and providing food and entertainment for all who cared to come. The parents of the girl, assisted by other relatives, store up quantities of provisions, often starting months in advance, and take care of all practical arrangements.

An Apache social occasion is not complete without its dance, and the most spectacular and vigorous dances of the Apache are those performed by their masked dancers. The masked dancers of the Apache are young men clothed and designed to impersonate a body of supernaturals who are reputed to dwell in the interiors of mountains. The right to paint and design these youths and to sing the songs to which they dance belongs to Apache who have had a deeply religious experience with the mountain-dwelling supernaturals or who have been taught a ceremony which began as a result of such an encounter. At other times the dancing of these masked men acts as a curative rite and is used particularly during epidemics or wide-spread illness. But when the masked dancers of the Apache participate in the puberty rite, it is a secular performance and designed for entertainment alone. The father or a relative of the girl asks individuals who have the right to "make" masked dancers to assist in the celebration by sending men designed by them into the dance arena. Almost invariably they agree to do so.

Up to this point we have been concerned with the secular elements of the ceremony, but now we have to consider its sacred aspects, and in these the adolescent girl is more directly concerned. There are really two ceremonies for the girl during this four-day period, and they are performed by a man and by a woman who have somewhat different functions. While the duties of these two are complementary, and one begins his ritual at a point where the other leaves off, they do not at any time assist one another, nor is either more familiar than any ordinary member of the tribe would be with the rights, power, and ceremony of the other.

Of this pair the man is engaged to direct the construction of the ceremonial structure and to sing the songs which constitute a prominent feature of the rites. In order to confuse him with no one else we shall refer to him as the singer.

The woman is one who attends the girl throughout the four days, who dresses and feeds her the first morning, and gives her advice and directions necessary to carry her sucessfully through the ceremony and through life. We shall hereafter call her the attendant.

One other matter must be clarified before we may proceed with this description. It is said that this ceremony and the directions for conducting it were given to the Apache by White Painted Woman, the mother of the culture hero. When her people, the Apache, were hard pressed by evil monsters, White Painted Woman reared a son to destroy those creatures and to make the earth inhabitable for mankind. She is therefore the model of heroic and virtuous womanhood. For the ceremony the young girl dresses and acts as White Painted Woman is supposed

to have done, the ceremonial structure in which the rite takes place is likened in the songs to "the home of White Painted Woman," and the girl herself for the duration of the rite, is never referred to by her own name, but is known as White Painted Woman. In short, every attempt is made to identify the girl with White Painted Woman, that she may display that same talent and fortitude on behalf of her people which marked the first bearer of this name.

Early in the morning of the first day the girl is dressed at the camp of her attendant in the richly designed buckskin costume which she will wear for the following eight days. She sits facing the east, and the garments are put on her from foot to head, beginning with the right moccasin. Then, that she may have a good appetite throughout life, she is ceremonially fed a piece of wild fruit marked with a cross of pollen. Her attendant supplies her with a length of reed through which she must drink for eight days, and a wooden scratcher which must be used for the same length of time. For the girl to allow water to touch her lips at this time would invite rain and do serious damage to the social aspect of the occasion. It is also forbidden her to scratch herself with her finger-nails. If the girl looks up at the sky, or if she is disobedient, rain clouds may gather. It is believed that excessive laughter will cause her to have a prematurely wrinkled face. The character traits exhibited during this ceremony will be those which will henceforth distinguish her, she is told. Thus to lose her temper, to make fun of the unfortunate, or to use harsh language are especially dangerous things for a girl to do at this time. She is urged to talk little, to heed what is said to her, and to maintain a grave and dignified manner.

While the attendant is preparing and advising the girl, the singer and his helpers are busy erecting the tipi-shaped ceremonial structure. Four large poles of the Douglas tree are raised, lowered toward each other, and lashed together to the accompaniment of songs. Eight other poles of the same kind and size are placed around the others; a central fire pit is dug; boughs of oak are lashed horizontally to the sides; and the floor of the enclosure is covered with lengths of cat-tail stalk.

Shortly after the ceremonial structure is completed, the girl and her attendant come foward. The attendant arranges a buckskin before the tipi with the head part facing the east. The girl kneels on this and the attendant passes before her, marks her face with pollen, and is marked with pollen by the girl in turn. The singer and all who wish to do so now pass before the girl to mark her and be marked by her in like fashion.

When no more come forward the girl lies face downward upon the buckskin and is massaged and rubbed from foot to head, from right side to left, by her attendant.

Next the attendant traces with pollen four footprints upon the buckskin, and through these the girl walks, leading with her right foot. The attendant has brought her a shallow tray basket filled with the articles to be used in the rite, including red paint, white clay, pollen, galena, a brush of grama grass, and an eagle feather. This basket is now set some distance to the east before the buckskin, and at a signal the girl runs to it, circles it clockwise, and returns to her place. As she runs the attendant utters a shrill keening-like call which expresses reverent applause. With this cry she will punctuate crucial moments of the rite and the mention of the names of sacred objects or supernaturals in the songs. Four times the girl circles the basket and returns, and at the end of each run the basket is moved westward, towards the ceremonial structure. After she returns from the last run, the girl picks up the buckskin and shakes it four times. Now fruits and nuts, from food containers which have been placed before the ceremonial structure, are scattered upon the buckskin, and the young people scramble for these favors. Other presents of food and tobacco are tossed into the air for the others, and the important ritual of the first morning is over.

The rest of the day is given over to visiting and recreation. In former times Apache games and races engaged the interest of those who cared to indulge in them. The girl is expected to stay quietly in the home of her parents or attendant. During the day a high pile of fire wood is brought to the east of the ceremonial tipi. Here a great fire is to be kindled that evening, and in its light the masked dancers will perform their difficult and colorful steps.

By late afternoon the masked dancers are already being dressed and painted in brush enclosures high in the hills away from the camps. At sundown the fire is ignited, the singers sit be-

fore pieces of rawhide, sticks in hand. The spectators crowd to points near the fire. All wait the coming of the masked dancers.

Shadowy figures can be seen faintly against the hills, the tinkle of their pendants announce their coming, and suddenly the first group of masked dancers emerges from the surrounding blackness, bursts into the glare of the fire, and approaches it in single file from the east. Perhaps the masked dancers will be accompanied by that favorite of the audience, Gray One or clown, who will be dressed in sackcloth, will wear an elongated nose, and will amuse with grotesque imitations of the others. As the dance proceeds, the careful observer will note that the impersonators pause at the beginning of each new song to identify it and that there are three different dance steps performed according to the type of song. Of these there is one dance step that may be called "posturing," marked by short, terse steps, picturesque stances, and bodily rigidity. Another is the "high step" in the course of which the dancers, forming a circle, shift gracefully from foot to foot, bringing the free leg high in the air. The third is the "free style" and for this the individual dancer is left to his own devices. It is the dance of virtuosos; the less gifted fall back into the shadows; the experts contest for the cheers of the onlookers.

After nightfall, and while the camp people are wholly engrossed in the masked dancer exhibitions, the singer leads the adolescent girl to the tipi by means of an eagle feather. The girl kneels in the rear of the tipi on a buckskin placed there by her attendant. A small fire in the central pit dimly lights the interior. The singer begins his songs in a low voice and the only accompaniment is the deer hoof rattle which he holds in his hand. The girl rises and dances to his ongs. She may do one of two steps, depending on the song. The first and most difficult step is one in which the girl holds her arms rigidly to her sides with hands upright, places her feet closely together, and propels her body to the side by moving first her toes and then her heels. The second dance is for the purpose of resting from the exertions of the first. It is a simple swaying in place with hands on hips. Every fourth or sixth song is supposed to be a smoking song and to this the girl does not dance. The relatives and close friends of the girl, a number of men and women who are interested in sacred things, one or two who wish to learn to be a singer of the girl's rite, and a few who come to listen for a short time before going back to the more colorful show outside, sit inside the tipi. The chanting of the singer and the dancing of the girl continue until midnight of this first night with little change except for an occasional rest period.

Outside the dancing varies considerably as the evening goes on, however. After an hour or two of spirited dancing the masked dancers depart for the night and a round dance is begun in which both men and women take part. This is followed by a partner dance in which the men and women face each other and go back and forth in the same direction at the same time. Last in order comes a partner dance marked by a step in which the man and woman face each other but move backward a few paces and then move forward and toward each other again. This relative order of the dance is maintained for the entire four nights of the ceremony.

There are no morning ceremonies for the second, third, and fourth days. The events of the evenings follow closely the pattern already described for the first night, except that on the fourth night both the social dancing and the dancing of the girl should continue until sunrise. It will be understood that for the sake of brevity this account is much simplified. Actually minor changes in ceremonial procedure take place each night. For instance, certain ceremonial objects are moved to a different position within the tipi each night, and for each song chanted on the last night, a stick is erected near the fire place, something that does not occur at any other time during the ceremony.

The ceremony of the fifth morning resembles in general that of the first morning. The singer paints the outline of a sun on his left palm just as the sun enters the tipi door and he obliterates this by rubbing it over the head and face of the girl. Then, using a brush of grama grass in the midst of which the eagle feather has been inserted, he paints her face, arms, and legs with white clay. Boys and girls, men and women, now file before the singer to be daubed with the materials left over from the rite. With this finished, the singer turns to the girl once more and leads her out of the tipi to a point in front of it where her attendant has placed the buckskin. As the girl leaves the tipi others enter with baskets of food which they ar-

range in a single line eastward from the fire pit. The people gather around and the food is distributed. At the conclusion of the meal a number of men begin to dismantle the ceremonial structure. Soon only the twelve main poles are left standing.

On the buckskin to which the girl has been led are traced four moccasin prints of galena and pollen, alternating in this order. Through these the girl is led to the east. Then she runs three times around the paraphernalia-laden basket. At the end of the third run all but the four main poles of the ceremonial structure are thrown aside. The feather in the basket is raised upright as the girl runs for the fourth time. She circles the basket clockwise as before, but instead of returning immediately, she stoops to pick up the eagle feather and with it runs far to the east. Then she turns and runs to the home of her parents. When she nears the ceremonial tipi for the last time, the four remaining poles are pushed to the east, and, as they crash to earth, fruit and sweets are thrown into the air and an exciting scramble ensues.

For four days after the completion of the ceremony the girl must wear her ceremonial garb, must not wash or come in contact with water, and must use her drinking tube and scratcher. At the end of this period either the girl or her attendant washes her hair and body with suds of yucca root, and she dons ordinary clothes again. Her last act while still in ceremonial dress is to lead a male horse, the traditional payment for such services, to the man who has sung for her.

A word should be said about the character of the songs which mark this rite. The songs which appear in text in this publication have to do principally with distinctive phases of the rite, such as the construction of the tipi the first morning or the painting of the sun circle on the hand of the singer the last morning. The majority of the songs are sung, however, at night while the girl is dancing. Not many of those songs are represented in this collection. But those songs are especially interesting because they embody the ideological core of the ceremony; they are designed to conduct the girl symbolically through life. One informant, a man who has the right to sing these songs, told me, "The Apache thinks of a woman's life as blocked out in parts. One is girlhood, one is young womanhood, one is middle age, and one is old age. The songs are supposed to carry her through them." Before rendering one of these songs for me, another informant said, "This song is about flowers. We are taking this girl through a beautiful life. This is the conception of a beautiful life for the Apache. We take the girl through beautiful lands, past flowers, through seasons with their fruits."

And so by the end of the fourth night, every element of nature, every growing thing, every possible experience, even sleep, even the old age stick, have been mentioned in song and have heard the supplication for the long life and good fortune of the young girl.

40:2.

This song is sung by the shaman when the structure in which the girl's adolescent rite is to take place is being made. The song refers to the bringing together of the poles of the ceremonial tipi. As is the usual procedure in Apache ceremonies the objects used in the rite are referred to in terms of substances sacred to the natives. Therefore, the poles are likened to galena, red paint, white clay, and the sun's rays. Thus it is believed that both the ceremonial tipi and the girl's body are blessed.

"They" refers to the culture hero, Child of the Water, and his mother, White Painted Woman.

40:3.

"Its" refers to the ceremonial tipi. Supernatural power is obtained by the Apache from various animals, trees, plants, natural phenomena, and a number of supernaturals. Its benefits are realized when the directions of these sources of power are obeyed. In this particular context, it is the tradition that White Painted Woman, the mother of the culture hero, gave directions for the performance of this ceremony to the Apache. If these directions in regard to the building of the ceremonial tipi and the performance of all other elements of the rite were faithfully carried out, she promised to confer long life and good fortune upon the girl who had come to womanhood. This is an allusion to the beneficial "power" of the tipi when it is properly erected.

40:4.

"Her" refers to the adolescent.

40:5.

"You" refers again to the adolescent and the pronoun "its" refers in each case to the preceding substance for painting mentioned.

40:6.

This song describes a part of the ceremony performed at sunrise of the fourth day of the rite. At that time, the shaman paints the figure of the sun on the palm of his right hand and then holds it up to the east. Afterward he rubs this painted figure over the body of the girl.

"He" and "his" refer to the shaman in charge of the ceremony.

The phrases "sun pollen" and "rays of the sun" are synonymous.

40:7.

See note 40:9.

40:8.

This line refers to the ceremonial running of the girl around a shallow basket which contains the paraphernalia used in the rite. The girl does this twice, once on the morning of the first day of the ceremony and again to terminate the rite on the fifth morning. This reference is to the running on the last morning. The lines preceding refer to actions on the part of the shaman.

"It" refers to the ceremonial body painting that she has received.

40:9.

The sun came down in the sense that the shaman, by painting the image of the sun on his hand, has brought it to earth. "It (the sun) has met (or come before) you" refers to the fact that the shaman rubs his hand with the image over the body of the adolescent--similarly, therefore, "it has gone in" meaning that the sun (or its power) has gone into the girl's body.

40:10.

"She" in these lines refers to the adolescent, "it" to her walking in accordance with the pollen of the dawn. When the adolescent lives in accordance with the ideals associated with the pollen of the dawn, a sacred substance, the White Painted Woman is happy and thankful. This is an allusion to the White Painted Woman's connection with and interest in the adolescent and the ceremony as indicated in note 40:3. See also notes 40:13 and 40:15.

40:11.

"Sun's tassels" is synonymous with "sun's rays."

40:12.

The adolescent, associated with the rays of the sun, will therefore have long life and be sanctified.

40:13.

Pollen, considered the most sacred substance by the Apache, is arrributed not only to trees and plants but, by ceremonial extension, to all ritual objects. Since abalone shell is much used in the ceremonies, it is said to have pollen.

40:14.

This refers to part of the ceremony of the last morning, when the shaman ties a small piece of abalone shell to the hair of the adolescent.

40:15.

That is, as long as the adolescent follows the ideals associated with abalone, a very sacred substance to the Apache, all will be well.

40:16.

The adolescent girl is referred to as the sister of White Painted Woman. (See notes 40:3 and 40:10.)

40:17.

That is, if the White Painted Woman counsels and directs the adolescent through life, she will be fortunate.

40:18.

These lines indicate the interest that the White Painted Woman is expected to take in the girl following the ceremony.

In the line, "She is looking at her," "she" refers to White Painted Woman and "her" to the adolescent. In the last two lines, "she" refers to the adolescent and "it" to the ceremony.

40:19.

"He" refers to the shaman; "her" to the adolescent.

40:20.

That is, the performance of the ceremony will assure the girl of a long life. If a girl should not have this ceremony performed over her, it is believed that her life would be considerably shortened.

40:21.

Because the sun is one of the agencies in the ceremony which helps to give the girl long life.

40:22.

That is, the sun's rays have started toward the girl with long life.

40:23.

The earth is one of the sources of supernatural power, and prayers and requests are often addressed to it. Here, the earth or the personification of nature is said to be aiding the purpose of the ceremony. The pronoun "me" refers to the shaman.

40:24.

That is, the feet of the girl will be strong and able to support her through a long life.

40:25.

That is, all the powers and substances mentioned in the ceremony have co-operated with the shaman to gain these benefits for the adolescent girl.

41:1.

Here the entire earth is likened to the main poles which constitute the framework of the ceremonial tipi. For the girl at the time of the ceremony, the ceremonial tipi is to be the whole world, cleansed and purified.

41:2.

These lines, though said by the shaman, imply that the girl is speaking. She is to go to the ceremonial tipi referred to.

41:3.

These lines refer to the girl in terms of the White Painted Woman. The adolescent girl is at the time of the ceremony called White Painted Woman. She is being re-created by the performance of the ceremony. Similarly, in paragraph 1, may be explained the reference to creation.

41:4.

That is, everything under the tipi poles, each of which is referred to a cardinal direction, is sanctified.

41:5.

The substances of which the tipi is to be constructed--old age staffs and gray hair--refer to the purpose of the ceremony, to give long life to the girl.

41:6.

That is, the strength of a woman and her ability to carry on tasks of womanhood is directly attributable to this ceremony.

41:7.

That is, let the benefits of the ceremony continue throughout a long and fruitful life.

41:8.

These sentences neatly mirror the Apache conception of changless supernatural power and the desirability of manipulating it for personal benefits.

41:9.

Here the term White Painted Woman is used to designate the mother of the culture hero and not the girl.

41:10.

That is, girls who go through this ceremony bear children as White Painted Woman did the culture hero, thus perpetuating the group.

41:11.

By conceiving the ceremony to take place in the midst of pollen, the holiest surroundings are given it.

42:1.

Most Chiricahua Apache ceremonies are curative rites performed by shamans who have obtained super-

natural power from one of a great number of sources. These sources include natural phenomena such as lightning, morning star, plants, animals, and supernaturals. One of the most potent sources of this last category are the Mountain Spirits, a race of supernaturals who are said to inhabit the interiors of mountains. A ceremony is acquired by an Apache as a result of a personal encounter with these Mountain Spirits. Though these experiences and the ceremonies derived from them differ in detail they are remarkably similar in pattern. An Apache, fleeing from the enemy, may pause exhausted before some wall of rock in the mountains and sleep there. At that place he has a vision experience. The Mountain Spirit appears to him and offers to lead him into the holy home of the masked dancers. He follows: he passes four obstacles and enters four separate chambers. Animals and supernaturals of all kinds offer him much power and display their wares. Advised by the Mountain Spirit, he refuses all of these and at the end of the last chamber the masked dancers are waiting for him. Their power he accepts and spends four nights learning all the details of the ceremony and the designs to be painted on the persons and paraphernalia of the dancers. His guide conducts him back to the door once more and then the Apache finds himself awake at the place where he lay down to rest.

After such an experience the Apache, when hired for the purpose, may conduct his ceremony to cure the sick and to keep away or drive away epidemics and diseases. The procedure is to dress and design a number of men, usually four, to represent the Mountain Spirits. These dancers then approach the patient or the camps from which the disease is to be driven away and by dancing, stereotyped calls and gestures, accomplish that purpose. Songs, such as the ones that follow, are sung by the shaman when he is preparing the dancers and while they are dancing. These songs function as a message to the Mountain Spirits to acquaint them of the aid required by the shaman. Since they are the songs which the Mountain Spirits themselves taught the shaman, it is believed that they must respond to them. The close bond between the shaman and the Mountain Spirits is manifest throughout the songs and reference to this rapport will be made in following notes. (See also notes 19:1 and following.)

42:2.

The conception is that the Mountain Spirits approach from all directions. The implication is that disease and everything wicked are therefore necessarily driven away. As referred to in note 42:1 above, the Mountain Spirits are very numerous and inhabit many mountains. It is the practise of the Apache, however, to associate their ritual objects and supernaturals with colors and directions. Therefore, the Mountain Spirits of each cardinal direction are represented by a leader only and color is attributed to him. The association of color and direction in these songs is blue to the east, yellow to the south, white to the west, and black to the north. This color-direction association differs for different shamans and even for the different ceremonies of the same shaman. Most often, however, in Chiricahua rites, the association is black to the east, blue to the south, yellow to the west, and white to the north.

Note that the Apache ceremonial circuit is always clockwise.

42:3.

The homes of the supernaturals are very often described in terms of natural phenomena such as clouds, mirages, etc. A number of instances of this may be noted in these songs. The natural phenomena are colored in accordance with the color-directional association noted in 42:2 above--thus, the home of the Black Mountain Spirit from the north is of the black mirage.

42:4.

Each shaman is directed by his supernatural power to request certain ceremonial gifts of the patient before initiating the ceremony. These are considered to be a payment to the power without which the power will not lend its aid. The shaman is paid in addition. One of the ceremonial gifts which the particular shaman who sang these songs always requests is a piece of turquoise. His allusion to a turquoise cross is a reference to this. Both turquoise and the cross are much used in Chiricahua religious symbology.

42:5.

The phrase "tassels of the earth" is also translated "pollen of the earth." The sacred substance, pollen, is considered by the Apache to

represent growth and vitality. To say that one is in the midst of a movement of pollen is equivalent to saying that all is healthy and vigorous with one.

42:6.

A reference to the vision experience in which the songs were obtained. See note 42:1.

42:7.

This refers to the intercession of the Mountain Spirits on behalf of the shaman and patient.

42:8.

That is, because of my (the shaman's) experience, my songs have come into being.

42:9.

An obvious reference to the shaman's vision experience.

42:10.

That is, the shaman met the Mountain Spirits by means of their power.

42:11.

The implication is that the ceremony cannot take place in the absence of the Mountain Spirit and his power.

42:12.

Usually four fir trees are set up in the cardinal directions and within the space thus enclosed a fire is built. The masked dancers who represent the Mountain Spirits enter this square while the shaman is singing these songs and approach the fire from all directions beginning with the east and going in a clockwise circuit. In turn they drive the diseases and evil, by means of gestures with their wands, away to each of the corners of the earth.

42:13.

In other words, no matter to what direction I go (or, wherever on earth I go) I am happy over my relationship to the Mountain Spirit and because of the songs he has given me. These lines are evidence of the close union and communication believed to exist between recipient of power and source of power.

42:14.

That is, my songs about the vision experience and these supernaturals have come into being. As is apparent from this material the songs often refer to the experience and to the supernaturals who granted it. Such references to themselves and their activities are supposed to be very pleasing to the supernaturals and to make them more than willing to heed the songs and prayers of the shaman on behalf of his patient.

42:15.

A clear reference to the reciprocal trust and fellowship which is believed to obtain between supernatural and Apache shaman.

42:16.

Just as the homes of the supernaturals are referred to in terms of natural phenomena of appropriate colors, so are their persons.

42:17.

In Apache ritual custom, when one person learns ceremonial songs from another the teacher is said to "sing them into the mouth" of the pupil. This expression probably derives from the practise of putting pollen into the mouth of the pupil four times at the end of the apprenticeship. With the entrance of the pollen into the mouth the abilities and spiritual benefits which go with the songs are said to enter also. It must not be believed that every Apache who practises a ceremony has obtained it by his own personal experience. In origin, a Mountain Spirit ceremony is always obtained through a personal vision experience, but once it has been learned it may, if the Mountain Spirits are willing, be passed on to another. There are tests to determine whether the person who wishes to learn the ceremony is acceptable to the Mountain Spirits.

42:18.

This is a metaphorical reference to the home of the Big White Mountain Spirit.

42:19.

"Horns" refer to the uprights on the masks worn by the masked dancers. They are here associated with yellow dust or pollen.

42:20.

The dancers, since they are imbued, because of these songs, with the abilities of the Mountain Spirits, can see evil and sickness and can thus drive it away.

42:21.

The home of the Yellow Mountain Spirit is made of yellow clouds and these clouds, with all their sacred properties, move down to help the shaman in his work.

42:22.

This refers to the ritual motions and gestures which the shaman saw the Mountain Spirit perform in his vision experience and which the masked dancers perform in imitation of them.

44:1.

The shaman is addressing the Mountain Spirits.

44:2.

This refers to the fact that the masked dancers, before going to the ceremonial grounds, hold their masks in their hands and shake them while the shaman prays and sings.

46:1.

This is a prayer to the Mountain Spirits requesting a cure by virtue of their ceremony. In it there is reference to a story of a crippled child and a blind child who were abandoned by their parents, found by the Mountain Spirits, and cured. (See text I:23.)

IV. MESCALERO APACHE TEXTS

1. Coyote and Blue Bunting

(1) ʔášı̨ cékè·ščíhé ⁿdásá čéńyá. ʔlⁿdà·ʔlžášè·dàǩlʒı́ yà·číńtlná?à.

(2) "šǫ́·dé ʔlyâ· hǫ́ⁿdá·ł?" ʔlⁿdà·ʔlžácè·-dàǩlʒı́ bl·łⁿdlná?à.

(3) "ʔô·, šǫ́·dé, ńčı̨·hòšá·ł. ʔlyâ·dà šáʔá-dǫ́·lı́·ł. ʔáíbíká ńčı̨·hòšá·ł."

(4) "dò·yâ·dà ńdàh bégòńslní náʔô·šłáháťé-dà. ʔlyâ·dà ńdàh. ʔı̨·šı̨ ńⁿdá. šǫ́·dé, náťòh šáńʔı̨·."

(5) "dò·xàʔyá náťòh slʔı̨· dlhnò·šʔı̨·háťé-dà."

(6) "dáʔáyáťéńdàh, ⁿdl·šı̨ ńdà·. ǩàdl, sǫ́ń, ʔášı̨ ʔà·í cı̨blkáyí łlʔ ńkà·."

(7) "ká·slką́."

(8) "šàńkà·."

(9) káńyíńką́.

(10) ʔákò· nágò ʔlⁿdà·ʔlžášè·dàǩlʒı́ hà·stı̨·ń ʔáń nálńʒà·. nágò níhldǫ́·žl·ʒ. nágò ʔlzlsí yèhyǫ́·ʒà·ʒ. ʔlzlsí łlʔ nálńcò·ʒ. dı̨·ń ʔlłčı̨·yl·-ⁿdl. blyèʔá ʔldàłčlšı̨, nà·łcò·sí hàyǫ́·ʒà·. nà·łcò·sí náťòhíylł yáʔédı̨ńí šǫ́·déń bldâ·yá báńčíńʔı̨·.

(11) "ǩàdl náʔı̨łťòh," blłčldǫ́·ⁿdl·.

(12) "ʔô·, náʔlšťòh," šǫ́·dé dǫ́·ⁿdl·.

(13) ʔákò·, náťòhí yl·dlsgò, gòčı̨·nè·sdá. ʔášı̨ nágò kò·í bà·číńʔı̨·. nágò náʔčlłťòh. nágò čl·ské.

(14) ǩàdl náʔčǫ́·łťòh. nágò: "ǩàdl, šǫ́·dé, ⁿdídó šà·dǫ́ⁿdá·ł," ʔlⁿdà·ʔlžášè·dàǩlʒı́ blłčl-ⁿdl.

(15) "ʔô·, nà·dò·šá·ł," ʔlⁿdà·ʔlžášè·ń gò·łⁿdlná?à. "ʔı̨·šı̨ dı̨·? hl·skągò nà·dò·šá·ł," šǫ́·dé blłčlⁿdlná?à.

(16) ʔákò· šǫ́·dé gòčąńádè·sʒáná?à. ʔákò· nádl·ʒágò ʔlłzénáčl·sⁿdlná?à. ʔákò· ʔlnǫ́·ʒá-ná?à.

1. Coyote and Blue Bunting[1]

(1) From there Coyote had gone farther on. He had gone to the Blue Bunting.

(2) "Coyote, why do you come?" said the Blue Bunting to him.

(3) "Well, friend, I'm coming [to see] you. You will do something for me. For that reason I'm coming to you."

(4) "Nothing but that of which I know would I do for you. But [I know] something. Stand over here. Friend, give me tobacco."

(5) "There is no tobacco here [that] I can give you."

(6) "Well anyhow, sit down on the ground. Now, wife, bring some of the bark from over there."

(7) "Here it is," [she said].

(8) "Give it to me."

(9) She put it down for him.

(10) And then the Blue Bunting man picked it up. Then he pulverized it. Then he put it in a bag. He picked up another bag. He pressed [the two bags] together four times.[2] Putting his hand in it, he took out some paper.[3] He put down before Coyote paper and tobacco that had not existed before.

(11) "Now smoke," he said to him.

(12) "Yes, I'll smoke," said Coyote.

(13) Then, rolling a cigarette, he sat down facing him. And then he gave [Coyote] a light. Then he [also] smoked. And the two sat there.

(14) Now they had [finished] smoking. Then: "Now, friend, you also will come to [visit] me," he said to Blue Bunting.

(15) "Yes, I will come to you," said the Blue Bunting to him. "Four days from now I will come to you," he said to Coyote.

(16) Then Coyote started to leave him. Then he arose and they embraced each other. Then he went away.

(17) ʔákò·, dı̨·ʔ hì·škąnágò, bìkò·yąyá bà·-číkánáʔà.

(18) "šǫ́·dé, ʔìyâ· hǫ́ⁿdá·ł?" bìłčìⁿdìnáʔà ʔìⁿdà·ʔìžášè·ń.

(19) "ʔáí šà·dǫ́·ⁿdá·ł šìłńⁿdìní ǩàdì ʔı̨·sídá, šǫ́·dé."

(20) "sąń, ʔáí ʔìkášťó·ʒí łìʔ náńkà·," šǫ́·dé bìʔìsʒáńń yì·łⁿdìnáʔà.

(21) bìʔìsʒáń ʔìdè· čéyíńťąnáʔà. ʔìkášťó·ʒí béyàhgò ʔáı̨là·gò, bìčı̨·yà·yǫ́·kąnáʔà. bìdâ·, bìyà·stı̨ń bìdáʒı̨, nìʔńkąnáʔà.

(22) ʔákò· ʔìkášťó·ʒí nálìʒà·náʔà. ʔáńdè·dà nî·dìžìšgò sìdánáʔà. šǫ́·déń nî·dǫ́·žì·ʒnágòì, bìʔìsʒáńń ʔìzìs yéyǫ́·kè·náʔà. ʔáí nî·dǫ́·žì·ʒí šǫ́·dé ʔìzìs yèhyǫ́·ʒà·náʔàgò, ʔìzìs yéná·yǫ́·kè·náʔà. bìʔìsʒáńń ʔìzìsí bà·yíńłcò·ʒnáʔà. ʔákò· ʔìzìsí bà·yíńłcò·ʒí dı̨·ń ʔìłčı̨·yì·ⁿdìnáʔà. ʔákò·, dáʔáťégò, dò·ʔìyâ·bìyèʔásìʔı̨·dànáʔàhá. dáʔáťégò, ʔìⁿdà·ʔìžášè· bìdâ· báńčíńʔı̨·náʔà.

(23) "náʔı̨łťòh," bìłčìdǫ́·ⁿdì·náʔà. dò·náťòhʔáťédànáʔàhá!

(24) ʔákò· ʔáí yìǩédè·yàlnáʔàhá. yà·yáńzı̨náʔà. dábí nálìhʔı̨·gò, bìyèʔásìʔı̨·í kà·náldè·ⁿdìlnáʔà. ʔákò· dábí ʔìzìsí ʔìkášťó·ʒí yè·hàldé·łbı̨náʔà. ʔášı̨ ʔìzìsídó nálìńłcò·ʒnáʔà. dádı̨·ń ʔìłčı̨·yì·ⁿdìnáʔà. nà·łcò·síšı̨ náťòhíyìł dábí ʔìⁿdà·ʔìžášè·ń káʔáı̨là·náʔàgò, kà·yíńʔı̨·náʔà.

(25) ʔákò· ťô·náʔčǫ́·łťòhdàgò, bìčąnášdè·sʒánáʔà. ťô·ʔìłzénáčì·sⁿdìdànáʔàhá kéʔìláí bà·yáčíńzı̨náʔàí bíká.

2. Coyote and Owl

(1) ʔášı̨ ⁿdásá šǫ́·dé ʔíńtìń hòłyòłnáʔà. šáʔǫ́·ʔánégò, kǫ́·hégò čò·łxìłnáʔà. ńńyánáʔà. ʔìyéłčąnáʔà. ʔìyâ·xè· yìdò·sčąnáʔà. dáʔìłǩáyè·ʒı̨ náʔìyà·łčı̨·łnáʔà. dásíšáʔì·ʔáhyágò ʔìyâ·xè· dìhⁿdígò ʔìdò·sčąnáʔà.

(2) ʔákò· ʔákà·gò hì·łtè·náʔà. ʔákà· yà·číńťìnáʔàgòʔà, nì·šʒà·ńáí dàsı̨ dàsìdánáʔà. "šǫ́·dé," yì·łⁿdìnáʔà. ʔákò· yı̨·łcąnáʔà. ʔášı̨ dàsìdánáʔà. dáʔáši̇ nè·sdánáʔà. "šǫ́·dé," yì·łⁿdìnáʔà.

(3) ⁿdì·ʒı̨ gòǩénádìgà·łnáʔà. "ʔìyâ·ʔ" gò·ł-

(17) Then, when exactly four days had passed, [Blue Bunting and his family] came to his home.

(18) "Friend, why do you come?" he said to Blue Bunting.

(19) "I am here now because you told me to come, Coyote."

(20) "Wife, bring some of that bark," said Coyote to his wife.

(21) His wife took out a dish. Having filled it with bark, she brought it in to him. Before him, before her husband, she put it down.

(22) Then he picked up the bark. Now he sat pounding it. Just as Coyote had pulverized it, he asked his wife for a sack. Coyote put that which he had pulverized into the sack and asked for another sack. His wife gave him the sack. Then he pressed the sacks that she had given him together four times. But, in spite of this, there was absolutely nothing in them.[4] However, he put it down before Blue Bunting.

(23) "You will smoke," he said to him. There was no tobacco at all!

(24) Then [Blue Bunting] just looked at it. He was embarrassed by it. Picking it up himself, he poured out that [bark] which was in it before (Coyote). Then he filled a sack with bark himself. Then he picked up the other sack. He pressed them together just four times. Blue Bunting himself having made paper and tobacco for [Coyote], he gave it to him.

(25) Then, without smoking, he went away. They had not even embraced each other because he was ashamed of [Coyote's] imitation of him.[5]

2. Coyote and Owl

(1) From there Coyote went on farther along the road. The sun having set, it was becoming a bit dark. He stopped. He listened. He had heard something. He kept hearing it again at intervals. He had heard something making a noise directly to the west.

(2) Then he went in that direction. When he go there, [it was] only Owl sitting up [somewhere]. "Friend," he called to him. Then he saw him. He was sitting up over there. [Coyote] sat down right there. "Friend," he said to him.

(3) He looked down to the ground. "What is

ⁿdìná?à nì·šǯà·í bìzà·í ńcà·gò.

(4) "nà·ńⁿdá. ⁿdì·ší ńkè·š. šìłǫǫłⁿdì," bì·łⁿdìná?à.

(5) "?ô·, šǫ́·dé. nìłǫòšⁿdì," bì·łⁿdìná?à. ?ákò· nà·dǫ́·yaná?à dàší. ?ákò· ⁿdì·ší čìnè·skéná?à.

(6) ?ákò· šǫ́·dé gònéł?íná?à. ńžǫ́nô· gònéł-?íná?à. "šǫ́·dé," gò·łⁿdìná?à céǩè·ščíhé, "dò·dó-kòhé·dó čàh ?áťéí yè?néńł?ą́ná?à. čàhí bè·šísí," gò·łⁿdìná?à.

(7) "bè·nìsí ?áyáťégò šìǯà·í, nìłńžǫ́gò," bì·łⁿdìná?à.

(8) "ákò·?à, hà?ì·?áhí bìčí·yágò ńdà·," nì·šǯà·í gò·łⁿdìná?à. ?ákò·?à šǫ́·dé ?ákà·gò nè·sdáná?à. ?ákò· nì·šǯà·í nádì·ʒáná?à. hà?ì·?á-šégò nìńyaná?à. tádídíń bìgàńí dèńšⁿdášíné yè·-dàhyàǯìšná?àhá. tádídíńí dí·ńyá yìłdàhdì·łⁿdì·-ná?àhá. gòčí·yô· náhè·yaná?à. tádídíńí gòcì·ťá kádàhyì·ǯà·ná?à. ?áší gòⁿdì·í nàńyágò kálǩè?ì·-zòná?à. ?ákò· gòǩédè·syàlná?à.

(9) ?áší nàńdì?ášígò gòčí·ná·nazáná?à. tá-dídíńí ?áší yè·?áyáná·gǫ́·là·ná?à. ?áší šá?ì·?áší gòčí·ná·nazáná?à. ?ášídó dá?áyágó·là·ná?à. ?áší náhàkòsšígò gòčí·náhè·yaná?à.

(10) ?ákò· nì·šǯà·í dí·ń ká?áílà·. nágò: "ǩàdì ?â·łńⁿdíí ?ákà· sì?í·," gòłdǫ́·ⁿdì·ná?à.

(11) "?ô·. bà·?łłéńsí, šǫ́·dé. ?ìxéhè·," gò·łⁿdìná?àhá.

(12) nì·šǯà·í gòčí·nìńyaná?à. dí·ń, gòkéší-gò, ⁿdásá kéńyìlná?à hà?ì·?áhí bìčí·yágò. "ǩà-dì," gòłdǫ́·ⁿdì·ná?à, "ǩéńyà·ł. nìłńžǫ́nálí?"

(13) šǫ́·dé nádì·ʒáná?à. káťí·ná?àhá. bìǯà·í nà·yìǩédłⁿdì·ná?àhá. ńnáhábìłńžǫ́ná?à. yà·?łłéń-zìná?à. "?łyâ·xè· nàńš?í·ná. dò·?łyâ·?łšťídà. dá?áyáťéńdàh, xà?yá ?ášłłdóńⁿdì·yá dí·ǩèńyá ?áš-ⁿdáí?áťé," gò·łⁿdìná?à.

(14) ?ákò·, nì·šǯà·ń gòčą́nádè·sʒágò, "ǩà-dô·?í·dą́·?é. ?łyâ·ǩàdô· ńⁿdą́?" bìłčìⁿdìná?à.

(15) "šǫ́·dé ⁿdásáǩàdô· ?łyánéłłžìní bìčíí ?áší bìcáíyìł slťégò·ǩàdéhìšą́·?é," gò·łⁿdìná?à.

(16) "dò·nìł?łšą́dà," nì·šǯà·ń gò·łⁿdìná?à.

(17) "?í·dá. ?ákò· dá?łłčą́·?á nô·ťàš," gò·łⁿdìná?à šǫ́·dé.

(18) "?ô·wó," gò·łⁿdìná?à nì·šǯà·ń.

it?" Owl said to him in a gruff voice.[1]

(4) "Come down. Let's sit on the ground. Tell me stories," he said to him.

(5) "All right, Coyote. I'll tell you stories," he said to him. Then he came down from up there. The two sat down on the ground.

(6) Then Coyote looked at him. He looked at him closely. "Friend," Coyote said to him, "that is a wonderful hat you seem to be wearing.[2] Show me the power of that hat," he said to him.

(7) "I'll show you the power of what are my ears, if you like them," he said to him.

(8) "Now then, sit facing the east," Owl said to him. Then Coyote sat down that way. Then Owl got up. He stood on the east side. He was holding up some pollen in his right hand. He raised the hand holding the pollen to the four directions. He turned around to face [Coyote]. He put pollen on the top of his head for him. Then he marked the side of his face for him. Then he looked at him.

(9) Then he moved toward him from the south also. He did so with the pollen again from there. Then he moved toward him again from the west. From there also he did the same thing. Then he turned toward him from the north.

(10) Then Owl had done so for him four times. And: "Now that of which you spoke is there," he said to him.

(11) "Yes. I am grateful for it, friend. Thank you," he said to him.

(12) Owl stood before him. Four times, from behind him, he pushed him on toward the east.[3] "Now," he said to him, "look at it. Do you like it?"

(13) Coyote got up. He did that. He moved his hands over his ears. He liked them very much. He was grateful for them. "What shall I give you? I have nothing. In spite of that, I will do anything that you tell me at any time," he said to him.

(14) Then, as he started to leave Owl, he said to him: "It is time that we eat. What will you eat now?"

(15) "Friend, that which I [would] eat right now is buffalo intestines and roasted buffalo ribs," he said to him.

(16) "I will not eat with you," said Owl to him.

(17) "Let's eat. Then we'll go away from each other," said Coyote to him.

(18) "All right," said Owl to him.

(19) ʔákò·ʔà ʔáíí čǫ́·žíñí, káťéyá, yà·hè·sⁿdlnáʔà. nágòʔà šǫ́·dé ʔè·ʔhyǫ́náʔà. ʔákò·, kííʔà, gàhí, káťéyá, sltíǫ́náʔà. bè·ʔčìnl·łyàłnáʔà.

(20) ʔákò· ʔlčìyǫ́náʔà. čl·kénáʔà. dò·ʔłłčǫ́·yáčłłtldànáʔà. dánà·číłkèh ʔlčǫ́·yǫ́náʔàgò, "šǫ́·dé," gò·łⁿdlnáʔà céǩè·ščíhé, "xó·hgò ñǩèhʔò·šyàł." nádl·ʒánáʔà. "šǫ́·dé, ⁿdídó šà·dǫ́·ⁿdá·ł. dò·yâ·dà ñdàh dò·náʔô·šłáháťédàí ʔáťé ñdàh šlkò·yǫ̀yá ʔǫ́·šǫ́ dǫ́·ʔí hl·skǫ́gò. ʔíyǫ̀·dà ǩàdl ʔłłčǫ́náñťà·š."

(21) šǫ́·dé gò·łⁿdlnáʔàgò, gòčǫ́·yô·dè·yánáʔà. ʔákò· bídó blčǫ́·yágò šdè·yánáʔà. ʔákò·ʔà ʔłłzénáčl·sⁿdl·gò ʔłłčǫ́·ʔá náśdè·sťá·žnáʔà.

(22) ʔákò·ʔà céǩè·ščíhéń blkò·yǫ̀yá názánáʔà. ʔáśǫ́ dǫ́·ʔí hl·skǫ́náʔà. ʔákò· blčǫ́·čldè·skànáʔà. dásíñžǫ́gò dǫ́·ʔí hl·skǫ́náʔàgò, blkò·yǫ̀náyá bà·čǫ́kánáʔà.

(23) "šǫ́·dé, ñčǫ́·hǫ̀·kà," blłčlⁿdlnáʔà.

(24) "ʔô·," gò·łⁿdlnáʔà.

(25) "šǫ́·dé, ʔà·ń ñⁿdé góbáʔégǫ́łtlł. ʔáśǫ́ ńgòdlbǫ́·," šǫ́·dé blʔlsʒáńń yl·łⁿdlnáʔà.

(26) ʔákò·ʔà káʔégò·stè·lnáʔà. ʔákò· ʔáśǫ́ ńčldè·bǫ́náʔà.

(27) "ʔákà· ʔlyâ·dà góbáʔáśłáí yíká šlčǫ́·gàkà," gò·łⁿdlnáʔà.

(28) "ʔlyâ·ʔà bégóńslní káʔǫ́láʔ lóñgò. dò·ʔlyâ·káʔǫ́·láháťédà," bl·łⁿdlnáʔà šǫ́·dé blʔlsʒáńń.

(29) "ʔlyâ· hâ·hkàʔ ʔlyâ· nàháʔáśłáʔ"

(30) ʔákò·ʔà: "díńń čàhí ñžóní šábáʔǫ́lá. ʔáśǫ́ nàldà·ʔǫ́·dǫ́. ʔáíbíká ñčǫ́·hǫ̀·kà," gò·łⁿdlnáʔà nl·šʒà·hà·stǫ́·ń.

(31) ʔákò·ʔà: "dáʔáťégò čàhí nàháʔáśłáʔ" gò·łⁿdlnáʔà šǫ́·dé.

(32) "ʔà·í ʔáńťéí ʔáyáťégò ʔà·ń ñⁿdé šáʔáyǫ́lá. ʔáíbíká ñčǫ́·hǫ̀·kà," gò·łⁿdlnáʔà nl·šʒà·hà·stǫ́·ń.

(33) ʔákò· šǫ́·dé nádl·ʒánáʔà. tádídíń yǫ́·kè·náʔà. tádídíńí bà·číńʔǫ́·náʔà. "hàʔl·ʔáhí blčǫ́·yágò nàhkè·š," yl·łⁿdlnáʔà nl·šʒà·ⁿdéǫ̀líǫ́nè.

(34) ʔákò·ʔà nà·dlłťégò hàʔl·ʔáhí ylčǫ́·yágò gònè·skénáʔà. ʔáńdè·dà šǫ́·dé nádl·ʒánáʔà. tádídíńí nálñžà·náʔà. hàʔl·ʔáśíǫ́gò gòčǫ́·yô·nlńyánáʔà. tádídíńí gòcl·ťáè· dǫ́·ñ kádàhyl·žà·náʔà. ʔáśǫ́ nà·šégòdó gòⁿdl·í kálǩèʔl·zònáʔà. ʔáśǫ́ nàndlʔáśíǫ́dónáʔà. ʔáśǫ́ šáʔl·ʔáśíǫ́dónáʔà. ʔáśǫ́ náhàkòsíbl-

(19) Then that which he had named, prepared that way, lay scattered about. And Coyote began to eat. Then, for [Owl], a rabbit, already prepared, lay there. He began to eat it.[4]

(20) Then they ate. They were seated. They did not speak to each other. When both of them had eaten, Coyote said to him: "Friend, you have fed me well." He got up. "Friend, you will come to [vist] me also. [I have] nothing and there isn't anything I can do for you but [come] to my home four days from now. So now we will separate."

(21) As Coyote was speaking to him, he had started to move toward him. Then he also had started to move toward [Coyote]. Then they embraced each other and parted.

(22) Then Coyote returned to his home. Then four days passed. Then they had started to come to him. When exactly four days had passed, they came to him at his home.

(23) "Coyote, we are coming to [visit] you," they said to him.

(24) "Yes," he said to them.

(25) "Wife, spread [a robe] for those people. They will sit here," Coyote said to his wife.

(26) Then she spread [a robe] for them. And they sat down there.

(27) "They come to me here because of something which I shall do for them," he said to her.

(28) "What do you know that you will do for them? You are crazy. You cannot do anything for them," said Coyote's wife to him.

(29) "What did you come for? What shall I do for you?"

(30) Then: "Make a good hat for these [two] for me. Then we will eat with you. That is why we have come to you," said Owl man to him.

(31) Then: "What kind of hat shall I make for you?" said Coyote to him.

(32) "Make [my] people for me like your [people].[5] That is why we have come to you," said Owl man to him.

(33) Then Coyote got up. He asked for pollen. [His wife] gave him pollen. "Sit down facing the east," he said to those [two] who were Owl people.

(34) Then the two of them sat down facing the east. Now Coyote got up. He picked up some pollen. He stood facing them from the east. Four times he put pollen on top of their heads for them. Then he also made a line on one side of their faces for them. Then from the south also. Then from the west

ǩášı̨dóná?à.

(35) "ǩàdl," gòłdǫ́·ⁿdl·ná?à. gòčı̨·nlńyá-ná?à. t́á dàyhà?ı̨·łná?àí yldè·scǫ́ná?à. gòǯà·í ?á-šı̨ ká?ìyǫ́·clná?à. dı̨·?í ká?áı̨là·ná?à.

(36) nágò nl·šǯà·ǹⁿdéń yè·blčı̨ǹčíń?à·šná?à. nl·šǯà·hà·stı̨·ń gònéł?ı̨ná?à. bíí dò·blłǹžǫ́dà-ná?à. dá?áyáťéǹdàh, gódǫ́·łkìná?à. "xà?à·í nàłǹ-žǫ́?" gò·łⁿdlná?à.

(37) nà·ǩéšdlłⁿdl·ná?à. "?áó," gòⁿdlná?à. ?áń ǹⁿdé gòǯà· góbá?ánáčlλáń "?áó," gòⁿdlná?à.

(38) ?ákò·?à nl·šǯà·hà·stı̨·ń "dá?ákà·," gò·łⁿdlná?à.

(39) "xàǩàdl ǩàdô·dà·?àsą́?" gò·łⁿdlná?à šǫ́·dé.

(40) nl·šǯà·hà·stı̨·ń ?áó dlⁿdíí, dá?llé·?é ?áó dò·dà čldǫ́·ⁿdl·ná?à.

(41) ?ákò·?à: "?lyâ·dà ?áłà·í ?lnàhkà·,"

(42) ?ákò·?à ?lcı̨ǹǩlʒí nó·łcà·í dò·dádà·čó-?à·łháťédàí gòčı̨·nl?ńkąná?à šǫ́·dé. ?ákò·?à dò·-dádà·čó?à·łháťédàí gòdâ·yá ǹčíńkąná?à.

(43) ?ákò·?à: "dá?áyáťégò, nádę̀·kà," blłčl-ⁿdlná?à šǫ́·dé. ?ákò·?à ?llzénádà·čl·sⁿdl·ná?à dáčíǩèh. ?ákò· gòčąnášde·skàná?à.

3. Coyote and Beaver

(1) šǫ́·dé gòyą̨ sldáè· dábłłgǫ́yéná?à. ?ákò·nà·cékè·sná?à. "kòyá dé·yá," ⁿdíná?à.

(2) "xà?á déǹyá?" bl·łⁿdlná?à bl?lsʒ́áńń.

(3) "čà·ń blkò·yą̨ blčı̨·dé·yá," ⁿdíná?à.

(4) "xà?gò náńdá?" bl·łⁿdlná?à bl?lsʒ́áńń.

(5) "dò·bégòǹsı̨dà xà?gò náǹšdáí. dá?áyáťé-ǹdàh, šíká?lyéǹłčą̨. dò·ǹčàhgòščí·?áťédà xà?gò náǹšdáí. dò·bégǫ́zı̨dà."

(6) ?ákò·?à bl?lsʒ́áń ylzénásⁿdl·ná?à. bl-?éłčlné ylzénádà·sⁿdl·ná?à. ?ákò· gòčąhl·łtè·-ná?à.

(7) dásíkòyágò blčàhgòčl·sčı̨ná?à. ?ákòyô·hl·łtè·ná?à. xà?yáxè· ʒłłíbą̨·yá tółánéslkąná?à. dásíǹžǫ́gò dı̨·?í hl·skąná?à. ʒłłíblbą̨·ǯı̨ čéńyá-ná?à.

(8) ?łťàhnè·łdądàná?àgò, dè·s?áši̧ hà·yá-

also. Then also from the north.

(35) "Now," he said to them. He stood facing them. He had started to stretch a feather he was holding up. He put it into their ears for them. He did so with four [feathers] for them.[6]

(36) Then the two went toward Owl man with them.[7] Owl man looked at them. He did not like it. In spite of that, he asked them about it. "Do you like it?" he said to them.

(37) They moved their hands over them. "Yes," they said. Those people for whom ears had been made said: "Yes."

(38) Then Owl man said: "Very well."

(39) "Are you ready to eat now?" said Coyote to them.

(40) As Owl man was about to say yes, [the other two] said yes and no simultaneously.

(41) Then: "Bring something that you have prepared," [said Coyote to his wife].

(42) Then Coyote brought to them some hard dry meat that could not be chewed. Then he put that which could not be chewed before them.

(43) Then: "Never mind, we'll go home," they said to Coyote. Then all of them embraced one another. Then they went away from him.

3. Coyote and Beaver

(1) Coyote was very tired of staying at home. And he was thinking. "I'll go this way," he said.

(2) "Where are you going?" his wife said to him.

(3) "I am going to Beaver's camp," he said.

(4) "When will you return?" his wife said to him.

(5) "I do not know when I will return. In spite of that, you listen for me. I cannot tell you when I will return. It is not known."

(6) Then his wife embraced him. His children embraced him. And he went away from them.

(7) Someone had shown him the exact way. He went in this direction. Somewhere at the edge of the mountains there was a big lake. Exactly four days had passed. He had reached the edge of the mountains.

(8) While it was still early morning, he had

ná?à. tósłkání yl·łcąná?à. ?ákà· dè·s?ǫná?à. nágò?à dłcǫnádáńkà·ná?à. ?áí błyè?yá, ?łyâ·xè· ?łłánákáná?à. dò·yégǫ́sǫdàná?à ?łyâ·xè· ?ádà·ťéí. dá?áyáťéńdàh, dò·błłdà·ǫ́ǫťédàgò dá?łłčégò·sdòné ?ákòyá hł·łtè·ná?à.

(9) ?á·è·, tábą·è·, čà·błžâ·ńnè nà·dà·ⁿdéhéná?àhá sáłí błyè?yá. ?ákò· łł?ńnè?à táyè?yá ?łłáná?łłkǫ̀·ná?à.

(10) ?ákò· gòčǫ·nłńyáná?à. šǫ́·dé dà·gònéł?ǫná?à. čà·błžâ·ńnè ?ádà·gò·łⁿdłná?à dábíšé. dà·?î·łdłłkłná?à. ?ó·s?àhná?à, čà·błžâ·ńcà·ń gòčǫ·hǫ̀·ʒíná?à. "šǫ́·dé, yâ· hǫ́ⁿdá·ł?" gò·łⁿdłná?à.

(11) "nàhčǫ·hòšá·ł. ?łyâ·dà šłčàhàłčłí bíkánàhčǫ·hòšá·ł," šǫ́·dé gò·łⁿdłná?à.

(12) čà·błžâ·ń: "nàhłí dò·?łyâ·bédà·gòńʒǫdà. šłtà·ńná dí·ǩèhí yégǫ́sǫ;" gò·łⁿdłná?à.

(13) ?ákò·: "ńtà·ń?à?" gò·łⁿdłná?à.

(14) "?à·í ťł·s?łdà·?áí ńdà·gòłdłyàłkàł. ?áńń ?ákà· ?łtànà·?łzł·."

(15) "šłčàhńłčí," gò·łⁿdłná?à.

(16) káťégò, ?ákà· kádłłčłná?à. dásí?ákò· ?áńń ?á·è· dłcǫ tóʒǫ čéyíńšóná?à.

(17) ?ákò·?à: "?áó," gò·łⁿdłná?à. ?ákà· yłčǫ·hł·łtè·ná?à.

(18) ?áńń ?â·łčłⁿdíń dłclní tá·hyǫ́·šóí ⁿdásá yłł?łdè·skǫ́ná?à. ?ń?ą táyè?yá ?łyâ·xè· ?łłǩłdą hè·sⁿdłłná?à. táyè?yá ?áʒǫ yłłnł?ńłkǫ́ná?à. cǫ?łłǩłdąhè·sⁿdłłí yłǩłyá dàhył·stąná?à.

(19) ?ákà· dàhył·stąnágò ťąyágò ná·?łdè·skǫ́gò, ?ákà· dè·syàlná?à. ?áńńnè yłłnà·dà·?łzł·ńńnè táyè·ʒǫ yà·nádà·čłyà·žòšná?àgò yǫ·łcąná?à. nágò?à tábą·šǫ ?łyâ·xè· nà·hłyáná?à. błčą?łłà·dà·šdè·skàná?à. ?áńń ?ášǫ slzǫń ?áyáblčąyá táłǩáyá dà·?łčłłkǫ̀·ná?à. ťąšǫ dè·s?ǫgò?à, dò·xà?łyâ·dà.

(20) ?ákò·?à, dá?ášǫ táyè?šǫ, hànàł?ągò gónéł?ǫná?à. ?ákà· bà·dà·?łčł·skǫ́ná?à. "yâ·xè· nàbà·čłńťł," dà·gò·łⁿdłná?à ?áńńnè nà·dà·?łzł·ńńnè.

(21) ?ákò· tábą·šǫ nà·hłyáná?à šǫ́·dé. ?ákà·

climbed a hill. He had seen the lake. He had looked over there. And there was a big grove of trees. In that, some creatures were moving about. He did not know who they were. In spite of that, he was not afraid and he went straight over there.

(9) There, at the edge of the water, Beaver's little ones were playing about in the sand. And some of them were swimming around in the water.

(10) Then he stopped before them. Coyote looked at them. Beaver's children spoke thus just among themselves. They asked questions of one another. After a while, the biggest Beaver child spoke to him. "Coyote, why do you come?" he said to him.

(11) "I come to [visit] you. I come to you because you will teach me something," Coyote said to him.

(12) The Beaver child: "We do not know anything. My father alone knows everything," he said to him.

(13) Then: "Where is your father?" he said to him.

(14) "They are felling those cottonwoods standing there. He is working there among them."

(15) "Point him out to me," he said to him.

(16) In this way, he pointed over there for him. Just then, over there, he had dragged a tree to the water.

(17) Then: "All right," said [Coyote] to him. He went toward that place.

(18) Then the one of whom they had spoken had started to swim farther on with that tree he had dragged into the water. Over there in the water a pile [of logs] had already been made. He swam with [his log] to that place in the water. He put it on top of that pile of logs that had already been made.

(19) Just as he had put it there and had started to swim back again, he looked over there. He saw those with whom he had been working jumping into the water. And someone was standing on the shore. They were running away from him. They were swimming under water away from that one who was standing there. When he looked back, no one was there.

(20) Then, from right there in the water, he held his head out and watched them. They swam to him there. "Someone has come to us," said those who had been working to him.

(21) Then Coyote was standing on the shore.

táyè·ʒ̨ dè·s?ʃ́ná?à. ?ákò·?à ?ákà·gò dè·s?ʃ́ná?à. ?ákò· gǫ̀·łcą́ná?à. šǫ́·dé: "šǫ́·dó·! nóščíšʃ́!" gò·łⁿdínná?à. "šǫ́·dé ?áťʃ́," gò·łⁿdínná?à.

(22) ?ákò· čà·ǹcà·ń gǫčį·?ídè·skǫ́ná?à. gǫčį·ní?ńłkǫ́ná?à. kégò·sį·nágò?à, táyè?šʃ́ gǫčį·-hà·yáná?à. dáⁿdásé gǫčį·hí·łtè·ná?à. gǫčį·níńyá. dáⁿdásé ?łłzénáčí·sⁿdí·ná?à.

(23) "šǫ́·dé! xà?šʃ́xè·ná!" bíłčíⁿdínná?à.

(24) "dákǫšʃ́?ą̀·," gò·łⁿdínná?à.

(25) "?íyâ·xè· hǫⁿdá·łná?" bíłčíⁿdínná?à.

(26) "dò·yâ·dà ǹdàh nàhčį·hǫšá·ł. ⁿdíí ní-čį·hǫšá·ł."

(27) "?íyą́·ń. ⁿdí·šʃ́ ńdà·," gò·łⁿdínná?à čà·hà·stį·ń.

(28) ?ákò·?à ?áńńnè yíłnà·dà·?ízí·ǹńnè dí·-ḱèh ?á·è· nákànná?à. dánàǹťʃ́? dí·ḱèh ?íłčį·yá-dà·łtínná?à. "šǫ́·dé ?áťʃ́," dà·?íłdíłⁿdínná?à. ?á-kò·?à dáčíḱèh bízénádà·čí·sⁿdí·ná?à. ?ákò· łí?ńnè ǹkè·ná·dà·?ídí·ʒí·ná?à.

(29) ?ákò· čà·hà·stį·ń šǫ́·déyíł ⁿdí·šʃ́ gǫnè·skéná?à. šǫ́·dé gǫkè·í yínéł?ʃ́ná?à. ?ákò· šǫ́·-dé ?ágò·łⁿdínná?à. "dò·dókǫhé·dó kéǹžóní yè?déǹł-?è·ʒnáhé! šǫ́·dé, ǹkè·í bè·šʃ́sʃ́," gò·łⁿdínná?à.

(30) "?ô·, bè·níísʃ́," gò·łⁿdínná?à čà·hà·s-tį·ń.

(31) ?ákò·?à ?áńń čà·ń bíǹⁿdè?ń łí?ń yǫ́·-kè·ná?à. "kò·yą̀šʃ́ tè·ł tádídíńí šánáǹ?ą̀·," yí·ł-ⁿdínná?à.

(32) ?ákò· dáⁿdásé táyè·ʒ̨ yà·náčį·ťínná?à. táyè?yá ?ídè·skǫ́ná?à. nágò?à bíkéǹáhyá tóíí ťą́-yágò yè·xà?yô·?áłł?ʃ́·ná?à. šǫ́·dé ǹžónégò gǫnéł-?ʃ́ná?à. šǫ́·dé ⁿdásá bíłǹžónéná?à gǫkè·í ťą́yágò tóí bè·xà?yô·?áčłł?ʃ́·í.

(33) ?ákò·?à: "šǫ́·dé," bíłčíⁿdínná?à, "náťòh hàsʃ́?ą̀·. ná?ą̀·łťòh." bíłčíⁿdínná?à.

(34) šǫ́·dé čédànàǹtáná?à bíťàhyá." bánásíš-ⁿdànná?à," ⁿdínná?à šǫ́·dé. "dáⁿdí náťòhí hàsʃ́?ą̀·í ná?ą̀·łťòh," gò·łⁿdínná?à šǫ́·dé.

(35) ?ákò·?à čà·ń hà·stį·ń dádʃ́·ǹyá náhè·-yáná?à dàhdàłⁿdígò. ?ákò·?à dá?ákò?yá náťòhí sí-?ą̀·gò čį·łcą́ná?à. čà·hà·stį·ń ⁿdí·šʃ́ nánè·sdá-ná?à. "ḱàdí ná?ą̀łťòh," bíłčíⁿdínná?à.

He was looking into the water over there. Then he looked over there. And he saw [Beaver]. "Friend! Come here!" said Coyote to him. "It is Coyote," he said to him.

(22) Then the big Beaver started to swim toward [Coyote]. He had swum to him. As soon as he had recognized him, he came out of the water. He ran on toward him. He stopped before him. And then they embraced each other.

(23) "Coyote! Where did you come from?" he said to him.

(24) "From hereabouts," he said to him.

(25) "Why do you come?" he said to him.

(26) "I come for no reason but to [see] you people. I come to you especially."

(27) "So. Sit down on the ground," said the Beaver man to him.

(28) Then all of those with whom he had been working had come back there. They were all talking quietly to one another. "It is Coyote," they said to one another. Then all of them embraced him. And some of them began to work again.

(29) Then the Beaver man and Coyote sat down on the ground. Coyote was looking at [Beaver's] feet. He spoke thus to him. "What wonderful moccasins you are wearing! Friend, show me the power of your moccasins," he said to him.

(30) "Yes, I'll show you their power," said the Beaver man to him.

(31) Then he called to one of his Beaver people. "Get me some tule pollen from home," he said to him.

(32) Then [that Beaver] jumped right into the water. He began to swim in the water. And he was pushing the water backward with the bottoms of his feet. Coyote watched him intently. Coyote very much admired the way in which he pushed the water backward with his feet.

(33) Then: "Coyote," said [Beaver] to him, "take out some tobacco. Let's smoke," he said to him.

(34) Coyote searched his pockets in vain. "I've apparently forgotten it," said Coyote. "Let's smoke the tobacco that you will take out," said Coyote.[1]

(35) Then the Beaver man, having raised his hand, turned around to the four directions. Then [Coyote] saw tobacco lying everywhere. The Beaver man sat down again on the ground. "Now smoke," he said to him.

(36) "?ô·wó," ⁿdlná?à šǫ́·dé. dáhátłdè náťòhí nálłh?ǫ·ná?à. nà·łcò·sí nálłlánná?à. ył·sdłsná?à. kǫ?ídó nálłtąná?à. náťòhí ?łłéyó·łtągò cǫ-?łłnô·złdí błḱèhyágò dǫ·łyá yłłdàhdł·łⁿdł·ná?à. ?áńdè·dà gòčǫ·nłńyáná?à. gòzółèè· yè·?łłdéńdáyágò ká?ł·zònná?à. ?ákò· ?áńdè·dà gòčǫ·dàhłłh?ǫ·-ná?à.

(37) hł·dłsí báčǫ·łcò·ná?à. dáⁿdł·šǫ́ čł·sdášǫ́ dá?áyáťégò dádǫ·łyá błłdàšdł·łⁿdł·ná?à. ⁿdł·yá łčíń?ǫ·ná?à.

(38) tádídíńí kánáčíń?ǫ·ná?à. tádídíńí nášłh?ǫ·ná?à. dǫ·łyá błłdàšdł·łⁿdł·ná?à. ?ǫ·šǫ́ hàčǫ́·ʒà·ná?à. dǫ·łyá błłdàšdł·łⁿdł·ná?à. náťòhí kǫ?íyłł ?łłnô·złgò gòdâ· sł?ǫ·. tádídíńí dǫ·łł béčíńⁿdłłná?à.

(39) nágò ⁿdł·šǫ́ nášnè·sdáná?à. dò·błčǫ·yáčłłtłdàná?à. náťòhí kǫ?íbłł ?łłnô·złgò sł?ǫ·łí náshh?ǫ·ná?à. kǫ?í šłłłxànná?à. náťòhí náčłłťòhgò, hà?ł·?áhí yłčǫ·yágò čłnè·sdáná?à. hàčǫ́·łťóná?à łłdíłągò. hà?ł·?áhyá bè·šdè·yòłná?à. łł? hàná·-čǫ́·łťó. nàłdł?ášégò bè·čłdè·yòłná?à.

(40) nágò šá?ł·?áhyágò ná·čłnè·sdáná?à. nágò łągò hàná·čǫ́·łťóná?à. ?ákà·gò bè·ná·šdè·yòłná?à. ?ǫ·šǫ́ náhàkòsí ?ákà·gò ná·šnè·sdáná?à. náťòhí hàná·čǫ́·łťóná?à. ?ákà·gò bè·ná·šdè·yòłná?à.

(41) nágò ?áńdè·dà šǫ́·dé błčǫ·yágò łčíńyáná?à. tádídíńí hàná·čǫ́·ʒà·ná?à. dádǫ·łyá błłdàhná·šdł·łⁿdł·ná?à. błcł·ťá bádàhčł·ʒà·ná?à. błⁿdł·í nàłyágò bá?łčł·zònná?à.

(42) "?łłčédéńł?é·s," błłčłⁿdłná?à. ?łłčédè·ł?é·sná?à hà?ł·?áhí błčǫ·yágò. tádídíńí hàčǫ́·ʒà·ná?à. błkè·í błkécǫ·šǫ́ hàłyà·gò dí·ḱèh łłcògò tádídíńí bè·bá?áčǫ́łà·ná?à.

(43) "nàłdł?áhí błčǫ·yô· ?łłčéná·déńł?é·s," błłčłⁿdłná?à. ?ákà·gò ?łłčéná·dè·ł?é·sná?à. tádídíńí hàná·čǫ́·ʒà·ná?à. błcł·ťá báłčíńʒà·ná?à. błⁿdł·í nàłyágò bá?łčł·zònná?à. błkè·í tádídíńí bè·łłcògò bá?áčǫ́łà·ná?à.

(44) "šá?ł·?áhí błčǫ·yágò ?łłčédéńł?é·s," błłčłⁿdłná?à. ?ákà·gò ?łłčédè·ł?é·sná?à. tádídíńí hàčǫ́·ʒà·ná?à. dǫ·łyá błłdàšdł·łⁿdł·ná?à.

(36) "Yes," said Coyote. He quickly picked up the tobacco. He picked up paper. He rolled [a cigarette]. He picked up a match also. He moved his hand up to the four directions holding in it the cigarette against [the match] in the form of a cross. Now he stood before [Beaver]. He marked a cross on his chest with it for him. And then he held [the cigarette and match] up to him.[2]

(37) [Beaver] took the cigarette from him. From the ground where he was sitting he moved the hand [holding] it up to the four directions. He put it down on the ground.

(38) They had brought [a bag of] pollen for him. He picked up the pollen. He raised the hand [holding] it to the four directions. Then he took out a pinch of it. He raised the hand [holding] it to the four directions. The crossed cigarette and match lay before him. He threw pollen at it four times.

(39) Then he sat down on the ground again. He did not speak to [Coyote]. He picked up the crossed cigarette and match that had been lying there. He ignited the match. Smoking the cigarette, he sat facing the east. He inhaled a great deal of smoke. He blew it toward the east. He again inhaled some [smoke]. He blew it toward the south.

(40) Then he sat down again facing the west. Then he again inhaled much [smoke]. He blew it out again in that direction. Then he sat down again facing the north. He inhaled the tobacco [smoke] again. He blew it out again in that direction.[3]

(41) And now he stood facing Coyote. He again took out a pinch of pollen. He again raised the hand [holding] it to the four directions. He put [the pollen] on top of [Coyote's] head for him. He marked the side of his face for him.

(42) "Stretch out your legs," he said to [Coyote]. He stretched his legs out toward the east. [Beaver] took out some pollen. He made all of [Coyote's] feet yellow with pollen from the ankles down.

(43) "Stretch out your legs again toward the south," he said to him. [Coyote] again stretched out his legs in that direction. [Beaver] took out more pollen. He put it on top of his head for him. He marked the side of his face for him. He made his feet yellow with pollen for him.

(44) "Stretch out your legs toward the west," he said to him. He stretched out his legs in that direction. [Beaver] took out some pollen. He raised

bìcì·ťáè bádàhčì·ʒà·ná?à. ?ášı̨ bìⁿdì·í nàñyô· bá?ìčì·zònná?à. bìkè·ídó tádídíńí bè·łìcògò bá?áčı̨là·ná?à.

(45) "náhàkòsí bìčı̨·yágò ńdà·," bìłčìⁿdìná?à. "?ìłčédéńł?é·s," bìłčìdǫ́·ⁿdì·ná?à. nágò?à tádídíńí nášñʒà·ná?à. dádı̨·ñyô· bìłdàšdì·łⁿdì·ná?à. tádídíńí bìcì·ťá bádàhčì·ʒà·ná?à. bìⁿdì·ídó nàñyô· bá?ìčì·zònná?à. bìkè·ídó tádídíńí bè.łìcògò bá?ána·čı̨là·ná?à.

(46) "ǩàdì ñkè·í bè·táńł?é·s. ñšdášíné ?íłcé dı̨·ñ bè·táńł?é·s. ná·náñšǩàšédó dı̨·ñ bè·táńł?é·s ǩàdì, ñkè·í ǩéńyà·ł," bìłčìⁿdìná?à.

(47) bìkè·í ǩédè·yàlná?à. nágò?à bìkè·í bìkéclñšı̨ hàñyà·gó bìkélátàʒı̨ čà· bìkè·ná?à.

(48) "ǩàdì bè·?ńłkǫ̀·," bìłčìⁿdìná?à. táyè·ʒı̨ "?íłcé!" dábìłčìⁿdìgò kà·yà·náčı̨·ťìná?à. tóná?łìčą́?ánáyá ?ì?nǫ́·zì·ná?à. dá?ákò?yá dìčı̨ná?à. dìyàtàłná?à. dánó·yòdè· tóíłą́ʒı̨ ?ì?ǫ́·łkǫ́ná?à. dáxąhnáò tóí bè·?ìñłxı̨ná?à, hà·ʒì·ná?à. ?ìdı̨·gò gòⁿdéí·čédà?áyǫ́·ł?ì·ná?à. tóí bìdâ·šdéńłtè·lná?à. "borrt," dǫ́·ⁿdì·ná?à.

(49) ?ákò·?à: "šǫ́·dé tóbè·?ìñłxı̨!" dà·šdǫ́·ⁿdì·ná?à čà·ⁿdénè. gòčı̨·tágòčìyè·žò·ʒ̃ná?à. dá?ákògò yì·sìłná?à. táyè?šı̨ hàčìnàł?ą́gò ?ádà·gògǫ́là·ná?à. ñžǫ́gò nášdè·yòlná?à. gòⁿdâ·í ńnáháłłtógò sìlı̨ná?à. tábą̀·ʒı̨ gòłnádà·gòdè·skǫ́ná?à. tábą̀·šı̨ gògòdǫ́·čìná?à.

(50) čà·hà·stı̨·ń ?ágò·łⁿdìná?à: "?íłcédà dáñłdìšⁿdìgò, táyè·ʒı̨ nàhà·yà·náčíńťì. ?áíí yè·?ázà·. xábéná·gò·ʒì·?" bìłčìⁿdìná?à.

(51) šǫ́·dé tó yìčı̨·yágò dè·syàlná?à. tó yìnéł?ı̨ná?à. gòčı̨·yô· náhè·yáná?à. šǫ́·dé ?ⁿdìná?à: "dò·łà?hòšłáháťédà."

(52) čà·ń hà·stı̨·ń: "šídó dá?áyáìñsı̨. ?íyą̀·dà ñłdá?áťé bínì· dá?áyáťé," šǫ́·dé gò·łⁿdìná?à. "?à·í náťòhí ná?áłłà·í nô·?ì·ł," gò·łⁿdìná?à čà·hà·stı̨·ń.

(53) "?ô·wó," gò·łⁿdìná?à šǫ́·dé. "Ꞓà·?ìłéñsı̨ šá?áñlà·í. ?íyą̀·dà '?ìxéhè' dá?áíná nìłdìšⁿdì. ?íyą̀·dà ñčą́nádè·sʒá. dášⁿdì·ʒı̨ dò·łà?hòšłádà ?áťéí. bà·nà·šá. ?íyą̀·dà šìkò·yą̀yá tó?édı̨ dò·xà?yátódà, ?íyą̀·dà dò·šìčı̨·ńⁿdádà. dá?áyáťéñdàh, xàdí·ʒı̨ nà·ná·dò·šdá·ł. ?ákò·ná béná·gòdà·ʒì·ł."

the hand [holding] it to the four directions. He put it on top of his head for him. Then he marked the side of his face for him. He also made his feet yellow with pollen for him.

(45) "Sit down facing the north," he said to him. "Stretch out your legs," he said to him. Then he picked up some pollen. He raised the hand [holding] it to the four directions. He put the pollen on top of his head for him. He marked the side of his face for him. He also made his feet yellow with pollen for him.

(46) "Now, put your feet into the water. First put the right one in the water four times. Then put the left one also in the water four times. Now, look at your feet," he said to him.

(47) [Coyote] looked at his feet. And his feet, from the ankles down to the tips of his toes were beaver feet.

(48) "Now you will swim with them," said [Beaver] to him. Just as he was saying "Wait!" to him, [Coyote] jumped into the water. He dived in with a splashing of water. He struck out wildly. He was kicking. He swam out a bit farther to deeper water. Just as he was drowning, he spoke. He tried in vain to shout loudly. The water spread over him. He only gurgled.

(49) Then: "Coyote is drowning!" shouted the Beaver people. They all jumped into the water after him. He grabbed desperately at them. They held his head out of water. He began to breathe easily. His eyes were very red. They swam back with him to the shore. They turned him loose on the shore.

(50) The Beaver man spoke thus to him: "Just as I was telling you to wait, you jumped away from us. That is why it happened. Will you try it again?" he said to him.

(51) Coyote looked toward the water. He looked at the water. He turned toward [Beaver]. Coyote spoke thus: "I cannot do it."

(52) The Beaver man: "I too think so. So let's drop it," he said to Coyote. "You take home that tobacco that I have made for you," the Beaver man said to him.

(53) "Yes," said Coyote to him. "I am grateful for that which you have done for me. Therefore, I can only say 'Thank you' to you. Now I'll leave you. It is clear to me that I cannot do it. I tried. Since at my home there is no water anywhere, you will not come to [visit] me. In spite of that, I will come to you again some day. Then

(54) ʔákò· čà·hà·stl̥·ń blìⁿdèʔńnè dí·k̓èh yǫ́·kè·gò ylčàhgò·sčɬ. "ʔô·wó," dà·ⁿdl dí·k̓èh čà·blìⁿdèʔńnè.

(55) ʔákò·, dáʔíłcé, čà·hà·stɬ·ń šǫ́·déylł ʔłzénágò·sⁿdl·. ʔášɬ, blkégò, łlʔńnè dí·k̓èh blzénádà·sⁿdl·. ʔákò· gòčǫ́náhl·łtè·.

(56) dádò·kégǫ́sl̥dàhé dáʔl̥·šɬ blkò·yǫ̨ʒ̨l̥ dàǹńyá. blʔéłčlné dà·bl̥·łcǫ́. blčl̥·ʔlłà·dà·dè·ská. ʔášɬ, blgàǹí dà·yó·tǫ̨gò, blkò·yǫ̨ ylłnákà.

(57) "ʔlyâ· dàǹlà·?" šǫ́·dé blyàʔlsʒáńń yl·łⁿdl. "dáʔlyádí nášíłbé·ǯ."

(58) "xàʔyáná?" blłčlⁿdl šǫ́·dé. "lyâ·bíká-ʔlšǫ́? t̓ô·ʔlyâ·łàʔhlšłà·dà. dánáťòhná šà·ʔlgóń-ǯà·. dáʔáíná nô·šʔl̥·ł. ʔášɬ dò·ʔlyâ·dà."

(59) "só! xàʔyágòdà ʔáná·dǫ́·hⁿdí·ł. dò·xáń ná·hǫ́·kè·dà. dò·ⁿdéʔlyâ·báʔǫ́·láháťédà."

(60) "dò·xáń hóškè·dà. ʔákò·ná bégóńsl̥," yl·łⁿdl šǫ́·dé blʔlsʒáńń.

4. Coyote and Turtle

(1) šǫ́·dé kò·yǫ̨ ná·násdánáʔà. šǫ́·dé blʔlsʒáńń ʔáłłⁿdlnáʔà: "ʔlyâ·dà šádǫ́ǹlá. ʔlyâ·dà dǫ́ń-là·gò ʔó·yǫ́gò, nàhčǫ́ná·hl·ště·. člstè·łń blkò·-yǫ̨yá ʔákà· šlgókè·," blʔlsʒáńń yl·łⁿdlnáʔà.

(2) blʔlsʒáńń dáhátldè dáń báyà·nà·yáná?à. dáxǫ̨héná dí·k̓èh bádǫ́ɬlà·ná?à. "k̓àdl ʔɬⁿdǫ́," bl·łⁿdlná?à blʔlsʒáńń.

(3) blčl̥·ⁿdl·yè·skǫ́ná?à. dáhátldè ʔè·ʔhyǫ́-ná?à. ʔlnà·dǫ́·ʔí báčl·sťéná?à. bldášɬ báǹčíńkǫ́-ná?à. ʔlyǫ́gò sldáná?à. ʔllô·dlí yl?à·łná?à. dá-hátldè yl?à·łná?à. ńnáhádò·bllxǫ̨hdàná?à. ʔllô·-dlí dáblzé·ʔslǯà·gò dáʔátlìyá dàšǹťlná?à. ʔllô·-dlí yllдè·skòsná?à. bldáyè?yá dà·dlyè·stàná?à. hà·ʒl·í čéʔálłʔl̥·ná?à. ʔákò· čédòčl̥·dàhdlłⁿdl·-ná?à. dágé blzé·ʔè· ʔlłčǫ́ʔágò·ťéná?à. nàǹkà·-ná?à. "tó šàńkà·!" dlⁿdlí čéʔálłʔl̥·ná?à. blʔlsʒáńń blčl̥·yà·náčl̥·ťlná?à. dàhblłťè·ná?à. bíńyàh-yá yl·sxòná?à. nágòʔà blzé·ʔšɬ ʔllô·dlí hàdá·-hè·stàná?à. blⁿdâ·í ʔlłčǫ́ʔáʒà·ná?à. "[belch]," dǫ́:ⁿdl·ná?à. hànǫ́·yòlná?à.

(4) blłgǫ́tǫ̨gò nè·sdáná?à. ʔóʒl·ná?à. "dáné

I will try again.

(54) Then the Beaver man called all his people and told them about it. All the Beaver people agreed.

(55) Then, first, the Beaver man and Coyote embraced each other. And, after that, all the others embraced him. Then he left them.

(56) He went directly from there to his home without even knowing about it. His children saw him. They ran toward him. And, holding him by the arm, they went back with him.

(57) "What have you done?" said Coyote's wife to him. "I have cooked many things for you."

(58) "Where are they?" said Coyote to her. "Why should I eat?[4] I have done nothing. They only gave me tobacco. Only that am I bringing back. And that is nothing."

(59) "Look here! You will behave in this way at another time. You will not ask anyone for anything. You are unable to do anything for any man."

(60) "I am not going to ask anyone for anything. And you know it," said Coyote to his wife.

4. Coyote and Turtle

(1) Coyote was again at home. Coyote spoke thus to his wife: "Make some food for me. When you have made some food and I have eaten, I will leave you again. They are asking for me over there at Turtle's camp," he said to his wife.

(2) His wife quickly went about preparing food for him. Soon she had prepared all the food for him. "Now eat," his wife said to him.

(3) It lay on the ground before him. He quickly began to eat. She had roasted corn for him. She had put it down before him for him. He sat there eating. He was chewing roasted corn. He was chewing it fast. It was not fast enough for him. With roasted corn still in his mouth he rushed for the door. He coughed with the corn [in his mouth]. [The corn] flew down his throat. He tried in vain to speak. Then he vainly waved his arms to her. His mouth just hung open. He staggered. "Give me water!" he tried in vain to say. His wife rushed to him. She shook him. She slapped him on the back. Then the corn flew out of his mouth. He opened his eyes. He belched. He breathed again.

(4) He sat there angrily. He cursed. "You no-

ńtǫ̀ʔé," ⁿdìná?à, "nè·ʔìⁿdáháštı̨̀ì. dò·ʔíłcéšı̨łxé-dàí bíká nè·ʔìyǫ́dà. t̂ô·nó·yǫ́dàšı̨, dò·ʔìyâ·ìžóné hàsóšʔı̨·ʔátédà," dǫ́·ⁿdì·ná?à.

(5) dánèí yà·hè·sⁿdìlí yè·tà·čò·ⁿdìłná?à. bìʔìsʒáńń: "dò·dà!" dábì·łⁿdìgò dáńí yà·ńàìn-ⁿdìlná?à.

(6) ʔákò·, dádò·gǒčı̨·hà·ʒì·dàhé, dáʔtììyá čénéńgònáʔà. dáⁿdásé hì·łtè·náʔà. dádò·kégǫ́sı̨dà ńdàh ʔíńtìì ìkèńyáná?à.

(7) ʔákò·, bìkò·yǫ̀šı̨, bìʔìsʒáńń bìʔéłčìné-yìł čǫ́kàná?à. ʔákà· bìkéyá dà·šdè·ʔı̨ná?à. ʔíń-tììí yìkèčǫ́·tìná?à. t̂ô·t̂ǫyánádè·sgàldàná?à.

(8) ʔákò· ʔáń bìʔìsʒáńń: "nó·yò? nàhčǫ́·-ⁿdìì," bìʔéłčìné yì·łⁿdìná?à. ʔákò· dí·kèh dà·-hìčàgò nà·hè·stǫ́ná?à.

(9) ʔákò· šǫ́·dé?à hàná?àìyá ʔìčǫ́·tìná?à. dáⁿdásé čàt̂ìná?à. ⁿdásé ʔíńtììyá góllʒèìłčìné ʔíńtììyá čàt̂ìná?à. yà·číńt̂ìná?à. šǫ́·dé gǒčı̨ìńyá-ná?à.

(10) "ʔìyâ·!" gò·łⁿdìná?à góllʒèìłčìnéń, "ʔáńdè·dàná ʔô·šyàł! nágò nà·šáná," ⁿdìná?à.

(11) "ʔíłcédà!" dábìłčìⁿdìná?à, bídó: "ʔíł-cédà!" dǫ́·ⁿdì·ná?à, "dò·šà·ʔìsdánádádà!"

(12) šǫ́·dé gǒčı̨·dàhdì·łyòná?à. gò·sìłná?à. dàʔčò·kǫ̀·gò, dáⁿdásé kè·ʔnì·łyàłná?à. ʔàłyàł-ná?àgò: "xô·hgò ʔò·šyàł!" ⁿdìná?à.

(13) ʔákò· dáⁿdásé ná·hì·łtè·náʔà. dı̨·ʔí hì·skǫ́náʔàgò, ʒìłíyèʔyá tółáníìlı̨ná?à tábǫ̀·yá čàt̂ìná?à. ⁿdásé, tósìkǫ́ná čéńyáná?à. ʔìt̂àh nè·ł-dǫ́ná?à. tółáníslkǫ́šı̨ bìčı̨·nè·łʔǫ́šı̨ tábà·šı̨ ʔì-yâ·xè· bìⁿdâ·ìcà·í sìdáná?à.

(14) yìčı̨ìńyáná?à. "šǫ́·dé," gò·łⁿdìná?à, "ʔìyâ·xè· xàsíìdá?" gò·łⁿdìná?à šǫ́·dé.

(15) "šǫ́·dé, ʔı̨·šı̨ sídá. šíí čı̨ʔìšxòdé ìⁿdé ʔáštı̨," gò·łⁿdìná?à.

(16) "šǫ́·dé, šìčàhgǫ́łčí xàʔyá čìstè·ł hà·stı̨·ń bìkò·yǫ̀yá," gò·łⁿdìná?à šǫ́·dé.

(17) "ʔà·í ⁿdì·í ʔìłⁿdíyá táyèʔyá dáhòʔòłí bè·hàʔì·ʔášé čìstè·ł hà·stı̨·ń ʔášı̨ bìkò·yǫ̀," gò·łⁿdìná?à čı̨ʔìšxòdé.

(18) "xàʔyágò ʔákà· bìčı̨·ʔìʔítìì?"

(19) "dáʔákà·, dáʔìłčégò·sdòné, hàná?ítìì," šǫ́·dé bìłčìⁿdìná?à.

(20) "dò·nà·ʔìškò·bégòìsı̨dà, šǫ́·dé," šǫ́·dé good food," he said. I wanted sustenance from you. When one has started to eat you, you are not to kill him first. If I have not eaten you, I can get no good out [of you]," he said.

(5) He was throwing the food that was lying there about. His wife said: "No!" to him and took the food from him.[1]

(6) Then, without speaking to her, he rushed out of the door. He went on farther. He didn't know [where he was going] but he went down the road.

(7) Then, at his camp, his wife and his children came out. From there they watched him. He was going along the road. He did not look back.

(8) Then his wife: "He has abandoned us," she said to her children. Then all of them sat about weeping.

(9) Then Coyote had gone out of sight. He kept on going farther. Farther up the road, a Beetle was walking along the road. He walked up to him. Coyote stood before him.

(10) "Aha!" he said to the Beetle, "Now I want to eat you! Only then will I live," he said.

(11) Just as [Beetle] said: "Wait!" to him, he also said: "Wait! You will not get away from me again!" he said.[2]

(12) Coyote pounced on him. He took hold of him. As he begged, Coyote went right on eating him. When he had finished eating, he said: "I have eaten well!"

(13) Then he started off again. Four days having passed, he was walking along the bank of a big river in the mountains. Farther on, he came out to a big lake. It was still early morning. Someone with big eyes was sitting facing him on the shore of the big lake.

(14) [Coyote] stopped before him. "Friend," he said to him, "why do you sit here?" Coyote said to him.

(15) "Coyote, I [simply] sit here. I am Frog man," he said to him.

(16) "Friend, show me the way to Turtle man's camp," said Coyote to him.

(17) "There on the east side of that land that is floating in the middle of the water is Turtle man's camp," said Frog to him.

(18) "Where is there a road to it?"

(19) "Right there, straight ahead, there is a road across," he said to Coyote.[3]

(20) "I do not know how to swim, friend,"

gò·łⁿdlná?à.

(21) "dá?ǫ·šǫ síñdáń; ?ákà· náǩégòdlšxà·ł," gò·łⁿdlná?à čǫ?ñšxòdéń.

(22) ?ákò·?à šǫ·dé dá?ášǫ nè·sdená?à. čǫ?-ñšxòdéń táyè·žǫ yà·náhl·xè·ná?à. ñžóńéò blžádí ?łłčą?ązà·ná?à. tóí dáłè·ñ yíńtàl. nágò táyè?yá kǫ·hégò hòťǫyá ?àłkǫ·ł hí·yéhená?à. dáxąhnágò dò·ťǫdàná?à.

(23) ?ášǫ šǫ·dé nàñnè·stǫná?à. ?ǫ·łxà·žná-?à. člstè·łń čǫ?ñšxòdéńylł ťąšǫ ná?gàłkǫ·łná?à. gòčǫ·nl?góńłkǫná?à. tábą·žǫ hàgǫ·?á·žná?à. gòčǫ-ñgóń?á·žná?à. ?ldǫ·gò ?lčłłxòšná?à. ?lčłłxąná?à.

(24) "šǫ·dé!" blłčłⁿdlná?à. "čénáñzí!" blł-čłⁿdlná?à.

(25) ?ákò·?à čénázlná?à. dàh?ązà·ná?à.

(26) "šǫ·dé, šǫkè·, čłⁿdl. ?áíbíká díńń ?á-šǫ šlłnô·ťàš."

(27) "xáⁿdí člstè·ł hóńyé?" gò·łⁿdlná?à.

(28) "ší ?áhòñšyé."

(29) ?ákò· nášdl·glžná?à. blčǫ·čl·łtè·ná?à. bídó gòčǫ·hl·łtè·ná?à. ?łłčǫñčíń?á·žná?à. "šǫ·-dé!" ?ákò· ?łłzénáčl·sⁿdl·ná?à. dá?łłklšǫ ?łł-čó·tąná?à. ?ó·s?àhgòdà, ná·?łłčldàčlná?à.

(30) "šǫ·dé, ?lyâ· šlčǫ·hǫⁿdá·ł?"

(31) "ñčǫ·hòšá·łí šá?ádǫ·lí·ł. bíká ñčǫ·hò-šá·ł," šǫ·dé gò·łⁿdlná?à.

(32) "šǫ·dé, xà·dí yá·łⁿdíhí ná?áślá. hóñ-žl·!" gò·łⁿdlná?à člstè·łń.

(33) "náťòhí šàń?ǫ·. ?ášǫdó ñžǫgò šà·?ń?ǫ·. ñǩèhñžǫ?lšągò, ?ákò· ñčąnô·šdá·ł. bíká ñčǫ·hò-šá·ł."

(34) "?ô·wó. člstè·łñⁿdénè ?lgâ·ł?ášénè dò·xà?dą ?lyâ·dà čé?ágòyǫ·ł?ǫ·dà. náťòhí nàñš-?ǫ·. dá?ášǫ síñdá ?łłcé."

(35) ?ákò·, náčlyè·yô·, táyè·žǫ yà·náčǫ·ťl. tó?łłčą?ązà·yá ?édà·čl·sdǫ·. dádò·?ls?àhdàgò náťòhí blłhà?náčlnǫ·zl·.

(36) ?ákò·: "šǫ·dé, ká náťòh slǫ·," blłčl-ⁿdl. ?ákò· bà·číń?ǫ·. nágò?à náťòhí yl·dlsgó yà·sldá. kǫ?í bà·číń?ǫ·.

(37) "šǫ·dé, ǩàdl ?lyâ·dó?" blłčłⁿdl.

(38) "bǫ·í blcáí slťégò šàń?ǫ·."

(39) ?ákò·?à táyè·žǫ yà·náčǫ·ťl. tó?łłčą-ná·náⁿdáyá ?lná·šdǫ·ťl. ?ášǫ bǫ·í blcáí slťégò

said Coyote to him.

(21) "Sit down right here; I'll look over there for him for you," said Frog to him.

(22) Then Coyote sat down right there. Frog jumped into the water. Slowly he spread his legs apart. He gave the water one kick. Then he could just be seen in the water as he was swimming. But soon he was invisible.

(23) Then Coyote lay down on his side. He fell asleep. Turtle and Frog were swimming back. They swam toward him. They came out on the shore. They stood before him. He was fast asleep. He was snoring.

(24) "Coyote!" they said to him. "Wake up!" they said to him.

(25) Then he awoke. He sat up.

(26) "Coyote, you sent for me, he said. Therefore, this person brought me back from over there."

(27) "Are you called Turtle?" he said to him.

(28) "I am so called."

(29) Then [Coyote] arose. He started toward [Turtle]. He also started toward [Coyote]. They stood facing each other. "Friend!" [they said] and embraced each other. They held each other tightly. After a while, they released each other.

(30) "Coyote, why are you coming to me?"

(31) "I am coming to you so you will do something for me. That is why I am coming to you," said Coyote to him.

(32) "Coyote, I'll do for you anything that you want. Name it!" said Turtle to him.

(33) "Give me tobacco. And also give me something good [to eat]. When you have fed me well, I shall leave you. That is why I am coming to you."

(34) "Very well. The Turtle people of whatever group have at no time failed to do anything. I will give you tobacco. Sit down right there first."

(35) Then, turning around, he jumped into the water. He disappeared in a splash of water. In a short time he came up again with the tobacco.

(36) Then: "Coyote, here is tobacco," he said to him. And he gave it to him. Then [Coyote] rolled a cigarette and sat next to him. [Turtle] gave him a light.

(37) "Coyote, now what else?" he said to him.

(38) "Give me roasted deer ribs,"

(39) Then he jumped into the water. He went away again in a splashing of water. And he brought

λǫ́·ʔyèdó dı̨·ʔí bà·dàslʒ̨à·gò dí·k̨èh slt́égò blłbl-čı̨·hànáčı̨ʒ̨à·. dí·k̨èh bldâ·yá báńčíńʔı̨·.

(40) nágò, dáʔłłéńzı̨gò, ʔè·ʔnl·łyàl. ná·bl-k̨lʒ̨ı̨gò, dátáʔčlłt́égò, šǫ́·dé, člstè·łń, čı̨ʔńšxò-déń, nádà·ʔčǫ́·łt́òh. dátáʔčlłt́éò ʔlłzénádà·čl·s-ⁿdl·.

(41) ʔáí dáńí člstè·łń kà·yíńʔı̨·í bllàhdè čàłyàłí "ʔáíí nǫ́·ʔı̨·ł," blłčlⁿdl šǫ́·dé.

(42) ʔákò·ʔà šǫ́·dé: "ʔlxéhè," gòłdǫ́·ⁿdl·. "ⁿdídó šà·dǫ́·ⁿdá·ł dò·ʔlyâ·náʔô·šłáht́édà ńdàh," gò·łⁿdl šǫ́·dé.

(43) "ʔı̨·ší dı̨·ʔí hl·skągò ńčı̨·dò·šá·ł," gò·łⁿdl člstè·łń.

(44) "ʔô·wó. šà·dǫ́·ⁿdá·ł," gò·łⁿdl šǫ́·dé.

(45) ʔákò·ʔà, ʔáí bà·číńʔı̨·í ʔlłčı̨·yè·dàh-ʔl·sǫ́gò, nálde·sgı̨náʔà blkò·yànî blčı̨·gò. bl-kò·yąyá dáhátldè náʔı̨gı̨náʔà. blkò·yąè· názánáʔà. blʔélčlné dí·k̨èh yáhána·hè·stąnáʔà. ʔı̨·šı̨ gòčı̨·-yàʔlʔǫ́·yı̨náʔà. "dí·í xąh dà·hàłyàł," gò·łⁿdl-náʔà.

(46) ʔákò· ʔè·dà·ʔčíńyąnáʔà. ʔášį kò·yąyáhá sldánáʔà. "ńžǫ́ ʔágońsı̨," blʔlszáńń yl·łⁿdlnáʔà šǫ́·dé. ʔákò· dáícéńžǫ́gò ylbàʔágògǫ́sı̨náʔà.

(47) ʔákò· šǫ́·dé: "déššà·," ⁿdínáʔà. k̨à·í yàʒ̨lšgò, čédátlńyá čéńyánáʔà. ʔášįʔà ʔákà· nà·-nô·žànáʔà. góllʒ̨èńłčlníšį hàńščàʔyèylł hàńšt́áʔ-yèídó ʔášį dàhl·gòhèídó łągò ʔlzlsí yè·náyíńłtąnáʔà. gòbàʔlšt́èńyíńʔı̨·náʔà.

(48) nágò dı̨·ʔí hl·skąnáʔà. "ʔáyáíè·šı̨ gà-kà," gò·łⁿdlnáʔà ʔáń blžâ·ńcà·ń.

(49) dádò·ʔlsʔàhdà. nágò člstè·łń kà·gókà-náʔà. dábłcéʔégò·stè·lnáʔà. ʔášį ńgòdè·sbı̨náʔà.

(50) "šǫ́·dé, nàńkà. k̨ádl nàháʔą́lá," blłčl-ⁿdlnáʔà.

(51) "ʔô·wó, náʔášłá," ⁿdlnáʔà šǫ́·dé.

(52) nágòʔà nát̨òhí hàyǫ́·ʒ̨à·náʔà. ʔágò·łⁿdí-náʔà: "hlńdlsgò šàńtı̨·," gò·łⁿdlnáʔà.

(53) ʔákò·ʔà čl·sdlsgò bà·číńtąnáʔà. ʔákò·-ʔà yı̨·łcò·náʔà. ylńłxànáʔà. dı̨·ń hàʔǫ́·łt́ò·náʔà. łłdlłągò hàńdàʔyá dı̨·ń yè·dè·yòlnáʔà.

back to him out [of the water] roasted deer ribs and four roasted prairie dogs. He put all of them down before him for him.

(40) Then, feeling very grateful, [Coyote] began to eat. And after that, the three of them, Coyote, Turtle, [and] Frog, smoked. [Then] the three of them embraced one another.

(41) That food that Turtle had given him [and] which remained when he had eaten: "You'll be taking that home," he said to Coyote.

(42) Then Coyote: "Thank you," he said to him. "You will now come to [visit] me though I will not be able to make anything for you," Coyote said to him.

(43) "Four days from now I will come to you," said Turtle to him.

(44) "All right. You will come to me," said Coyote to him.

(45) Then, tying up that which he had given him, he started to carry it back to his camp. He quickly carried it back to his camp. He returned to his camp. His children were all sitting about inside. Then he carried it in to them. "Go ahead and eat this," he said to them.

(46) Then they began to eat. And [Coyote] sat inside the wickiup. "Keep the place clean," said Coyote to his wife. And both of them kept it very clean for [Turtle].

(47) Then Coyote: I am going hunting," he said. Taking his arrows, he went out of doors. And then he went about there hunting. He brought back a bag full of many beetles, grasshoppers, butterflies, and moths, He put them away for [Turtle].

(48) Then four days had passed. "They are coming from over yonder," said the oldest child to [Coyote].

(49) A short time passed. Then the Turtle people came to him. He spread out [a robe] for them. Then they sat down.

(50) "Coyote, we have come to you. Now prepare something for us," [Turtle] said to him.

(51) "Yes, I'll prepare something for you," said Coyote.

(52) Then he took out some tobacco. He spoke thus to him: "Roll [a cigarette] and give it to me," he said to him.

(53) Then [Turtle] rolled it and gave it to him. And he took it. He lit it. He drew on it four times. He blew much smoke upward four times.

(54) ʔákò· bɩʔɩsʒáńń ʔáɩɩ^{n}dɩná ʔà: "ʔà·ɩ ʔákà·yáhá ʔɩyâ ńnɩʔɩ̨·ɩ́ góbáčéńʔɩ̨·," gò·ɩ^{n}dɩná ʔà.

(55) šǫ́·dé gòʔɩsʒáńń yàʔǫ́·yáná ʔà. ʔákò· ʔáɩ́ zɩs ʔɩyâ· bèńčɩ́ńɩtání góda·yá góbáńčɩ́ńɩtą ʔáń kà·gǫ́kàńnè.

(56) ʔákò·ʔà: "dánàhɩ́ ʔɩzɩsɩ́ ʔɩɩčąʔádà·hàɩɩ́·ɩgò dáxáɩ́ nàɩńžóní dà·hàsą́."

(57) ʔákò· bɩ́kɩžɩ̨šdè·sʒénáʔà. čɩ·kàšɩ̨ ʔáɩɩyè·dà ḱà·dégò dà·ʔɩčɩyąńáʔà. ʔɩzɩsɩ́ ʔɩɩčąʔáɩ̨ɩà·náʔà čɩstè·ɩ hà·stɩ̨·ń. nágòʔà dásíbɩdánèɩ́ dɩ́·ḱèh bɩyèʔyá góɩ̨ɩ́náʔà. ʔákò·ʔà dɩ́·ḱèh dà·gòyǫ́·yąńáʔà dásígòdánèɩ́ bɩ́ká.

(58) ʔákò·ʔà nágòdɩ·kànáʔà. "ńžǫ́ńḱèhdà·ʔǫ̀·dą́. ńčąnô·kà. šǫ́·dé, nà·ʔɩɩéńsɩ̨. ʔɩxéhè," gò·ɩ^{n}dɩná ʔà čɩstè·ɩ hà·stɩ̨·ń.

(59) ʔákò·, nášdɩ·kàgò, ʔɩɩzénádà·čɩ·s^{n}dɩ·náʔà. ʔákò· gòčąnášdè·skànáʔà.

5. Coyote and the Creation

(1) "kòyá ná·déšʒá," šǫ́·dé ^{n}dɩ́náʔà.

(2) "ʔɩyâ·dó bɩ́káhɩńn^{n}dáná? ḱàdɩʔą̀· dáhɩńyáń. kǫ́·héžɩ̨ kò·γąšɩ̨ ^{n}dɩ·šɩ̨ nǫ́·dà·ɩgò dábɩdáńn^{n}dáyá dàhná·šdɩyǫ́·ɩ́ɩ. ḱàdɩ dáńyàhɩ·yá. kǫ̀·šḱè·ʒɩ̨ ʔɩnánàhɩ̨^{n}dɩɩ. nàhɩ́dó ḱàdéxàʔádà dà·gǫ̀·ɩcé. ʔákà·dà nàɩnà·nǫ́·kà," šǫ́·dé bɩʔɩsʒáńń bɩ·ɩ^{n}dɩ́náʔà.

(3) šǫ́·dé gò·ɩ^{n}dɩná ʔà: "ʔɩyâ· ʔáɩá? ʔákà·šɩɩnà·nâ·hkà háštɩ̨. ʔéɩčɩné dà·bɩzą́·yé. ʔà·^{n}dàh xàʔá dé·yáyá. tóɩ́ dàhdàńɩɩ̨ ḱèhdà·gǫ́tè·ɩ. gǫ́cà·gò nà·dà·gò·sʔá. ʔášɩ̨ ʒɩɩɩ́dà ʔɩdɩ̨· hàdàńdàʔ. céɩ́dà nà·nádà·stɩ. ʔášɩ̨dó dà·gòńɩčɩɩ.

(4) "gǫ́·ʔɩ̨, ʔá·ńnè šɩʔéɩčɩné ɩɩʔnè dà·bɩzą́·yé. ɩɩʔnè dò·tóyédà·gǫ́sɩ̨dà. ɩání bè·négòʒɩ. xąh čɩ·yá.

(5) "nádà·góńʔą̀ ʔɩyâ·dà bégòńsɩ̨. ʔáɩ́ bɩ́ká, ^{n}dé ʔɩɩʔáńyágò ʔáɩénè góčąšɩ̨ dɩ́·ḱehɩ́ ɩàʔdò·šɩɩ́·ɩ. ńsɩ̨gò nà·šá. ʔáɩyà·dà. dò·ʔákà·šké·ʔdà·hàhkádà. bɩnɩ·dásè·ń ʔákà· nà·nô·šdá·ɩ. dò·γáɩ́égòšɩčɩ̨·hàná·nąʒɩ·dà.

(6) "čɩ̨ʔńšxòdéńnè ń^{n}dénè gǫ́žǫ́gò góbà·gò^{n}dɩ. ʔáɩbɩ́ká, gòčɩ̨·dé·yá. ʔɩyâ·dà nàhánáńšʔɩ̨·."

(54) Then he spoke thus to his wife: "Bring out for them that which I have put inside there," he said to her.

(55) Coyote's wife went inside. Then she put down before those who had come to him that bag which [Coyote] had filled with things.

(56) Then: "You people open the bag and eat anything you like.

(57) Then they started to move toward [the] bag]. Because they were tired they were going to eat right away. The Turtle man opened the bag. And inside of it was all of their favorite food. Then they ate it all because it was their favorite food.

(58) Then they arose. "you have fed us well. We are going to leave you. Coyote, I am grateful to you. Thank you," said the Turtle man to him.[4]

(59) Then, having arisen, they all embraced one another. And then they parted.

5. Coyote and the Creation

(1) "I am going away again," said Coyote.

(2) "Why are you going to tire yourself out? Just now you were very tired. You no sooner come in and sit down on the ground at home than you dash out again. Now I've become tired of you. You are continually leaving us in an empty camp. We too would like to see other places. Take us with you over there," said Coyote's wife to him.

(3) Coyote said to her: "How are you to do that? I want you to go over there with me. [But] the children are small. The place to which I am going is far away. There are many broad rivers on [the road]. There are many big canyons. And the mountains also are very high. There are many steep cliffs. And there are also dense forests.

(4) "You see, some of those children of mine are small. Some of them cannot swim. There is much that frightens them. They soon become tired.

(5) "I know about all sorts of places. Therefore, I will get all sorts of things from people of many kinds. I am learning as I travel about. Therefore, do not follow me over there. Let me go about by myself. Do not speak of this to me again.

(6) "Good things are said about the Frog people. Because of that, I shall go to them. I shall bring back something for you."

(7) "šltà·, dáʔákà· šlłǹžǫ́. ʔákò· hǫ́ⁿdá·ł. dáší dí·k̀èhá tóí člʒl ʔášį́ dáxà·dí nà·sí·. ʔíyą̀·, šlmá, dò·blčį·yą́łtídà. bínl· ʔákà· hàdlyá. ʔlyâ·dà nàhánáyı́ʔı́·."

(8) šǫ́·dé blʔlsʒáńń ʔábl·łⁿdlnáʔà: "ʔáxą̀h, hǫ́ⁿdá·ł. dò·xáńbè·ná·ʔı́λádà. dádò·šídàíná, bà·-yáńsı́ čédàʔą́ı́ı́."

(9) "ʔíyą̀·dàń, dò·ʔáyáná·nášⁿdádà. dáʔáń ⁿdéná góbà·ná·náǹšdáǹ, ʔášı́ ⁿdáségò dò·xàʔá ǹčą́-ná·dlšdádà. nàhè·łťénè góbà·nádǫ̀·kà. xàʔyágò kò·tàí dò·bégòǹsı́dà ǹdàh dí·k̀èhá łlʔ nàhčàhgòł-čí. blkégòná nàłgòdò·šⁿdl xàʔgò náǹšʒágò. ʔíyą̀., dánàhík̀èh gǫ́žǫ́gò šlzénáhⁿdl. ʔákò· nàhčą́òšá·ł."

(10) ʔákò·ʔà ʔlłzénádà·gò·sⁿdl·náʔà. ʔákò· gòčą́dè·yáná ʔà. dà·gòčı́·dàhdl·łⁿdl·náʔà. bídó blčı́·dàhdà·šdl·łⁿdl·náʔà. ʔášı́ ʔíńtlǹ ylk̀èhǫ́·yá-náʔà. dáʔíłcé dáʔákòhégò hànáʔàǹyá ʔlčl·stlnáʔà-gò, ťą́yá nánè·łⁿdlnáʔà. nágòʔà ʔlťàh dáʔtlǹsı́ blʔéłčlné dábìmáńylł nà·gòyè·kànáʔà. ʔlťàh ʔášı́ dà·gòdè·sʔı́náʔà. dáłè·ǹ gòkéyá dàhdà·gòdè·sⁿdl-náʔà. ʔákò· bídó gòčı́·dàhná·dà·dl·łⁿdl·náʔà. náhè·yágò hànáʔàǹyá blcl·í ʔô·sdı́·náʔà.

(11) ʔášı́ ⁿdásé ǹkèńyáná ʔà. ʔíńtlǹyá dádò·-ʔà·ⁿdàhyá ʔlžášè· bldâ·yá hànàǹńyáná ʔà. ʔákò·yá dè·sʔı́náʔà. káťéšı́ dlclní blkášı́ dàsldáná ʔà.

(12) "šǫ́·dé," gò·łⁿdlná ʔà, "xàʔyáxè· déǹ-yá?" gò·łⁿdlná ʔà ʔlžášè·í.

(13) "xàʔyá čı́ʔǹšλòdéńnè gókò·tàʔ"

(14) "dáʔákàⁿdásǫ́·ⁿdá·ł," blłčlⁿdlná ʔà.

(15) "ʔlxéhè," gò·łⁿdlná ʔà šǫ́·dé.

(16) ʔášı́ dáⁿdásá čàťlná ʔà. ⁿdl·ʒı́ dè·sʔı́gò čàťlná ʔà. dádò·ʔlsʔàhdàgò łlʔ hàčàʒínáʔà. dáhà-nàłⁿdlná ʔà. dáʔášı́ nlťyáná ʔà. dáʔlłčą́dè·sʔı́náʔà. blčı́·hàná·čàʒínáʔà. ʔákò·dà gǫ̀·łcą́náʔà. yè·ʔà ʔlžášè· ʔáťı́náʔà.

(17) "šǫ́·dé, xàʔyá déǹyáʔ" blłčlⁿdlná ʔà.

(18) "kòyá," ⁿdlná ʔà, "čı́ʔǹšλòdéńnè ǹⁿdéńnè góčı́·dé·yá," gò·łⁿdlná ʔà.

(19) dádò·ʔlłčı́·hàná·člʒl·dàhé, gòčą́hl·łtè·ná ʔà. blcl·í łàʔyá yè·nánàłⁿdl·łgò čàťlná ʔà. ⁿdásáyá káťéšı́, ʔlyâ·xè· bà·nà·člyáná ʔà. cı́blgòdé ʔǫ́·ʔáí blkéclǹyá hàgòčlčl·náʔà. ʔlyâ·xè·

(7) "My father, [said Coyote's son] I like it right here. So, you go on. I will take care of everything--water, wood, and all. Therefore, my mother, do not speak [further] to him. Let him start out over there. He will bring back something for us."

(8) Coyote's wife spoke thus to him: "All right, go ahead. [But] do not imitate anyone again. Though I do not do it, I am ashamed at your failures."

(9) "Very well, I shall not do so again. When I have been to these people, then I shall not go anywhere from you again. We will return to our own people. I do not know where the camp is but someone somewhere will tell us about it. Later, when I return, I will tell you the story. Therefore, all of you embrace me well. Then I'll leave you."

(10) Then they embraced one another. And he started to leave them. He waved his hand to them. They also waved their hands to him. Then he got to the road. As soon as he had gone nearly out of sight, he looked back. And his wife and children were still standing in the doorway. They were still watching him from there. He had waved his hand to them once more. Then they also waved their hands toward him again. He turned around and his head disappeared out of sight.

(11) From there he went on. A little way down the road a Bird flew across in front of him. He looked over that way. There, on a tree, [Bird] was sitting.

(12) "Coyote," he said to him, "where are you going?" said the Bird to him.

(13) "Where is the camp of the Frog people?"

(14) "Go right on in that direction," [Bird] said to him.

(15) "Thank you," said Coyote to him.

(16) From there he went on farther. He walked along looking at the ground. In a little while someone spoke. [Coyote] raised his head. He stopped right there. He looked everywhere. Someone spoke to him again. Then he saw him. It was another Bird.

(17) "Coyote, where are you going?" he said to him.

(18) "Over yonder," he said, "I am going to the Frog people," he said to him.

(19) Without speaking to each other again, they parted. [Coyote] went on, turning his head in all directions. Further on over there, someone was moving about doing something. He was digging at

náčlyàlàí gòzé·ʔyá ʔlčlyàⁿdlłná?à.

(20) šǫ́·dé gòčl̨·nlńyáná?à. šǫ́·dé gò·łⁿdlná?à: "?lyâ·xè· dáńł?l̨·?" gò·łⁿdlná?à.

(21) "?ó·?" čldǫ́·ⁿdl·ná?à. dáhàšnàłⁿdlná?à. "xà?šl̨xè·ná?" blłčlⁿdlná?à.

(22) "dá?ášl̨?ą̀·," ⁿdlná?à šǫ́·dé.

(23) "ší ǩà·yáńnè hóńgéí. ?ášl̨ šàš dà·šlgółʔl̨. ?áíšl̨ ?áštl̨. négòńsl̨, šǫ́·dé."

(24) "ńžǫ́ šlčàhgǫ́łčí xà?yá čl̨?ńšx̀òdéńnè gókò·tà."

(25) "dl̨·ń nà·nákąšl̨ nó·γòšé ʒłłíblbą̀·šl̨, ʒłłblzą́·yéí dl̨·?í slx̌à·í. nó·γòhé gòbą̀·í dl̨·ń cébà·nà·náńtłí. blǩášl̨ bè·hà?l·?ášíné, tó dl̨·ń slką́. ?ldáhégò tóslką́í bèhà?l·?ášíné, dl̨·ń tóyèhǫ́·líní. ?lbą̀·gò čéńlį́í tè·ł dl̨·ń dàslkà·. ?ldáhégò bè·hà?l·?ášíné cédlłxłłí sl?ą́. ?ášl̨, dàhnáńdà·, čl̨?ńšx̀òdé nàńtáń."

(26) "šǫ́·dé, nà·?łłéńsl̨. gòlą̀ń ?lxéhèłàhà," dǫ́·ⁿdl·gò gòčl̨ńńyá. blčl̨·nášdl·ʒá. ?łłzénáčl·sⁿdl·ná?à. dá?łłǩlšl̨ čó·ta. ?łłčldǫ́·čl. nágò góčą́hl·łtè·ná?à.

(27) ?ášl̨ ⁿdásá čàtlná?à. dá?łłcé nàńdàsltą̀è· čłńtlná?à. ?ášl̨ ⁿdásá ná·dè·sgàlná?à. ?á·?dó łl? nàńdàsltą́. ylčl̨·gò ná·hl·łtè·ná?à. ?á·?ná·čłńtlná?à. ?ášl̨ ⁿdásé ?łtàh łl? nàńdàhná·nástą́ná?à. ?á·?dó ná·čłńtlná?à. blyą́šl̨ hàná·násʒánná?à. ?ákà· ná·dè·stl̨ná?à. dáłè·?é nàńdàsltą́í ná?gòʒl·ná?à. ylčl̨·gò hl·łtè·ná?à. dáhátldè čàtlná?à. łàhdè ?édè·ná·nátàná?à. łàhdèdó hòłλòšná?à. ?ákò·, dá?ákò·, yéhl·yáná?à. blyą́déšl̨ hà·yáná?à.

(28) "šǫ́·dé!" čldǫ́·ⁿdl·ná?à. gòdl·sǫ́ná?à. šǫ́·dé ⁿdl·šl̨ nè·sdáná?à. blčl̨·čàtlná?à. bà·čłńyáná?à.

(29) "xà?yáxè· déńyáná?" blłčlⁿdlná?à.

(30) "hó! déńyá! ?ákà· dé·yá?à ?lyâ· ?ąłá?" gò·łⁿdlná?à. ?ídóí hà·stl̨·ń ?átl̨ná?à. "xąh, dlšⁿdl. dò·łą́ńčl̨·hò·šʒl·háťédà."

(31) ?ákò·?à ?łłčl̨ńčłńʔá·x̌ná?à. ?łłzénáčl·sⁿdl·ná?à.

(32) "blké·?gòná šłłgòdǫ́·łⁿdl," gò·łⁿdlná?à šǫ́·dé. gòčą́hl·łtè·ná?à. ⁿdásá čàtlná?à.

the foot of a stump standing there. He was picking up small objects and putting them in his mouth.

(20) Coyote stopped before him. Coyote said to him: "What are you doing?"

(21) "Huh?" he said to him. He raised his head. "Where are you from?" he said to him.

(22) "From right here," said Coyote.

(23) "I [am one of] those who are called Rump people.[1] And they [also] call me Bear. That's who I am. I know you, Coyote,"

(24) "Tell me exactly where the camp of the Frog people is."

(25) "On the farther side of the fourth ridge from the edge of the mountains, there are four little mountains. At the edge of the farthest [little mountain] are four cliffs. Under them and on the east side of them, there are four lakes. On the east side of the uppermost lake, four rivers flow into it. On the [river] bank farthest away lie four clumps of tule. On the east side of the uppermost [clump] lies a black stone. And, sitting on it, is the Frog chief."

(26) "Friend, I am grateful to you. Thank you many many times," he said as he stood before him. [Bear] stood up facing him. They embraced each other. They held each other tightly. They released each other. And then [Coyote] left him.

(27) From there he went on farther. He came to the first ridge. From there he looked ahead. There was another ridge. He went toward it also. He got there too. Beyond it also was still another ridge. He also reached that one. He went to the top of it also. He looked over yonder again. Just one more ridge remained. He went toward it. He walked fast. Sometimes he ran. Sometimes also he trotted. Then, at last, he got to it. He climbed to the top of it.

(28) "Coyote!" said someone. [Coyote] heard him. Coyote sat down on the ground. Someone was coming toward him. Someone came to him.

(29) "Where are you going?" he said to him.

(30) "Ho! Where are you going! I'm going over there. What do you want?" he said to him. It was Mountain Lion man. "Hurry, I said. I cannot talk to you long."

(31) Then the two stood before each other. They embraced each other.

(32) "You will tell me a story later," said Coyote to him. He [then] went away from him. He went on farther.

(33) "ⁿdì·gò·sʒáńń! ʔíyą·dà, k̀àdì, ńkásì-ʔı̨·í, ńkánà·kàí, ńkáè· nà·hìhⁿdà·í ńkágólíní, dí·k̀èh dò·ʔédı̨dàgò, xàʔyá ʔáśdàlí·łí ʔákà·gò bè·łt́éyá dí·k̀èh ʔádàⁿdí·ł. góčı̨·hòšá·łńnè, dágé góbà·nı́yáí bìʒı̨, dáxàʔyábè·łt́éyá gòdàlè·ł. ʔáśı̨, šìčı̨·hàgàʒíí ʔáśı̨ góčı̨·hò·šʒíí, dáʔá·déʒı̨ ⁿdásé, dágóbí, gózà·í góčísíylł ⁿdì·gò·sʒáń bìkáè· yèńkè·nágòdáí, dàlè·ł. dò·gódì·sčą́dàdà·ł."

(34) ʔáśı̨ ʔíńtìń čàt́ìná ʔà. ʒìłbìzą́·í dı̨·ʔí sìʒà·ʒí dáʔíłcé yàńyáná ʔà, dáxą̀hnágò dáná·bìkéè·í, dáná·náxą̀hnágò dáná·bìkéè·í. dáxą̀hnágò dásíʔìkéè· náʔìʒì·í yà·ná·náʒáná ʔà.

(35) bè·hàʔì·ʔáśíné nìńyáná ʔà. dágòⁿdéhé xàʔśı̨xè· sà·í dì·sčą́ná ʔà. ʔâ·łčìⁿdìná ʔà: "dı̨·ń tósìkáí bè·hàʔì·ʔáśégò ⁿdáséǫ́·ⁿdá·ł," dáʔíłcè tósìkáśı̨ bìłčìⁿdìná ʔà.

(36) ʔákò· ⁿdásá čàt́ìná ʔà. ⁿdásé tóná·náskáí yà·ná·číńt́ìná ʔà. "bè·hàʔì·ʔáśíné hǫ́·ⁿdá·ł," bìłčìⁿdìná ʔà.

(37) ʔáśı̨ ⁿdásé tóná·náskáí yà·ną·číńt́ìná ʔà. ʔáná·łčìdìhⁿdìná ʔà. "bè·hàʔì·ʔáśíné hǫ́-ⁿdá·ł," bìłčìⁿdìná ʔà.

(38) ʔáśı̨ ⁿdásá ná·číńt́ìná ʔà. "k̀àdì nàńdì-ʔáśégò ńńⁿdá," bìłčìⁿdìná ʔà. šáʔì·ʔáhí náhàkòšı̨ ʔáśı̨ hàʔì·ʔáśégò yìčı̨·šégò náhè·yáná ʔà.

(39) ʔáśı̨ dı̨·ń tóʔìłgǫ́lı̨í ʔáʒı̨ táhdà·slı̨-ná ʔà. ʔáśı̨ tódı̨·ńtáhǫ́·líní dádı̨·ʔígò yàńyáná ʔà. ʔìbą̀·è· ńlíní, k̀èhgǫ́tè·lè·, tè·ł dı̨·ʔí dàslkà·-ná ʔà. tábą̀·šı̨ ʔìbą̀·gò slkà·í bè·hàʔì·ʔáśíné cédìłxlłí slʔą́í bìk̀lšı̨ čı̨ʔńšxòdé nàńt́áń dàsìdá-ná ʔà.

(40) bìčı̨ńčíńyáná ʔà. nágòʔà čı̨ʔńšxòdé nàńt́áń dáʔáⁿdí·dé ʔáyádàⁿdí·ł bìłčìⁿdìńì ʔáyáʒà·-ná ʔà. dáʔáⁿdí·dé čı̨ʔńšxòdé dákògòhí sìlı̨ná ʔà. dò·xàʔyô·bìčı̨·yáčìłtìńžǫ́dà. híyè·dà t́ô·bìčı̨·hà-čàʒídàná ʔà. gòčáyá táyè·ʒı̨ yà·náčı̨·t́ìná ʔà.

(41) ʔákò· ʔáíí ʔìⁿdáʔìgâ·łʔà·šé dáʔíłcé ʔáyáʒà·ná ʔà. ʔı̨·šı̨ⁿdáségò, dágé k̀éšdìyàyàłí dí·-k̀èh, dáxáíʔátéí, ʔákà· ʔô·ⁿdí·łná ʔà. gòłgǫ́tǫ́·yé-

(33) "Earth! Now, for some reason, that which lies upon your surface, those who live upon your surface, [and] those animate beings who exist upon your surface, none of them disappearing, will all be transformed in a place similar to this one which he will make somewhere. The people to whom I am going, on the very day that I come to them, will become like those in that place. Then, when they have spoken to me and I have spoken to them, from that moment on, they, their words and their bodies by means of which they customarily move about on the surface of the earth, will change. I will not have heard them."[2]

(34) From there he kept on along the road. He came to the first of the four small mountains, soon after to the next, and soon after again to the third. Finally he came also to the last remaining one.

(35) He stood on the east side of it. He heard words in a voice from somewhere.[3] It spoke thus to him. "Go on to the east side of the fourth lake," it said to him at the first lake.

(36) Then he went on. He came also to the next lake. "Go on to the east," [the voice] said to him.

(37) From there he went on again to the next lake. [The voice] spoke thus to him again. "Go on to the east," it said to him.

(38) From there he went on further. "Now you are standing on the south side," it said to him.[4] He went around to the west, the north, and [finally] to the east side.

(39) There four streams came together and flowed into the lake at that place. He went to the fourth of the four streams that flowed into the lake. At the edge of the stream, in a wide place, there were four clumps of tule. The Frog chief was sitting on a black rock which lay on the east side of the clump [of tule] which lay on the edge of the [river] bank.

(40) [Coyote] stopped before him. Then the Frog chief was transformed exactly as [Coyote] had said he would be transformed. Right at that moment he became an ordinary frog. [Coyote] was unable to talk to him at all. And therefore he did not talk to him. [The frog] jumped away from him into the water.

(41) So that one was the first of all living creatures to be transformed. From this time on, everyone that [Coyote] looks at, whoever it is,

gò nà·náčlyàdá·łná?àhá. tólǩéšdè·yàlná?à. hàčl-ʒíídó čédà?áčlł?ǫ·ná?à.

(42) "tè·ł, tè·łcóʒí, tè·łdlšǩáí, tè·ł?áł-čǫ·sí, ?ó·ǩà·í, táyè?ǩòh?l·tò·í, ǩòh?l·gà·í, ǩòh?l·cò·í, ǩòh?l·číí, ǩòhdl·ǩlší, dí·ǩèh, łl? ?édǫgò, dáxà·dí táyè?šǫ hànádàǩíǫí dí·ǩèh dò·-lè·ł," šǫ·dé blłčlⁿdlná?à. dá?áíná yégǫ́sǫgò ?á-čǫsǫná?à.

(43) ?ǫ·šǫ ⁿdásé dàhl·yáná?à. "nágò?à ⁿdl·-blkáǩòh?lgâ·ł?à·šé dá?íłcé: ǩòhkéstàsí, ǩàłdèlí, ǩòłčídí, ǩòhlščí·lí, ǩòłčíší, ǩòłǩlʒí, ⁿdéblǩòhí, ʒlłáǩòhkéstàsí, ǩòhblⁿdâ·ňcà·í, ǩòhblⁿdâ·-ňǩlʒí, ǩòhblⁿdâ·?áłčǫ·sí, ǩòhblⁿdâ·?ászó·lí, ǩòhblⁿdâ·?łłà·dà·slʒà·í, ǩòhblⁿdâ·?łłké?dàslʒà·-í, ǩòhblⁿdâ·?łłké?ńčlí, ǩòhdábllátàdéblⁿdâ·dàslʒà·í, ?áší ǩòhblčíládéídè·száí. ?lgâ·ł?à·šé.tô·-hó·žl·dè·dà tô·hl·sǫ́dàdè·dà, dábínl·łágò ?łłtà-gò łl?dó ?è·ná·dàkà." dí·ǩèh sllǫná?à.

(44) ?áší ?ánâ·łčlⁿdlná?à: "ⁿdásá nǫ·ⁿdá." dá?áínáldl·sǫ́ná?à. dè·syàlná?à. yè·?à dlclní bà·góńyáná?à. dá?íłcé "mà?dé·łkàdè," dǫ·ⁿdl·-ná?à. dò·yáłtldà sllǫná?à. dè·syàlná?à. ǩàdl: "nàňstáné, ǩà·ščlš, tà·łblłdà·člňłⁿdéí, césdlsí, góńčlšé.

(45) "?áší xòšdlclnídó: xòšnà·dè·yèl, xòš-dlštǫ·dí, xòšgǫ́čǫ·sí. ?lčǫ·š góńčlšé: xòšbéíí, gòłčídí, xòšblzǫ́·yéíłłcòí.

(46) "ǩàdl ?èǩòdé góńčlšé: gòškàňí, gòškàň-łlgàlí, gòškàňⁿdè·ʒí, gòškàňdlʒò·lí.

(47) "ǩàdl ?ǫ·šǫⁿdásé dlcǫńčlšé: ?lčíčllè-dódò·ná?gòňgàdí, ?lyè?éłcòl, čl·sí, tógǫ́líní, tógǫ́líníná dà·?l·gà·í, tógǫ́líníná dà·?l·tò·í, tó-gǫ́líníná?l·číí, tógǫ́líníná?l·cò·í, tógǫ́líníňcà·-í, tógǫ́líníčǫ·?łłdá?dàsllái, tógǫ́líníčǫ·?áłčǫ·s-í, tógǫ́líníčǫ·łłbái.

(48) "dí·dí· ňⁿdé?lgâ·ł?à·šé, dí·ǩèh ňⁿdé, dáxà?yá ňžǫ́yá ?ánáňgàł?ǫ·łdà·ł," blłčldó·ⁿdl·-ná?à šǫ·dé.

(49) ?ǫ·šǫ dí·ǩè·ňyá nà·nô·yàlná?à. dánà·-cékè·sídà ?ô·ⁿdí·łná?à. "?íłàh ʒlłí dàǩlʒígò hà-nádà·s?á," ńzǫgò cédè·ské·ʒná?à. ʒlłíňžǫ́négò dà-ǩlʒégò ǩòhí?łł?ánô·?áčéíbè· hàdà·yè·sčǫ sllǫ-ná?à. ʒlłídó ňⁿdè·ʒgò hànádà·s?á dà·sllǫná?à. dá?ákà·dà dí·ǩè·ňyá dàǩlʒ sllǫná?à. ʒlłídà·híǩá will be changed in this way. He walked about sadly. He looked at the water. He also tried in vain to speak.

(42) "Tule, spike rush, sedge, slender tule, carrizo, water cress, white violet, asphodel, side oats grama [var.], blue-eyed grass, [and] everything, though it does not [now] exist, of whatever sort that grows in the water will be created," [the voice] said to Coyote. [The voice] made him think only of these things.[5]

(43) From here [Coyote] went on. "And right now all the varieties of grass on the earth's surface: grama grass, false flax, big blue-stem grass, buffalo grass, corn grass, wild violet, salt grass, black grama grass, red columbine, wild barley, side oats grama [var.], red top grass, rye grass, candy grass, side oats grama [var.], big blue-stem grass, and blue grass. Whether or not I've been heard to name all the varieties, let all of the other kinds come with [those I have named] also." All of them were cent.

(44) Then [the voice] spoke thus to him again: "Go on again." [Coyote] had heard only that. He looked around. Then he started with the trees. He had started to say: "Creosote bush." He became speechless. He looked around. Now: "Mesquite, shad scale, tree [sp.], screw bean, [and] all other varieties.

(45) "Then the thorny plants also: ocotillo, cholla, nipple cactus. All varieties of thorny roses: hedge-hog cactus, prickly pear cactus, strawberry cactus.

(46) "Now all varieties of yucca: yucca, white yucca, long yucca, round yucca.[6]

(47) "Now, on to all varieties of trees: live oak, acorn oak, cottonwood, willow, willow which becomes white all around,[7] desert willow, willow which becomes red all around,[7] willow which becomes yellow all around,[7] big willow,[7] willow on which the leaves lie above one another,[7] heart leafed willow, salix exigua.

(48) "All kinds of people, all people, will repeatedly make use of you in some good way," [the voice] said to Coyote.[8]

(49) Then [Coyote] looked about everywhere. Whatever he thought of became so. "Let green hills extend upward everywhere," he, thinking, thought so. Beautiful hills with all sorts of green plants growing on them came into existence. Big mountains also arose everywhere. It became green everywhere

dà·sllɪ̨ná?à. blzą́·yô·hɪ́ḱą́ dà·sllɪ̨ná?à. łl?ɪ ?à·-ⁿdàhá dà·hɪ́ḱą́gò, łl?ɪ ?áxá·nézl̨ dà·sḱą́gò, ʒlłná bè·hànná?àñyá ?lnádà·yè·sɪ́ɪ̨ná?à.

(50) nà·dà·gò·stè·lná?à. blzą́·yégò nádà·-góńtè·lná?à. łlgòcà·gò nà·dà·gò·stè·lná?à. łàhdè hànà·dà·gò·s?ánná?à. łàhdè dágòⁿdéhé dà·góń?ánná?à.

(51) tóídà hàdà·slɪ̨. łàhdè ?à·ⁿdàhyá dàńlɪ̨ná?à. blyè?yá, čɪ̨?ñšx̀ódé, člstè·łɪ, łǫ́·?yè ?łł?áné?lgâ·ł?à·ɪ, dà·blzą́·yéí dàñcà·ɪ łlklʒ̨ɪ ?łł?ánô·?áťéí ?łłà·nà·dà·?łłkǫ̀·ná?à. ?ákò· dɪ· góńťlšé táyè?yá ?l·ⁿdá gò·slɪ̨ná?à. "ñⁿdé ?lgâ·ł?à·-šé dáxà?yá ?áɪgòlńzl̨yá ?ánáñgàł?l̨·łdà·ł." ?â·ł-čldǫ́·ⁿdl·ná?à. yldl·sčąná?à.

(52) góí ?lgâ·ł?à·šé bà·céná·šdè·ské·ʒná?à. "nágò?à ?ldlžó·šé, góblcè·yálègǫ́línɪ, gónà·čɪ́stè·lɪ, góblčòhèɪ, gónà·ťáɪ, gódlʒ̨áɪ, góhà?łłcá·sɪ, góbltélègòłtóɪ, gódàx̀lʒ̨ɪ, gółltóɪ. ?lgâ·ł?à·šé xà·dɪ?édlnɪ, ná·gòdǫ́·lè·ł." šǫ́·dé ńzl̨gò yà·cédè·ské·ʒná?à.

(53) "ḱàdl mà?lšǫ́ɪ ?lgâ·ł?à·šé: mà?lšǫ́ɪ?áł-čǫ·sɪ, mà?lšǫ́ɪñⁿdè·ʒɪ, mà?lšǫ́ɪcl·càɪ, cégl·šdl-člʒ̨è·ɪ, mà?lšǫ́ɪñčl·lɪ, mà?lšǫ́ɪłłklʒ̨ɪ, mà?lšǫ́ɪdl-člʒ̨ɪ, mà?lšǫ́ɪcè·?áłdǫ·dɪ, mà?lšǫ́ɪdlʒ̨áɪ, mà?lšǫ́ɪ-zòłgòdàx̀lʒ̨ɪ, mà?lšǫ́ɪhà·skéɪ, mà?lšǫ́ɪnàñťlnɪ, mà-?lšǫ́ɪdlłxlłɪ, mà?lšǫ́ɪcè·?łłčą́gòłglʒ̨ɪ, mà?lšǫ́ɪḱlyà·gòčłłl?ɪ, mà?lšǫ́ɪcl̨yà·dàsltɪ̨ɪ. xà·dɪ dáhlsl·ɪ ná·gòdàλè·ł," ńzl̨ná?à.

(54) "ḱàdl ?l̨·šɪ̨, lô·sčǫ·sé ?lgâ·ł?à·šé: lô·sčǫ·séblʒ̨àñtè·lɪ, lô·sčǫ·sébltélègòłgàɪ, lô·sčǫ·séblcè·ñⁿdè·ʒɪ, lô·sčǫ·sédò·dè·s?ɪ̨dàɪ, lô·sčǫ·sélłlcòɪ, lô·sčǫ·sélłɪ̨yè?nà·?lⁿdlléḱèháťéɪ, łɪ̨yè?nà·?lⁿdllé, lô·scòɪ, lô·sčǫ·séblⁿdâ·hàhl-tàɪ, lô·sčǫ·séblⁿdâ·hǫ̀·?áɪ, lô·sčǫ·sélô·scòḱèhá-ťéɪ, lô·sčǫ·sédlx̀ò·yé, gòščllé, cl̨gèłcòlɪ, céḱè-dàhλòhdèɪ λǫ́·?yèɪdó, λǫ́ɪñcòyèɪdó, ló·?sánéɪdó, ló·?sánéłlcòɪdó, ló·?sánébà·dàhdà·čłłgàɪ, ló·?-sánéłlžlnɪ, ?lgâ·ł?à·šé. xà·dɪ bénáslšⁿdàɪ, ná·-gòdǫ́·lè·ł.

(55) "?l̨·šɪ̨gò čllà·hé bl̨·ɪylł góńťlšé: čl-là·hé, bl̨·ɪ, cè·nà·gà·ɪ, cè·dàx̀lʒ̨ɪ, blñcàɪ, ʒłł-dlbéhé, góńťlšé. xà·dɪ bénáslšⁿdàɪ bè·ná·dà·kà," šǫ́·dé ńzl̨ná?à.

(56) "?l̨·šɪ̨gò šàš góńťlšé: dlłxlłè·ɪ, yà·-còlɪ, šàšłlgàl, šàšñcàɪ, šàšká·?gò·ščɪ·lɪ, góńťlšé. xà·dɪ hlsl·ɪ bè·ná·dà·kà.

there. Mountain ranges came into existence. Small ridges came into existence. Some ridges were far away, others were near, and mountains could be seen wherever one looked.

(50) There were many plains everywhere. There were small clearings. There were broad plains. Some were broad valleys. Some were just like canyons.

(51) There were many springs also. Some of these flowed far away. In them, frogs, turtles, [and] fish of all kinds, little ones [and] big ones of all colors, swam about. So all these varieties of life in the water came into being. "People of all sorts will make use of you in any way they see fit." [The voice] had spoken thus to him.[9] He had heard it.

(52) He thought also about all kinds of snakes. "Now then: bullsnake, rattlesnake, black water-snake, copperhead snake, whip snake, blue racer, the snake that is whipped, the red-bodied snake, the blue snake, the red snake.[10] All kinds that do not [now] exist, you will be created also." Coyote, thinking, thought so about them.

(53) "Now all the varieties of lizard; slender lizard, long lizard, big-headed lizard, lizard [var.], lizard [var.], spotted lizard, rough lizard, lizard [var.], fast-running lizard, blue-throated lizard, fierce lizard, hiding lizard, black lizard, forked-tail lizard, lizard [var.], lizard that lies on trees.[11] Any that I have missed will also be created," he thought.

(54) "Now then, all varieties of rodent: big-eared mouse, harvest mouse, jumping mouse, shrew, white-footed mouse, short-tailed meadow mouse, gopher, rat, big-eyed rat, bulging-eyed rat, long-tailed rat, hairy field mouse, chipmunk, tree squirrel, rock squirrel, prairie dog, big prairie dog, ground squirrel, yellow ground squirrel, big spotted ground squirrel, black ground squirrel, [and] all other kinds. Any that I have forgotten, you will also be created.

(55) "And now all kinds of antelope and deer: antelope, deer, white-tailed deer, Virginia deer, elk, mountain sheep, [and] all other kinds. Any that I have forgotten will also come with them," Coyote thought.

(56) "And now the various bears: black bear, brown bear, white bear, California bear, silver tip bear, and all other kinds. Any that I have

(57) "ʔlˌ·ší ʔídóí ʔlgâ·łʔà·šé: ʔídóícè·ʔáłdǫ̀·yè, ʔídóíblcè·ñⁿdè·ʒí, nášgǫ̀ʒé, ʔídóíłklʒí, nášgǫ̀ʒéłlklʒí, nášgǫ̀ʒécè·ñⁿdè·ʒí, nášgǫ̀ʒécè·ʔáłdǫ̀·dí, ʔlgâ·łʔà·šé. xà·dí dáhlslˌ·í, ná·gǫ̀dǫ́·-łè·ł.

(58) "nà·góščldè· góńťlšé: nà·góščldè·ícǫ̀í, nà·góščldè·łlgàí, nà·góščldè·blyà·ʔáłdǫ̀·dí, ḱè·-lí·šé, ḱè·lí·šéłklʒí, ʔlgâ·łʔà·šé. xà·dí dáhlslˌ·í, ná·gǫ̀dǫ́·łè·ł," šǫ́·dé ńzlˌná·ʔà.

(59) "ʔlˌ·ší blťàʔgǫ́lí́gǫ́ńťlšé, ʔlyą́í ʔlcáńťlšé: ʔlcácǫ̀í, łłčą́łgàlí, ʔlcè·łklʒè·í, ʔlcè·łgàlí, ʔéłčlnéylˌ·łčàʔí, ʔlcè·łcǫ̀lí, gǫ̀łgàyáʔlcè·-łklʒè·í, gǫ́ńtè·lnà·žà·í, táłłá·líšèñcà·í, glˌ·yè-cǫ̀, ʔlgâ·łʔà·šé." šǫ́·dé, ńzlˌnáʔàgǫ̀, cédè·ské·ʒ.

(60) "ʔlžášè·blzą́·yéí gǫ́ńťlšé: ʔlžášè·nàñťáítè·łgǫ̀łgàí, ʔlžášè·nàñťáíłłbáyé, čé·ñⁿdíyé, čé·ñⁿdíyélcǫ̀yé, ʔlžášè·łcǫ̀yé, ʔlžášè·clˌ·ťáłłtóí, čąˌ·nlˌ·łà·hdí, ʔlžášè·bó·dí, ʔlžášè·łłbáyéclˌ·yà·-hàñdàʔnà·hłłʒlˌ·í, ʒéʒlłgàlí, clˌ·łkà·łí, clˌ·łkà·łíʔéńťí, clˌ·łkà·łíñcàí, clˌ·łkà·łíñłčénè·í ťáłtódí, gàdè·í, gǫ́ńťlšé. xà·dí dáhlslˌ·í, ná·gǫ̀dǫ́·łè·ł," šǫ́·dé ńzlˌnáʔà.

(61) ñtǫ̀íylyą́šé ʔlgâ·łʔà·šé nà·ťàšégǫ́ńťlsé-ʔáťéí gà·ʔyè gǫ́ńťlsé dáʔíłłce bà·gǫ́ńyáí. gà·ʔyè-ʔlčą́·ščǫ̀šỳiyáné bè·gǫ̀dè·yáná·ʔà. "gà·ʔyèñcà·í, gǫ̀łgàyágà·ʔyè, gà·ʔyèzą́·yéí, cè·šǫ́·ʔyè, gǫ́ńťlšé. xà·dí hlslˌ·í ná·gǫ̀dàlè·ł," ńzlˌnáʔà. "nágǫ̀ʔà ʔédlní bè·ná·gǫ̀dàdá·ł," šǫ́·dé ńzlˌnáʔà.

(62) "ḱàdl blkè·ʔlłčą́gǫ̀łglʒè· blkè·ʔlłà·-dà·slʒà·í. nà·klgǫ ńťlgǫ ñtǫ̀íylyą́šé. dǫ̀·łlʔhlˌ-slˌ·dà ʔíyą̀·dà dí·ḱèh šlʒà·yèh dǫ́·kà. šlnà·cé-kè·sí, dí·ñ dǫ̀·bèñcéʔlkè·sdàí, gǫ̀dàlè·ł. ʒlłá-gô·člí, yǫ̀·nlˌ·cèí, ⁿdí·gǫ̀·ḱlʒí. blkè·ʔlłà·dà·-slʒà·í, màʔcǫ̀í. kéʔlłdénágǫ̀yèʔdè·sʔè·sń blzą́·yéí nà·dà·člžǫ̀·ší, čó·néńťlí.

(63) "ḱàdl dáhlˌ·yá. ⁿdéblḱèhyágǫ̀ ʔášlčí́là·-ʔíyą̀·dà, šíí šlčísí blzą́·yégǫ̀ ʔádlšⁿdá. šlʒà·í, šlčí́í, šlⁿdâ·í, šlḱáčǫ̀ší, šlyǫ̀·í. šlʒádí dí·ʔígǫ̀, šlcè·í dlḱǫ̀·yégǫ̀, nà·gǫ̀šⁿdégǫ̀ hlščlłgǫ̀, šl-kè·í ʔlłà·dà·slʒà·gǫ̀, ʔáší́ šlgàñťdó šílà·í ʔlł-čí́·ʔáślágǫ̀. šǫ́·dé yáʔédí́. ḱàdl céḱè·ščíhé màʔyè ʔè·nádlšdá šlʔéłčlné šlʔlsʒáńń. dáxàʔyá hǫ̀šá·łá, gǫ̀ñšłí́dè·dà, dí·ḱè·ñ gǫ́žǫ́gǫ̀ ʔlšxǫ̀šdà·ł. dáʔlcˌná missed will also come with them.

(57) "And now the varieties of mountain lion: short-tailed mountain lion, long-tailed mountain lion, wild cat, jaguar, spotted wild cat, ocelot, lynx, [and] all other kinds. Any that I have missed, you will also be created.

(58) "All the varieties of badger: big badger, silver badger, coarse-haired badger, skunk, civet cat, [and] all others. Any that I have missed, you will also be created," Coyote thought.

(59) "And now all the varieties of those with feathers, the varieties of hawk that kill: eagle, bald eagle, female golden eagle, male golden eagle, black hawk, red-tailed hawk, Winston's hawk, marsh hawk, osprey, sharpskin hawk, and all other kinds," Coyote, thinking, thought so.

(60) "All the varieties of little birds: wax wing, titmouse, pine siskin, goldfinch, canary, red-crowned kinglet, winter wren, nuthatch, white-breasted creeper, white-breasted nuthatch, woodpecker, Lewis woodpecker, California woodpecker, Rocky Mountain hairy woodpecker, flicker, kingbird, [and] all other kinds. Any that I have missed, you will also be created," Coyote thought.

(61) [Coyote] has now come to the various ravens, who are those of the class of carrion-eaters that fly. He has started with the ravens. "Raven, white-necked raven, crows, buzzard, [and] all other kinds. Any that I have missed will also be created," he thought. "And those who do not exist will also come by means of him," Coyote thought.

(62) "Now [come] those who have cloven hoofs [and] those whose feet are bunched. Both these groups are of the carrion-eaters. I shall not miss any of them because you will tell me of all of them. My thoughts, which have not stopped four times by means of him, will be created.[12] Mountain pig, peccary, common pig. Those with bunched feet, the wolves. The little ones who run about with their feet turned wrong side out, all the varieties of dog.

(63) "Now I have become very tired. He has made me in the form of a man. Therefore, I shall make my body small. [So will change] my ears, my nose, my eyes, my body hair, [and] my teeth. My legs will be four, my tail will be bushy, I shall howl and bark, my feet will be bunched, and I shall close up my arms and my hands. Coyote is no more.[13] Now I will return as coyote the animal [to] my

góńtlšé šldánègò ?ášţ dátóná hlšλągò. nà·gòšⁿdé-dà·ł."

(64) "k̀ádl màl nížígò ?édóńʒl·. dáťégò nlł-ńžǫdà·ł. ńsţgò dí·í nà·gòdlní?ą ?áíyą·dà dáłàh-dèná ?áńlà·è·"

(65) "nà·šţłⁿdáí ťô·?ášłà·dàè·ńí xà·ń? nlzà· nádl·ščţí. xáńxè· šlčţ·hànáhàʒlń? k̀ádl, ?ţ·-šţ šldâ·šţ ńńⁿdá!"

(66) k̀òsíγè?šţ dà·?ldl·hⁿdí. k̀òsíγè?šţ ?lcáłλć·lí ?łłčąšţ ńkè·ńťl. bl?áló·lí gǫlţń ńkèńyáná?à. ⁿdl·gò·sʒáńí dí·k̀èh dlyè·sⁿdáná?à. ńyòl-í, ńłčl?íylł, sáííylł ńkè·dà·yáná?à. "?łťàh łl?-dó nà·ná·náńš?ţ·í ?áná·ną̀λá dàhń."

(67) nágò?à bldâ·šţ k̀òsí dáⁿdl·gò·sʒáńí blkáè· ńkèńyáná?à. ⁿdl·í dl·hⁿdíná?à. nà·hlhⁿdá-ná?à. k̀òsí dà?ńʒò·lná?à.

(68) ⁿdéń dá?ákò·dè·yáń, dò·dódàńⁿdéńtǫ·yé-blłčlⁿdllè?áťédàń, ńkèńyáná?à. gòčţ·nlńyáná?à.

(69) "k̀ádl, dò·ⁿdéhąťţdàíyą·dà, k̀ádl kòyá nàńⁿdá. ńⁿdénè dáxà?yá híkágóťţyá ?ánáńgàł?ţ·ł-dà·ł. nl?l·ċéí ńⁿdénè gòčţ·?égòdţgò nàńgǫ?ţ·-dà·ł."

(70) ?ţ·šţ, cék̀è·ščíhé γáhá čéłλò·ʒná?à. yè·?à tóbáʒl·ščlnéń slzţná?à. dí·k̀èh nlhè·ⁿdá-ná?à. dò·?lyâ·gòⁿdédàná?à.

(71) nágò?à dí·k̀è·ńyá nà·nô·yàłná?à. "łání ?édţná?à. dí·k̀èh ?édlní, gòdǫ·lè·ł.

(72) "λ̀òhí?łł?ánô·?áťéí ⁿdl·gò·sʒáńí bl?é-dèdà·ł. dázlłádà dí·k̀èh gǫlà·. clnídàńcà·í dàń-ⁿdè·ʒgò blťą·í bè·čà·gòš?òh dà·gǫžǫ gǫlà·. ?ášţ ⁿdl·blkáè· nà·hlhⁿdáháťéí nà·kàháťéí ?łłà·nà·ťà-?áťéí.

(73) "?łžášè· góńťlšé xà·dí ?édlní blzà· dà·dl·ċàgò hàdà·?dl?ágò dà·dl·hⁿdígò. dí·k̀èhí dlcţnáńťţí, nè·sťáń ?lgâ·ł?à·šé, ?łł?ání?áťégò ?łłtà·s?ágò ńⁿdénè yè·gòlⁿdá?áťţyéí. k̀à·ċòsí?á-ťéí, ?ílą̀hdè?áťéí, céxàł?áťéí, cébé·š?áťéí, bè·łk̀àl?áťéí, dágóbí?łbàń?áťéí.

(74) "ⁿdénè šè·łťénè šlkék̀èyágò. šltà·ń dá-šţ dàsldáń nàhá?áţlà·í; ?égòdţè· šàldéń?ąè· ?áš-

wife [and] my children. Wherever I go, wherever I live, I will sleep well everywhere. Only all varieties of meat will be my food and I will drink only water. I will howl."

(64) "Now you have given yourself the name 'coyote.' You will like it that way. Because I think [so], I shall give you those portions that you have not created."

(65) "Who are you who move me about the places I have not created? Yours is a voice that I constantly hear. Who is this person who is speaking to me again? Now, come before me!"

(66) From inside a cloud there was a roar of thunder. A rainbow had come down on both sides from inside the cloud. He who was its power came down. The whole earth began to shake. The winds, breezes, and sands began to move. "Perhaps you will also create still more that I shall give to you."

(67) Then the cloud moved down to the surface of the earth before him. The earth roared. It shook. The cloud moved upward.

(68) The being who had just come, he of whom one could certainly not say that he was an evil man, had come down. He stood facing [Coyote].

(69) "Now, since you do not want to be human, you may go away. Humankind will do to you whatever they will. They will give you troubles that do not exist for human beings."

(70) At this point, Coyote trotted away. There stood Child of the Water. Everything had stopped its motion. Nothing made a noise.

(71) Then he looked about him everywhere. "It seems that much is lacking. All that is lacking, you will be created.

(72) "All varieties of plant will clothe the earth. Even all of the mountains will be created. Great tall trees giving good shade with their leaves will be created. And so [will] those that move and live and fly about on the surface of the earth.

(73) "The voices of all sorts of birds that do not [now] exist will be heard singing and making a noise. All trees that grow, all sorts of fruits, [and] all other things of this kind by means of which people sustain life [will be created]. [So will] arrows, spears, stone clubs, stone knives, metates, [and] tanned skins.

(74) "People made in my image will follow me. My father who lives up above[14] has made it so for

łágò. dí·k̓èh k̓èhgǫ́žónébè·nà·šáí. dò·šé?édè·gò-dìłⁿdídàgò, dáxà?yá dágóbí góⁿdì·í nà·cénágóyàł-kòsyá. ?ágòťégò nà·nágòyàłⁿdí·łdà·ł. k̓ádì, ńⁿdé-nè dí· nàhíígò, bè·hìnàhⁿdágò xà?yáńžǫ́yá ?ána-dà·ł?ą̀·łgò nàhà·ní?ą̀·.

(75) "k̓ádì ⁿdì·gò·sʒáńń bìčísí nánì·šk̓ás. k̓ós gǫ́là·. hàdà·gòtògò, dà·?ìdì·hⁿdígò, tóí ńkè-nánà·gòłtą̀. gòdó·yà?!" dǫ́·ⁿdì·ná?à tóbáǯì·ščì-néń. dí·k̓èh dá?áɣáʒà·ná?à.

(76) "nágò?à, dáná·bìk̓ìǯìgò, k̓òh?ì·tò·í ?ìł?ánô·?ádà·ťéí k̓òh?ì·gà·í ?ìł?ánô·?áťéí dí·-k̓è·ńyá ?áťégò. dádìčìnídà, k̓òhnà·nè·sdìʒídà, ⁿdì·bìká·?nà·nè·sdìʒídà dí·k̓èh nádà·?ì·gà·gò, łì?í dà·łìtógò, dà·łìgàgò, dà·łìcògò, dà·k̓àk̓ìǯ-gò, dà·łìčídégò, dàńžónégò dàńłčí·négò gòdàlè·ł. bìk̓ìǯìgò, nè·sťáńí ?ìłtàhgò ?ádà·ťéí, dìcìní, k̓òhídà, dí·k̓èh xáíbè·łťéí dà·gòdàlè·ł. ʒìłídà: béńčìyé, čò?òł, tàłí, nì·ščí·?í, dí·k̓è·ńyá ʒìłí-kè·dà·ńtągò gòdó·yà?. dá?áíí dìcìnídà bìčąšą̀ ⁿdénè gòdáń gǫ́ìą̀dà·ł. xà?yágò ńžǫ́yá hànágòyàł-?ą̀·łdà·ł. ?ášą̀ xà·dí bè·łťéí nè·sťáń bà·gòdà-lè·ł. yìčąšídà xà·dí gòčìńžǫ́í yégògǫ́sìdà·ł.

(77) "k̓ádì tóí hàdà·sìą̀dà·ł. ʒìłíbìyè?yá, ?ì·ⁿdáłądà·ł. k̓áłdànè góńťìšé gódą·?gò ?ìł?ánô·-?áťéí ʒìłíyè?yá góbágòdàlè·ł. ?ášą̀ bą̀·?áťą̀yéí ?ìł?ánô·?áťéí góbáłądà·ł. bè·?ì·ⁿdáí dò·góčą̀·-nè·ł?ądàgò; góbáłądà·ł. dágóbí góbá?áš?ą̀.

(78) "k̓ósná dà·dìkádà·ł. dábìkádégò nà·dà·-gòłtìdà·ł. dà·?ìdì·hⁿdígò, hàdà·gòtògò, ?ìcáł-k̓ó·lí ńkè·dàńťìgò, dí·k̓èhgò bè·ǫ́žǫ́gò nà·gòyá-dà·ł.

(79) "xòš góńťìšé dá?áídà bìnè·sťáńłądà·ł ?ìł?ánô·?áťéí dí·k̓èh. dò·łì?édìdàdà·ł. dáxà?yá cégòdè·ské·ǯí dí·k̓èh gódą·?dà·ł.

(80) "k̓ádì, šìtà·ń, dí·k̓èh ńyà·ł ná?ášlà·í ńⁿdénè góbàń?ą̀·í. k̓ádì, dá?áťégò xà·díí ?édìní šìčàhìłčí."

(81) "?ô·wó, dí·k̓èh bè·łťé. dí·k̓èh šìłńžǫ́. ?égòdì?é bégóńsą̀ dáxà?dą́," bì·łⁿdíná?à.

(82) "?áó, k̓ádì bégòńsą̀. ńⁿdì·í gòtàhńdà·-

you; he has given what is lacking to me to create. I am one who lives by means of all that is beautiful. They are not to speak evil of me even to themselves, even in any of the thoughts they are thinking. They will behave in this way. Now, you who are human, I have given you that by means of which you live and [that which] you will make beautiful anywhere.

(75) "Now I will cool the earth's surface. Clouds will be created. There will be lightning, thunder will roar, water will rain down. Let it come!" said Child of the Water. Everything happened just so.

(76) "Then, after this, there will be red flowering plants of all sorts [and] white flowering plants of all sorts everywhere. There will be beautiful sweet smelling trees, vines, trailing vines all covered with flowers, some red, some white, some yellow, some blue, [and] some pink. After this, there will be fruits of all different sorts, trees, [and] plants, all similarly [colored]. Even the mountains: let there be everywhere on the mountains pines, firs, junipers, [and] pinon trees. Even from these trees will humankind secure their food. They will prepare it in any way that is good. And all sorts of fruits will be on [the trees]. They will know which of these are good for them.

(77) "Now the rivers will flow. In the mountains, there will be much life. The varieties of quail will furnish all sorts of food for them in the mountains. And there will be many kinds of deer for them. There will be no lack of sustenance for them; there will be much for them. I will make it so for them.

(78) "Even clouds will start to move. There will be rain everywhere. Thunder, lightning, the rainbow stretched downward, all will exist made of goodness.

(79) "Even the varieties of cactus will have much fruit of many different kinds. Nothing will be lacking. Their food will be anything that they can think of.

(80) "Now, my father, look at all I have made for you to give to humankind. Now, tell me of anything of any kind that is lacking."

(81) "Yes, it is all good. I like it all. You already know what is lacking," said [his father] to him.

(82) "Yes, now I know it. Since disease will

gò, xà·dí xàʔyágò ágòlláí blčłnžónî góbáʔąlá. šlmáń béhídlškl," ⁿdlnáʔà tóbáʒl·ščlnéń.

(83) ʔlsʒánálè·šń kàńyánáʔà. "dí·łòh ʔlłʔánégòʔátéí dí·ḱèhí blčłnžǫ́gò góbáʔąlá. łàhdè čłłbé·žgò, łàhdè dà·ʔlḱèčlʔà·łgò, łàhdè dà·ʔlḱèčłłčígò, ʔéyà·nádà·ʔšdlłḱágò, čllągò, blslłí blłnášdlyòłgò. dí·í kátégò bížl· yáʔágòdàlí·ł. ʔlzè· hò·yédà·ł. dáxàʔyô· yíḱágǫ́ťłyágò ʔánágòyàłʔł·łdà·ł. dí·dí· ʔlzè·í dí·dí· łòh dí·dí· ʔlzè·dlylné hò·yédà·ł.

(84) "łòšéʔlzè·ń, dágé dł·ń nlgò·žlšdè·dà, ńḱèhgò ⁿdénágòdàlè·ł.

(85) "ná·nálłʔíyá, ʔlzè·hlⁿdáí, ʔlzè·dò·ʔlyâ·čéʔąłʔłdàdà·ł. ʔáí bíká, nížl·í ńžóní náʔášłà·.

(86) "ḱàdl, ł·è· ʔlzè·náʔl·łⁿdáń. ⁿdídó tádídíń bèńká·ʔnà·gòdàzò. ʔáyáťégò ʔáńgòłʔł·dà·ł. ⁿdénáʔyǫ́·łčl·łdà·ł.

(87) "ʔlzè·hò·còń, ⁿdí hóńyédà·ł. ⁿdídó, tádídíń dł·ʔgò yèńgóńⁿdllgò, ⁿdénáʔdǫ́·łčl·ł.

(88) "ḱàdl, ʔł·šłⁿdásé, ʔlzè· góńťlšé, šlcóyé. ʔlzèłłgóńłłń, ʔílóxàłí yèńgòcldà·ł. ńžóní bíká ʔáńgòłʔł·dà·ł. ʔíyą·dà, ʔlzè·hò·ʒlnèń, ⁿdíí dáxáíblčłńžǫ́dà·ł. ⁿdídó, ʔlzè·dò·nánè·łʔądàń. łòhblⁿdâ·ń, łàhdè gódą·ʔgò, dáxàʔyágò ʔáńgòdàlí·ł.

(89) "ḱàdl ⁿdídó, ʔlzè·blⁿdl·ń, dí·ḱèh blčłńžǫ́dà·ł. ʔíyą·dà, hàńgǫ́·člgò, dò·ʔákà·dàyá ʔášlgǫ́là· dò·ńⁿdídà. dáńžónéná bíká góńłłdà·ł.

(90) "ḱàdl ⁿdídó, ʔlzè·hò·tòń, dí·ḱèhná ńžǫ́gò ńłłdà·ł. dáxàʔyágò nlʔáló·lí šlʔáló·lí nè·ńyágò, ʔlzè· yèńgǫ́·žl·dà·ł. dáxàʔyágò ʔánáńgàłʔł·łdè·dà, bè·łḱàl bè·dàšł yèńgǫ́·cè·dè·dà, ńgǫ́·ḱądè·dà, dáʔáyáťégò ńⁿdé blʔlzèńłłdà·ł.

(91) "ḱàdl, ná·nágǫ́łłdí·ḱè·ńń ʔlzè·łłgàń. dí·ḱè·ńyágò ⁿdídó ńžǫ́dà·ł. tádídíń dł·ńgò ylłńgǫ́kągò, dáxà·dí dò·čéʔąłʔłdàdà·ł.

(92) "ḱàdl ʔł·šł, ʔlzè·łłbáń, dáxáí dí·ḱèh blčłńžǫ́dà·ł.

(93) "ḱàdl, ʔlzèłłhànágàčíń, dáʔáíbíká hà-

be among them, make something that will cure it that they can prepare. I ask my mother for this," said Child of the Water

(83) White Painted Woman came to him. "You will make for them all sorts of herbs, all of which will cure [diseases].[15] Some they will boil, some they will chew, some they will paint on, some they will customarily burn for their smoke, some they will drink, [and] they will breathe the vapors of some. There will be names for these things. They will be called medicines. They will make them for whatever purpose they want. These medicinal herbs will be called 'medicines which are holy.'

(84) "Herb medicine, if they breathe you four times, they will be cured by you power.[16]

(85) "Another one, medicine-that-lives, you will be a medicine that never fails. For that reason, I have made your name good.

(86) "Now, here is the medicine-that-moves-for-you. They will mark you with pollen. They will do so to you in that way. You will cure them.

(87) "Yellow medicine, you will be called. You alone, when they have thrown pollen at you four times, will cure them.

(88) "Now, from here on, there are all sorts of medicines, my grandson. You-who-are-with-medicine, they will pound you with a hail club.[17] They will do so to you because it is good. Then black medicine, you will cure anything. You also, medicine-without-end. Red columbine, since some [of you] is their food, they will make you anyhow.

(89) "Now you also, face medicine, you will cure everything. Therefore, when they have dug you up, do not say that they have prepared you incorrectly. You will exist only for good.[18]

(90) "Now you also, red medicine,[19] you will cure everything. Whenever my power comes by means of your power, you will be called a medicine. Whatever they do to you, if they pound you with a metate and mano, even if they grind you, you will in any case be a medicine for humankind.

(91) "Now, another one that exists everywhere is the wild cosmos. You also will be good everywhere. When they have put you down four times with pollen,[20] you will not fail to cure anything.

(92) "Now then, gray medicine, you will cure everything.

(93) "Now, that-redness-which-customarily-

náńťĮgò, ʔáńčĮlà·. ʔíyą·dà, dáxàʔyágò ńžǫ́dà·ł.

(94) "ʔldlšǎlš, dò·nà·góńłťédàgò, dí·ǩè·ńyô· dò·ʔlyâ·čéʔádǫ́·łʔĮ·łdà. híbíká, ʔlzè· ʔánlšłà·. céyánáńségò ńgóžídà·ł. ʔíyą·dà, dò·xàʔlyâ·xáńblčĮ·ʔáńťédàdà·ł. bíká ʔlzè· ʔánlšłà·.

(95) "céłcòyéʔlzè·ń, ⁿdídó, ⁿdénè nàńgòʔĮ·dè·dà, góčĮ·ńⁿdl·íʔédĮdà·ł. tádídíń dĮ·gò ńgòdè·sⁿdágò, ńžǫ́ ʔánágòdǫ́·λí·ł. ʔáí bíká, ʔlzè. ʔánlšłà·.

(96) "céʔlzè·łlžĮń, dò·ʔlyâ·čéʔąłʔĮdàgò, ʔlzè· ʔánlšłà·.

(97) "ǩàdl, dí·dí· dánàhíǩèh ʔlzè· ʔánàhlšłáí, dí·ǩè·ń hànádà·nàhťĮdà·ł. dáxà·dí ylłʔánágǫ́là·í dáʔáíblł ńžǫ́dà·ł. cébé·šdlłxlłí, cédlłxlłí, cédàǎlží, céłlcòí, ǩè·ščíí, číí, łè·còí, dàǎlžèí, tádídíń dáxà·dí, lè·ší, gò·ščíí, ťè·ší, dí·dí·, nàhó·žl·í dí·ǩè·ńyágò ⁿdé blčĮ·nàšǫ́dà·ł.

(98) "ǩàdl, ʔĮ·šĮⁿdásé, dò·dáǎòńńžónéná bè·ʔl·ⁿdádà dò·dácĮńžónéná bè·ʔl·ⁿdádà. dáxáí dí·ǩèh bè·ʔl·ⁿdá. ʔíyą·dà, dí· ǎòhí ʔlłʔáné ʔáťéí dáʔlzè·ná dáńblł ńťĮdà·ł.

(99) "ǎàłdèlń, nlťą·í gòlłbé·žgò gódą·ʔdà·ł nlⁿdâ·íblł. ʔlťą·ńǩòžíń, nlťą·í nlⁿdâ·í ⁿdé gódáńdà·ł.

(100) "ʔlzè· góńťlšé ǎòhí dáxáí blčĮńžóní, ʔášĮ dáxàʔyágò nàšǫ́dà·ł. ʔlzè· nè·ʔl·ⁿdádà·ł.

(101) "ʔlzè·hò·žĮń, ʔlzè·łcòlń, ʔlzè·łlgàń, ʔlzè·dàǎlžń, xà·ń ńzǫ́ń. xà·ń dòńžǫ́dàń nàhčĮ·ʔégòdĮgò. dáⁿdéná ʔałčííná bíká ʔlzè· ʔánàhlšłà·.

(102) "ʔlzè·hòⁿdá·ł, ʔlzè·ńò·žlné, hàʔlčl·dé, ʔlzè·łcòl, čògòšǎínè·, ʔlzè·łbáí, ʔlzè·łgàí, ʔlzè·ʔáłčǫ·sí, cĮblłnádà·ʔčłťòhí, sáíʔlzè·í, λǫ́·ʔdą·ʔí, cĮyànágòłčlńí, céyánè·sáhè·, ʔlzè·bédǫ·sí, ʔlzè·dàǎlží, ʔlzè·kéyàšłlžlní, łĮblzè·í, ʔlzè·dlłtą·í, ʔlyánébldą·ʔí, ǎòhblčàhègǫ́líní, ǎòhʔl·gà·í, ʔlzè·blťą·dàłyàzí, céží, céžícòí, číⁿdè·zè·, čégòłčĮ, ʒé, ʒécòí, cĮłcòlí, ʔlčǫ·ší. emerges-with-medicine, because you customarily grow, they have made you [a medicine]. Therefore, you will be good everywhere.

(94) "Turquoise, if you do not cause trouble, you will not do anything in vain anywhere. Therefore, I have made you a medicine. They will call you 'a group is moving through rock.' Therefore, you will not be indifferent to anyone. That is why I have made you a medicine.

(95) "Yellow stone medicine, you too, if people carry you about, there will be no sickness for them. If they swallow you four times with pollen, you will make them well again. For that reason, I have made you a medicine.

(96) "Black stone medicine, since you will not do anything in vain, I have made you a medicine.

(97) "Now, all of you that I will make medicines, you will customarily grow everywhere. You will be good with anything that they mix you with. Iron, black stone, blue stone, yellow stone, galena, red clay, yellow ochre, turquoise, any kind of pollen. white clay, ashes, charcoal,[21] [with] these, you that I have named will be good to man everywhere.

(98) "Now, from here on, not only the good herbs will be used for sustenance nor will only the good trees be used for sustenance. Everything of any sort will sustain life. Therefore, all of you different plants will both be medicines and foods.

(99) "Spurge, they will boil your leaves and seeds for food. Lamb's quarters, your leaves [and] seeds will be peoples' food.

(100) "Since all kinds of medicines and plants are good for everything, then you will be good in every way. By means of you medicines, life will be sustained.

(101) "The sunflower, western skunk cabbage, fleabane, [and] blue weld are all good. Any that are not good do not exist for us. I have made you medicines only in order to cure mankind.

(102) "Living medicine, sunflower, osha, western skunk cabbage, dock, puccoon, fleabane, cloak fern, sumac, sage, prairie dogs' food, solanium tripolium, primrose, bitterroot, Jacob's ladder, eriogonium, eriogonium jamesii, cinquefoil, Mormon tea, coneflower, spectacle pod, perezia nana, sage, cudwood, wormwood, wild pumpkin, chokecherry, wild plum, algerita, wild rose. Now

ƙàdl, nàhó·žl·í, ⁿdénè ?łł?ánô·?áťénè ?łⁿdà·?łł-?ánô·?áťénè ⁿdł·gò·sʒáń blyè?gǫlíní dáxà·dí dí·-ƙèh blčǫ·nàšǫlè.

(103) "ƙàdl, gó·?yè ?łł?ánô·ńžà·žńnè ǹⁿdéylł dò·nágònè·ł?ǫdó. dí·ƙèh ǹⁿdénè ?łⁿdà·ńnèdà ylłnàłǫdà·ł. blłnàšǫgò blnàhⁿdî·dà·ł.

(104) "?lyáné gǒńťlšé, łǫ́ gǒńťlšé, ʒłłá dí·ƙèhí gǫlíní, šàš ?ádà·ťǫyé, ?ídóí ?ádà·ťǫyé, ʒłłdlbéhé ?áťǫyé, blǹcàí ?áťǫyé, yánéłłžlní ?á-ťǫyé, čllà·í ?áťǫyé. ⁿdł·gò·sʒáń blkáè· ⁿdé ?łgâ·ł?à·šé ?łⁿdà· ?łgâ·ł?à·šé dí·ƙèh hó·žł·í blł-nàšǫdà·ł. dáxà?yágò yíkáťǫyágò ?ánáńgàł?ǫ·łgò bíká ?ánàhlšłà·.

(105) "ƙàdl ?ǫ·šǫ, ⁿdł·gò·sʒáń blkáè· nà·-dà·?àhⁿdíí dánàhíƙèh ⁿdénè blłnàšǫgò dí·ƙèh nàh-ká·?sǫ?ǫ·í dánàhcǫídà ⁿdénè ?łⁿdà·ńnè blłnàšǫgò ?ánàhlšłà·.

(106) "ná·ná?ǫ·šǫ, táyè?nà·kàńnè dánàhíƙèh nàhcǫí nàhkáyéí dáxà·dí bè·gònàłǫí dí·ƙèh ǹⁿdénè ?łⁿdà·ńnèylł blłnàšǫdà·ł. ?áí bíká ?ánàhlšłà·.

(107) "ƙàdl ?ǫ·šǫ, ⁿdł·gò·sʒáń blkáè· dò·-?lyâ·šłłǹžǫdàí nàháǹná·nô·š?ǫ·?áťédà. šłǹⁿdè?ńnè šłčè·ské nàłǫ. ší ?ǫ·šǫ sídá. šà·nà·cǫkè·s. dí·-ƙèh nàhá?ášłà·.

(108) "ƙàdl nàhí ?łłè·nàhdl·šⁿdl·ł. ?łł?áń-yô· yádà·łtlíłądè·dà, šíí nàhá?áš?ǫ. ?íyą·dà nà-hà·gòdlní?ą. dánàhí nà·híⁿdl·í bè·xà?yáháťǫyá bè·?ánádà·hťǫ·ł. dá?áyáťéńdàh, nà·gòǹťè·í dí·-ƙè·ǹyá. ?éǹťǫńnè ǹⁿdl·í nàhtàhgǫlǫgò ?ánàhlšłà·.

(109) "kǫ·héžǫ nàhtàhádlšxá. híyą·dà, šłtà·ń šlmáńylł ?łłƙłdą ?ínágàťá·ž ƙàdl šídó gó-kéyá nádéšʒá. šíí tčbážǫ·ščlnéń dà·nàł?ǫń ší ?áštǫ. ?ášǫ šídó yáštl. ?áíšǫ dí·ƙèh ?ádlšⁿdl.

(110) "híyą·dà, šlčè·škénè, šílàhkéyónè, šlƙlsèkénè, šldè·dékénè, ?łł?ánô· ?ášǫsǫńnè: dá-nàhíƙèh dí·ƙèhyá šíká nà·dà·dàh?ǫdà·ł. dí·ƙè·-ǹyá, xà·dí žǫ, nàhà·ná·dò·šdá·ł. ?íyą·dà bè·hl-nàhⁿdáí bè·gǫžǫyá, ?ánàhťédà·ł."

all of you that I have named, be good to every-one who lives on the earth, Indians [and] white men.

(103) "Now, there will also be no lack of the different insects with man. You will live with all Indians and white men. You will like them and belong to them.

(104) "All varieties of cattle, all varieties of horses, all that live in the mountains, those that are bears, mountain lions, mountain sheep elks, buffaloes, antelopes. All that I have named, you will be good to all kinds of Indians and white men on the surface of the earth. I have created you because they want to use you in some way.

(105) "Now then, all of you who fly over the surface of the earth will be of value to humankind and I have made you so that all of your skins and flesh is of value to Indians [and] white men.

(106) "And also, the skin, flesh, and any-thing else of all of you who live in the water will be of value to Indians and white men. That is why I have made you.

(107) "Now then, there is nothing more of value to me that I can set down on the surface of the earth for you. You are my people, my children. I am right here. Think about me. I have done eve-rything for you.

(108) "Now I shall put you all together. Even if you speak in many different ways, I shall do so for you. Thereby, I have given you a chance.[22] You will do whatever you like with your minds. In spite of that, there will be difficulties every-where. I have made witches and disease to live among you.[23]

(109) "I shall be with you in a little while. For this reason, my father and my mother went home long ago. Now I also have started to follow them home. I am he who you call Child of the Water.[24] And I also speak. I have told all of this.

(110) "Therefore, my children, my sisters, my brothers, my uncles, [and] all those who are variously related to me: all of you will keep watch for me everywhere. Somewhere, some day, I shall come to you again.[25] Since that by means of which you live is of goodness, you will be so."[26]

6. Coyote and Quail

(1) mà?yèí ?íńtlìyá hòłλòšgò dáłdánéí blžâ·í ylłčàžòšgò yl·łcąná?à.

(2) ?ákò· nàłλò·šéí ?ágò·łⁿdíná?à. "xà?yágòxè· nlžâ·ńnè gǫžónégò ?łké·?ńťlgò nlké·? nà·náčàžòšgò ?ánsl?" nà·łλò·šéí gò·łⁿdíná?à.

(3) "dí·dí·?ą· ǩó·ł bltàhńťlí bè·gǫžónégò šlké·? nà·náčàžòš," dáłdánéí gò·łⁿdíná?à. "ⁿdídó dá?áyá?ílá, nà·łλò·šéí," blłčlⁿdíná?à.

(4) "?áíyą?, šídó ?áyá?lšłá," mà?yèí gò·łⁿdíná?à.

(5) ?ákò·, ?áyáí ?èǩòdéí blžâ·ńnè blzò·łyá yádà·?l·sclgò, ?áyáí ?èǩòdéí blzò·łyá ?ltàhńťlgò ?áílà·ná?à. ?ákò· ?łkéldà·s?é·ǯná?à. ?ákò·, káťégò ?áílà·nágò, yáhá yè·šáń čéńλò·ǯ. nágò blžâ·í ⁿdl·yá nè·sⁿdágò slǯéná?à.

7. Coyote Marries His Own Daughter

(1) ⁿdl·?ágòčílà·dą, dá?íłcé dágòdè·yádą, dámà?yè. ⁿdéǩèh yádà·łtlná?à.

(2) mà?yèí dò·?è·?áílà·dàná?à. ⁿdl·íblkáè·dí·ǩè·ňyá dò·?è·?áílà·dàná?à.

(3) blžâ·ń yà·bó·ⁿdl·ná?à. "čòš nǫ̌·ǩlžgò, dà·hká," ⁿdíná?à. blčè?ń yà·bó·ⁿdl·gò ?áⁿdlná?à. "dá?íłcé nàhdáńyáń ?lťédèhè·cà·yè bà·dà·łtè·ł," ⁿdlná?à.

(4) ?ákò·, čòš nǫ̌·ǩlžgò, čldè·skàná?à. ⁿdásá čàkàná?à. ?áń blzą·yéń ťąyá nádè·sgàlná?à. "šldádé dàšńťl," ⁿdlná?à.

(5) "šlzą·yé, dò·?áyáčlⁿdldà. ?łłǩldą gòčądę·kà."

(6) ?ákò· gòtà·ń dàšńťlná?à. ?à·ší dò·?ádàšígò gòdánáčíńťl. ?ákò· kòyá čàkàná?à.

(7) "?lyâ· nàłčlⁿdl," ⁿdlná?à.

(8) "'dáxà·ń ?íłcé nàhdáńyáń ?lťédèhè·cà·yè bà·dà·łtè·ł,' nàłčlⁿdl."

(9) ?ákò· gòyáčè?ňcà·ń yà·nązá. dò·?ákà·nà·člyádàná?à.

(10) ?ákò· yà· káháčlńtà·ná?à. góńǩàší sǫ̌·s sl?ąná?à. ?ákò· ?áń blłnà·čl?à·šń yà· káíkáńtà·-

6. Coyote and Quail[1]

(1) Coyote, trotting along a road saw Quail and her children walking along the road.

(2) Then Coyote spoke thus to her. "How do you keep your children going along after you in such straight line?" Coyote said to her.

(3) "They follow me around so well because of this rope which is stretched between them," said Quail to him. "You do so too, Coyote," she said to him.

(4) "All right, I too will do so," Coyote said to her.

(5) Then, pushing a yucca [rope] through the throats of his children, he strung that yucca between their throats. So he strung them one after another. Then having done so in this way, he started trotting off in the lead. But his children lay on the ground, dead.

7. Coyote Marries His Own Daughter[1]

(1) When the earth had been made, at the very beginning of time, there were just animals. They spoke like human beings.

(2) Coyote did wrong. He did wrong everywhere on the surface of the earth.

(3) He had sexual desires toward his daughter. "When worms have fallen, you will go," he said. He said this because he had sexual desires toward his daughter. "You will give the oldest girl to the first person that you meet," he said.

(4) Then, the worms having fallen, they started out. They were going along some distance off. The smallest [child] looked back. "My father has jumped down," he said.

(5) "My little one, do not speak so. We have long ago left him."

(6) But his father had jumped down. From there, in a roundabout way, he came to meet them. Then they were going along over yonder.

(7) "What did he say to you?" said [Coyote].

(8) "'Give the oldest girl to the very first person that you meet,' he said to us."

(9) Then he married his oldest daughter. He did not go away.

(10) Then she was searching for lice on him. A wart lay on the side of his head. Then his wife

ná?à bíńǎšį sǫ·s ši?ánî.

(11) "kǫšégǫ ná·čàtl." dî· yàⁿdl·łná?à.

(12) ?ákǫ· ?áń čè·kę́ń blmáń yà·náčíńtlná?à. ?ákǫ· blmáń ?álłⁿdîná?à. "yà· káháńštà·î góńǎšį sǫ·s sl?ą́ńî ?ášį nà·dlyǫ·ščlgǫ, 'kǫyágǫ ná·čàtl,' čldlyàⁿdl·ł."

(13) ?ákǫ· gǫmáń ?ágǫ·łⁿdîná?à. "yà· báháńdǫ́·tà·ł. ńžónô· blyį·łxá·š. ńtà·ń bíńǎšį sǫ·s sl?ą́ń."

(14) ?ákǫ· blčlyį·łxà·ǯná?à. ?ákǫ· ?áíî sǫ·sî bà·čį·łcą́ná?à ?į·łxà·ǯgǫ. ?ákǫ· blcl·î yáhá béčíńylł. "dánábîná! dánábîná! šlmá, dánábîná! dánábîná!"

(15) bè·?lcè·ł blzą́·yé nášń?ą́ná?à. ?ákǫ· blčį·blł?édè·šnè·stànná?à. ?ákǫ· gǫčą́?édè·nè·stànná?à.

8. The Killing of the Monsters

(1) ⁿdl·?ágǫčį́là·dą́, ?íłcégǫdè·yádą́, ⁿdl·î blkáè· dǫ·ńⁿdéńgólà·dànná?à.

(2) ḱǫsî dàhè·stǫ̀ná?à. ?lsǯánálè·šń yádà?nè·tį́ná?à. ?ákǫ· nà·yé·?nè·syánéń gǫ́lį́ná?à.

(3) ?ákǫ· kǫ?î blǎ́hyá člńsánná?à. yî·?yî kà·nádánná?à.

(4) ?ákǫ·: "?éłčlné blčà·nè ká·slʔį·," gǫ·łⁿdîná?à yî·?yî.

(5) "?éłčlné béńdà·scà·gǫ ?éłčlné blčą· ?ánágǫš?į·."

(6) yî·?yî blzą́·yéń člńsáî yégǫ́sį́ná?à.

(7) nà·yé·?syánéń nà·yá sllį́ná?à. člńsánná?à. ?ákǫ· ńcà· sllį́ná?à.

(8) yî·?yî kà·ná·ńǯánná?à. kǫ·bą·è· blkéḱèhná?à. yî·?yî blkéḱèhè kà·gǫ·łcą́ná?à. "?éłčlné blkéḱèh," ⁿdîná?à.

(9) "?éłčlné blkéḱèh ?ánágǫš?į·," ⁿdîná?à ?lsǯánálè·šń.

(10) ?ⁿdîná?à. "hą·šą, ?áyą́lá ?éłčlné blkéḱèhî."

was searching for lice on the side of his head on which the wart lay.

(11) "They are again running to this side." He kept on saying this.

(12) Then that girl went back to her mother. And she spoke thus to her mother. "When I am searching for lice on him [and] I will move my hand about the side of his head on which a wart lies, he is always saying, 'They are running to this side again.'"

(13) Then her mother spoke thus to her. "You will search for lice on him. Put him to sleep quietly. A wart was on the side of your father's head."

(14) Then she put him to sleep. And she saw that wart on him while he was sleeping. Then she pushed his head away. "It is indeed him! It is indeed him! My mother, it is indeed him! It is indeed him!"

(15) She picked up a small axe. Then she ran toward him with it. And he ran away from her.

8. The Killing of the Monsters[1]

(1) When the earth had been made, at the very beginning, people were not permitted to live on the surface of the earth.

(2) A cloud moved down. White Painted Woman lay face upward for it. And then Killer of Enemies existed.

(3) Then she reared him under the fire. Giant often came to her.

(4) Then: "Here is the excrement of a child," Giant said to her.

(5) "I long so for a child that I often make the excrement of a child."

(6) Giant knew that she was rearing a little one.

(7) Killer of Enemies became able to walk about. She reared him. And he became bigger.

(8) Giant came to her again. [Killer of Enemies'] tracks were around the fire. Giant saw his tracks. "A child's tracks," he said.

(9) "I often make a child's tracks," said White Painted Woman.

(10) He spoke thus. "Well then, make a child's tracks."

(11) ʔákò· báʔáyáčı̨là·náʔà. ʔákò· gògàńí ⁿdl·blkáyá, ʔéłčlné blkéḱèh báʔágòčı̨là·náʔà gò-gàńíbè·. ʔákò· ʔéłčlné dá·ⁿdí blkéḱèhnáʔàhá.

(12) ʔákò· yí·ʔyí ʔáⁿdínáʔà: "dá·ⁿdí ʔéł-člné blkéḱèh ʔágòńlà·í." ʔákò· gòčą́ná·nǫ́·ʒánáʔà yí·ʔyí.

(13) ʔákò· nà·yé·ʔnè·syánéń ńcà· sllı̨náʔà. ʔákò· ḱà· báʔágòčı̨là·náʔà. ḱà· dádı̨·ʔ báʔágòčı̨-là·náʔà ʔlsʒánálè·šń. ḱà· yè·dlłíónáʔà.

(14) ʔáⁿdínáʔà nà·yé·ʔnè·syánéń. "gǫ́yéí dò·ʔáyáńⁿdéńgólà·dàí blčı̨·gòdlšlé," ⁿdínáʔà.

(15) ʔákò· ʔlsʒánálè·šń ʔábl·łⁿdínáʔà. "ńyé ⁿdéí ʔáłłⁿdí, šlžà·ž́é," blłčlⁿdínáʔà.

(16) "šídó ńyégò ʔádlšⁿdí."

(17) ʔákò· dè·sžà·náʔà. ʒlłíyèʔyá nà·čłíl-náʔà ḱà·í nà·yàłžàgò. bı̨·í yè·sxı̨náʔà ḱà·íbè·. kǫ̀·dè·ʔdǫ́·łžénáʔà. bı̨·í yè·sxı̨ńí ʔlłyàłnáʔà. ʔl-cı̨·í céyǫ́·ʔı̨·náʔà.

(18) yí·ʔyí bà·číńłlnáʔà. "ʔlšyàł," ⁿdí-náʔà.

(19) ʔlcı̨·í slłéí kà·náylńʔı̨·náʔà. ʔáxąh bà·náčlńʔı̨·náʔà. ʔlcı̨·í kà·náylńʔı̨·náʔà. bà·ná-šńʔı̨·náʔà.

(20) "ʔlłńłłó," gò·łⁿdínáʔà.

(21) "ʔáxąh," blłčlⁿdínáʔà.

(22) "ⁿdí ʔíłcé šíńłłó," yí·ʔyí gò·łⁿdí-náʔà.

(23) "dò·dà," blłčlⁿdínáʔà. "ⁿdígò ʔíłcé šíńłłó," blłčlⁿdínáʔà.

(24) ʔákò· béńčlyé blḱà·náʔà. béńčlyéí bl-ḱà·í bè·gòńłłónáʔà. nà·yé·ʔnè·syánéń číńłłònáʔà. yíńyòlnáʔà. ḱà· nà·ʔlⁿdl·náʔà.

(25) ʔákò· bídó číńłłònáʔà. bé·ší blyàhnà·-čǫ́·łtè·lnáʔà.

(26) ʔákò· ná·góńłłònáʔà. ḱà·í bà·ná·číń-yòlnáʔà. ḱà· nà·ná·ʔlⁿdl·náʔà.

(27) bídó ná·číńłłònáʔà. bé·ší blyàhnà·ná·-čǫ́·łtè·lnáʔà.

(28) nà·yé·ʔnè·syánéń ná·číńłłònáʔà. ḱà·í ná·yíńyòlnáʔà. ḱà· nà·ná·ʔlⁿdl·náʔà.

(11) Then she did it for him. Then, her hand on the ground, she made a child's tracks for him with her hand. And they were indeed a child's tracks.

(12) Then Giant spoke thus: "It is true that you have made a child's tracks." Then Giant left her again.

(13) Then Killer of Enemies became older. And she made arrows for him. White Painted Woman made exactly four arrows for him. He began to shoot with the arrows.

(14) Killer of Enemies spoke thus. "I am going after those monsters who do not permit people to live," he said.

(15) Then White Painted Woman spoke thus to him. "People say that they are dangerous, my son," she said to him.

(16) "I say that I am also dangerous."

(17) Then he started off hunting. He walked about in the mountains carrying arrows. He killed a deer with an arrow. He built a fire. He was going to eat the deer he had killed. He put the meat on the fire.

(18) Giant came to him. "I will eat it," he said.

(19) He took the meat that was cooked away from him. [Killer of Enemies] quickly took it back. He took the meat from him. [Killer of Enemies] took it back.

(20) "Let's shoot at each other," said [Giant] to him.

(21) "All right," he said to him.

(22) "You shoot at me first," Giant said to him.

(23) "No," he said to him. "You shoot at me first," he said to him.

(24) Then a pine tree was [Giant's] arrow. He was about to shoot at him with the pine tree arrow. He shot at Killer of Enemies. He blew at it. The arrow was shattered.

(25) Then [Killer of Enemies] also shot at him. A flint [coat] slid off of him.

(26) Then he shot at [Killer of Enemies] again. He blew at the arrow again. The arrow was again shattered.

(27) He then shot at [Giant] again. Another flint [coat] slid off of him.

(28) He shot at Killer of Enemies again. He blew at the arrow again. The arrow was shattered again.

(29) ʔákò· bídó ná·číńłíònáʔà. bé·šbìʔédè bìyàhnà·ná·čǫ́·łtè·lnáʔà.

(30) ʔákò· nà·yé·ʔnè·syáńéń ná·číńłíònáʔà. ʔákò· dí·ǹ sìlíná ʔà. ǩà· nà·ná·ʔìⁿdì·náʔà.

(31) bídó ná·číńłíònáʔà. čìyè·sxíná ʔà yí·ʔyí.

(32) ʔáší nà·yé·ʔnè·syáńéń bìkò·yą́ názánáʔà. "ʔìyánéłížìní bìčì·dìyéšzá," ⁿdínáʔà.

(33) "šìžà·ʒé, ⁿdéńyéí ⁿdé ʔáłłⁿdí."

(34) "šídó ǹyé," ⁿdínáʔà nà·yé·ʔnè·syáńéń. yìčì·dìyè·szánáʔà.

(35) gòłgàì ʔłłⁿdíyá sìtíná ʔà. dáxà·dí yàłcé·łí yì·łcè·náʔà. dò·ʔáyáǹⁿdéńgólà·dànáʔà.

(36) ʔákò· ǩòhí bìʔą́·ší bà·čìyè·zánáʔà. čìčàgò bìčì·čì·sdánáʔà ǩòhí ʔą́·ší. łíyèʔnà·ʔìⁿdìlí gòčì·hàʔǫ́·ⁿdìlnáʔà.

(37) "ʔìyâ·bą́ǹčàʔ"

(38) "ʔìyánéłížìní dò·ʔáyáǹⁿdéńgólà·dà. ʔáń sìšxégò ʔášʔì·."

(39) "ká·bìčì·yá dí·ǹ hàʔìšⁿdí·ł. šìnéǹłʔí. dí·ǹʔìłyà·è· gòdìščì·. bìʒéíí bìyà·í bà·hìšⁿdí·š.

(40) ʔákò· bìyà·í bà·čǫ́·ⁿdìʒnáʔà. ʔìyánéłížìní nádì·ǩìʒnáʔà. "ʔìyâ·xè·ná?" ⁿdínáʔà.

(41) "ǹyà·í nà·hìšⁿdí·š. šìžâ·ńnè šà·dà·sǩí," bìłčìⁿdínáʔà.

(42) ʔákò· dáʔákà·ná nè·tíná ʔà. bìʒéí sìʔání ʔákà· čìⁿdí·šnáʔà bìyà·í. ʔášíyá dí·ǩèh káʔáíìà·náʔà.

(43) kà·náčíńtìnáʔà łíyèʔnà·ʔìⁿdìlí. "kòyá ʔì·ʔáńyá bìčì·číté. ǩàdì bìyà·í hó·ⁿdìʒí ńłíó. dí·ǹ ʔì·ʔání dásíyà·héyá ʔákà· ʔńgè·."

(44) ʔákò· dí·ǩà·í čàłʒànáʔà. bìʒéíí dágòłgàyá dáčíígò káʔáíìà·náʔà łíyèʔnà·ʔìⁿdìlí. číńłíònáʔà. ʔédè·šnáʔè·stànáʔà. dásíyà·héyá ʔì·ʔáńyá ʔìčìnǫ́·gònáʔà.

(45) ʔìyánéłížìní ʔǒ·čànáʔà. bìdè·í yè·gòdè·zí·znáʔà. ʔášídà ná·náyà·héyá bìdè· yè·ná·gòdè·zí·znáʔà. ʔášídà ná·náyà·héyá bìdè· yè·ná·gòdè·zí·znáʔà. ʔákò· bìdè· yè·ná·gòdè·zí·znáʔà ʔìčìnǫ́·gòǹíyá. dágé bìdè·í kè·nàhéńyàłgò, nà·nǫ́·kà·náʔà. čìyè·sxíná ʔà. dò·ʔáyáǹⁿdéńgólà·dà ʔáí bíká ʔáčìłʔí·náʔà.

(29) Then he again shot at him. Another flint coat of his slid off of him.

(30) Then he shot at Killer of Enemies again. And this was the fourth time. The arrow was shattered again.

(31) He shot again at him also. He had killed the Giant.

(32) Then Killer of Enemies returned to his home. "I am going to the Buffalo," he said.

(33) "My son, people say that he is a dangerous being."

(34) "I too am dangerous," said Killer of Enemies. He started off to him.

(35) [Buffalo] lay in the middle of a plain. He killed whoever he saw. He did not permit people to live.

(36) Then [Killer of Enemies] crept up to him behind a bush. Weeping, he sat facing him from behind the bush. A Gopher came to him.

(37) "Why are you weeping?"

(38) "Buffalo does not permit people to live. I want to kill him."

(39) "I'll dig four [tunnels] to him over there. You watch me. I'll dig four [tunnels] under one another. I'll pull fur from [the region of] his heart."

(40) Then [Gopher] pulled out [Buffalo's] fur. Buffalo jumped up. "What are you doing?" he said.

(41) "I am plucking out some of your fur. My children are cold," he said to him.

(42) Then [Buffalo] lay down in exactly the same place. [Gopher] plucked out his fur there in the region of his heart. And he did all of that for [Killer of Enemies].

(43) Gopher returned to [Killer of Enemies]. "Go over there toward him in the tunnel. Then shoot him where I have pulled out his fur. [Then] run into the fourth [and] lowest tunnel."

(44) Then he was carrying his arrows. Gopher had exposed [Buffalo's] moving heart for [Killer of Enemies]. He shot it. He began to run back. He dashed into the lowest tunnel.

(45) The Buffalo bellowed. He tore up [the topmost tunnel] with his horns. And then he also tore up the one below it with his horns. And then he also tore up the next one below it with his horns. Then he also began to tear up with his horns the one into which [Killer of Enemies] had run. Just as he reached him with his horns, he fell ov-

(46) ʔákò· ʔlyánéɬžlnî blčíí hàčǫ́·ɬtąná ʔà. nášnè·sťàsná ʔà. ʔáyáčíńžà·ná ʔà bldlɬí. ʔáí bldlɬí blčííyè ʔá ʔáyábàńčíńɬtąná ʔà.

(47) ʔákò· gòkò·yąyá náčǫ́ʒáná ʔà. "ʔlcácòí blčǫ́·dlyéšʒá."

(48) "šlžà·ʒé, ńyéí ⁿdé ʔálɬⁿdí."

(49) nè·łdǫ́gò blčǫ́·ná·šdlyè·sʒáná ʔà. ʔákà· ʔlyánéɬžlnî člyè·sxǫ́ńî blčíí ʔéǩèšdè·dlsná ʔà gòčísí dí·ǩè·ńyá. céxàłí čà ʔá·łgò, gòłgàžǫ́ bà·-čéčíńyáná ʔà.

(50) ʔlcácòí céťágòłčíyá blyąná ʔà. blžâ·ńnè ʔákàłłčl·sʒ́éná ʔà. gòłgàžǫ́ bà·čéčíńyáná ʔà. ʔákò·, dágǫ·łcǫ́è·, góńgòná ʔà. gòžǫ́lšná ʔà. gòłnádl·ťá-ná ʔà. céťágòłčíyá nágóńłtǫ́ná ʔà. blžâ·ńnè yà·ná-góńłtǫ́ná ʔà.

(51) ʔákò·: "xąh dà·ʔàłyàł," ⁿdíná ʔà. ʔákò-gò ʔǫ·ťàná ʔà.

(52) ʔákò· blžâ·ńnè blčǫ́·náčldl·ʒáná ʔà. ʔá-kò· dí· ʔlčíí gòǩèdè·sdlʒí ʔéǩè·ná·ʔčàťà·ná ʔà.

(53) "ʔádí·dí· dǫ́·ʔnàłťéí xà·ń gòsdànáťá?" gò·łⁿdíná ʔà. nà·yé·ʔnè·syánéń ʔágò·łⁿdíná ʔà.

(54) ʔákò·: "ʔáńń dáčíké·ʔnà·yáń gòsdàná-ťá," blłčlⁿdíná ʔà.

(55) blžâ· dǫ́·ʔlłťéná ʔà. ʔákò· ʔáń gòsdàná-ťáń nábí ʔčlsl·. ʔáń tá ʔlłťéńnè céxàłí bè·nà·-čl·scè·

(56) dáłè·ná ʔlʒl·ń blčǫ́·yáčlłtlná ʔà. "ńtà·ń xà ʔgò ńnáhàdá·ł?" blłčlⁿdíná ʔà.

(57) "tóí dà·šdlⁿdí·łgò, ʔǫ́·šǫ́ dàhńdà·ł-žǫ́·ł."

(58) ʔášǫ́ báńčlyè·ʒáná ʔà céxàłíbè·. tóí dà·šdlⁿdí·łná ʔà. kòšǫ́ ʔǫ·ťàná ʔà. ʔášǫ́ dàhnè·sžǫ́-ná ʔà. blłášǫ́ čl·dáná ʔà céxàłíbè·. bè·čl·sⁿdl·-ná ʔà.

(59) ʔákò·: "ńmáń xà ʔgò ńnáhàdá·ł?" blłčl-ⁿdíná ʔà.

(60) "šá ʔl·ʔáhgò tóí dà·šdlⁿdí·łgò."

(61) "xà ʔášǫ́ dàhnáńłžǫ́?" blłčlⁿdíná ʔà.

(62) "kòšǫ́ dàhnáńłžǫ́·"

(63) ʔákò· blłášǫ́ báńčlyè·ʒáná ʔà. kòšǫ́ nǫ·-

er. [Killer of Enemies] had killed him. He had done so because he did not permit people to live.

(46) Then he took out the Buffalo's intestines. He uncoiled them. He handled his blood in a similar fashion.[2] He put that blood into the intestines of [the Buffalo].

(47) Then he returned to his home. "I am going to the Eagle."

(48) "My son, people say that he is dangerous."

(49) In the morning he started off to [Eagle]. Then he wrapped the intestines of the Buffalo that he had killed all over his body. Carrying a stone club, he went out into the plain.

(50) The Eagle's home was on a red mountain peak. His children lived there with him. [Killer of Enemies] went out into the plain. Then, as soon as [Eagle] saw him, he swooped down on him. He seized him. He flew up with him. He carried him back to the red mountain peak. He had carried him back to his children.

(51) Then: "Eat him up quickly," he said. Then he flew away.

(52) Then [Killer of Enemies] stood up before the children. And he took off those intestines that he had wrapped around him.

(53) "Who of the four of you can fly down?" he said to them. Killer of Enemies spoke thus to them.

(54) Then: "That one who is the youngest can fly down," they said to him.

(55) There were four children. Then he spared the one who could fly down. He killed the other three with the stone club.

(56) He spoke to the only one that remained. "When does your father return?" he said to him.

(57) "When the water begins to fall, he will perch over there."

(58) Then he lay in wait for [Eagle] with the stone club. The water began to fall. From over yonder [Eagle] came flying. Then he alighted. [Killer of Enemies] sat under [his perch] with the stone club. He struck him with it.

(59) Then: "When does your mother return?" he said to him.

(60) "In the evening when the water falls."

(61) "Where does she usually alight?" he said to him.

(62) "She usually alights over there."

(63) Then he lay in wait for her under [her

ťàná?à. ?ášį dàhnè·sžįná?à. céxàłí bè·čì·sⁿdì·-
ná?à. ⁿdé dò·báńgólà·dàí bíká ?áčłł?ì·ná?à.

(64) ?ákò· ?áń bìzą·yéń kà·dàhčìnè·dá. gòł-
gòsdànǫ́·ťà. ?ágòxá·né gàlè·łgò, ⁿdì·žì gòłhàà-
yà·dè·λìžná, céxàłí yè·čì·sⁿdì·ná?à. bìčòsí hà-
čìyàⁿdìší čìyàyòłná?à. "dí· ?ìžášè· ?áhò·yéí."

(65) ?áyàhyá čéhàťàná?à, dí· ⁿdì·bìkáè· ?ì-
žášèí. ?ìčòsí hàčìyàⁿdìší ?ìžášèí ⁿdì·bìkáè· ?ì-
žášèí ?áí dí·ťèh yìčąšį ?áťį. nà·yé·?nè·syánéń
?áįla·ná?à.

(66) ?ákò· bìyąyá názáná?à nà·yé·?nè·syá-
néń. "bìⁿdâ·yè·?ìyání bìčì·dìyéšzá," ⁿdíná?à.

(67) "šìžà·žé, ?áí ńyéí ⁿdé ?áłłⁿdí," ?ìs-
zánáłè·šń bìžâ·ń yì·łⁿdíná?à. bìⁿdâ·yè·?ìyání
bìčì·šdìyè·száná?à.

(68) cédàsìtąyá bìyąná?à ?ì·?ánéyá. λòhí
?ą·šé báńčìyè·záná?à. čìčàgò, bìčì·čì·dáná?à.

(69) "?ìyâ·bąńčà?" gò·łⁿdíná?à mà?ìšǫí.

(70) "?áyáń bìⁿdâ·yè·?ìyąń bìzé·dí báhìš-
čà," ⁿdíná?à.

(71) ?ákò·: "šìλášįgò dàhńtè·. ?ážì ńì?é-
dèńštá."

(72) bìλášį dàšnè·tįná?à. gòł?édè·nè·stàná?à. ?ákò· λǫ·?yí dà·dì·hⁿdí. ?ákò· ?áíí łáší bádè·?įná?à. dà·dì·?à·hⁿdì·łgò bìⁿdâ·yè·?ìyání čęⁿdágò dè·?įná?à. ťąyá yà·náčǫ·ťìná?à.

(73) gòł?édè·ná·nè·stàná?à. ná·dà·dì·hⁿdí-
ná?à. čéná·néńgòná?à. yà·kéhì·?áí bìλášįgò dàh-
čìnè·syàlná?à. ťąyá náčǫ·ťìná?à.

(74) yà·kédàhì·?áí bìčì·hàšnè·gòná?à. bì-
čì·yà·?čǫ·yáná?à. ?ágòxá·nézì, dò·bìⁿdâ·yè·?ìyą-
dàná?à.

(75) yàhyá, bìžâ·ńnè yìłnà·hè·tąná?à. dí·?-
łťéná?à. "xà?ášįgò?" ⁿdíná?à. "yáťášįgò?" ⁿdí-
ná?à. "dáⁿdè·dégò dó·?ì·." bìčè?škéné ?áłłⁿdí-
ná?à: "bádáń?álá."

(76) "dáší dáń?áštá," gò·łⁿdíná?à. ?ìλàłá-
néí céyǫ·łcò·zná?à. ?ážì dàlnéł?ìná?à. ?ìλàłánéí
ńžǫgò sìťéná?à. xéí bà·hàdà·slįná?à.

perch]. She came flying from over there. Then she alighted. He struck her with the stone club. He did so because she did not permit people to live.

(64) Then he sat on that little one. He went down with him. As they got close, as he started to sink down to the ground with him, he struck [the Eagle] with the stone club. He blew on the feathers he was plucking out of him. "These are called birds."

(65) They flew out all over, all these birds on the suface of the earth. All the birds on the earth's surface came from the feathers he was plucking out. Killer of Enemies made them so.

(66) Then Killer of Enemies returned to his home. "I am going to the Owl,"[3] he said.

(67) "My son, people say that he is dangerous," White Painted Woman said to her son. He had started toward the Owl.

(68) [Owl's] home was in a hole in a high rock. [Killer of Enemies] lay hidden from him behind a bush. Weeping, he sat facing him.

(69) "Why are you weeping?" said Lizard to him.

(70) "I weep for the life of that Owl over there," he said.

(71) Then: "Lie under me. I'll run over there with you."

(72) [Killer of Enemies] lay under him. He ran with him. Then the Prairie Dogs barked. So those keep watch for [Owl]. While they were barking, Owl ran out and looked. He went back inside again.

(73) [Lizard] ran with [Killer of Enemies] again. They barked again. [Owl] rushed out again. [Killer of Enemies and Lizard] threw themselves down underneath the ladder.[4] [Owl] went back inside again.

(74) [Then Killer of Enemies] rushed up the ladder after him. He went inside after him. When one is near [Owl], he cannot kill one with his eyes.

(75) Inside, [Owl] was sitting with his children. There were four of them. "Where are you from?" said [Owl]. "From the sky?" he said. "I looked just a while ago." He spoke thus to his children: "Prepare food for him."

(76) "I'll prepare my own food," said [Killer of Enemies] to him. He put a large slice of fatty meat on the fire. They were watching him. It was being well roasted. Grease was streaming from it.

(77) čl·slłná?à. dá?ážłná dàlnéł?ǫgò, čl·-slłná?à. ?łkàłánéí yè·bltàlčl·scǎsná?à blⁿdáǩè·-žł. céxàłí bè·bltàlčl·žò. ?ákà· dí·ǩèh nà·čl·s-cè·ná?à. "?ł·šǫⁿdáségò dò·ⁿdâ·bè·?lyǫdà," blł-člⁿdínná?à nà·yé·?nè·syánéń.

(78) ?ášǫ blyǫyá nážáná?à. "hl·skǫ́gò čllà·í blčł·dlyéšzá."

(79) "šlžà·žé, ?áíí ńyéí ⁿdé ?álłⁿdí."

(80) "šídó ńyé," ⁿdínná?à.

(81) ǩà· bá?ágòčǫlà·ná?à, ǩà·íłł·łè·šná?à, ǩà·íłłłłcònná?à, ǩà·íłłdàǩłžná?à, ǩà·íłłłłgànná?à.

(82) čllà·í gòłgàl ?łłⁿdíyá sltǫná?à dò·yà-nà·?ldádàgò. ǩà·í ?áí łłžlní hà?l·?áhyá bà·?l-čǫ·slná?à. yádlłxlłí hànǫ·sǫná?à. ?ádí· čllà·í ?ákà· ?ǫ·tà·zná?à.

(83) nàńdl?áhíyà·yá ǩà·dàǩłží bà·?lčǫ·sl-ná?à. yádàǩłží hànǫ·sǫná?à. ?ákà· ?lná·nǫ·tà·z-ná?à. ?l?l·?áhíblyà·yá ǩà·łłcòí bà·?lná·čǫ·sl-ná?à. ?ákà· ?lná·nǫ·tà·zná?à.

(84) ?áí čllà·í hł·yáná?à. dò·dè·yádàgò, nánàłtł·łná?à blkò·yǫžł. náhàkòsíblyà·yá ǩà·í łłgàí bà·?lná·čǫ·slná?à. yáłłgàí hànǫ·sǫná?à. ?ákà· ?lná·nǫ·tà·zná?à.

(85) ?ážł blkò·yǫžł ?ákà· číńłlná?à. ?ákò·kòšǫ nánàłtł·łná?à. ?ldł·gò dè·čàgò blzà·dí hǫ·-?ágò kà·náčíńłlná?à. hł·yá.

(86) ?ákò· blzò·lšǫ čl·slłná?à. ?ákò· čl-yè·sxǫná?à. ?ákò·: "ǩàdl, ?ł·šǫⁿdáségò, ⁿdénè nè·hlⁿdádà·ł."

(87) ?ákò· čllà·í ?áⁿdínná?à. "šlyà·í dò·-dà·gòyǫdà," ⁿdínná?à.

(88) "dò·dà," blłčlⁿdínná?à. "dò·xà?yá ⁿdí-?ádè·dà," blłčlⁿdínná?à.

(89) dò·?áyáńⁿdéńgólà·dàí dí·ǩèh nà·čl·s-cè·ná?à. ?ášǫⁿdáségò ⁿdé gǫłǫná?à.

(77) [Killer of Enemies] seized it. Just as they were watching it, he seized it. He whipped the fatty meat into their eyes. He beat them with the stone club. There he killed all of them. "You will no longer kill with your eyes," Killer of Enemies said to them.

(78) Then he returned to his home. "Tomorrow I shall go to the Antelope."

(79) "My son, people say that he is dangerous."

(80) "I too am dangerous," he said.

(81) She made arrows for him, one black arrow, one yellow arrow, one blue arrow, [and] one white arrow.

(82) Antelope lay in the center of a plain where no one could get to him. [Killer of Enemies] shot the black arrow to the east. A black cloud arose. The Antelope ran over there.

(83) He [then] shot the blue arrow to the south. A blue cloud arose. [Antelope] also ran over there. [Then] he shot the yellow arrow to the west. [Antelope] also ran over there.

(84) The Antelope had become very tired. He was not running, he was loping [wearily] to his home. [Then Killer of Enemies] shot the white arrow to the north. A white cloud arose. [Antelope] also ran over there.

(85) [Killer of Enemies] went over there to [Antelope's] home. Soon [Antelope] came loping [wearily] from over there. His tongue was hanging far out [of his mouth] as [Killer of Enemies] went to him. He was exhausted.

(86) Then [Killer of Enemies] seized him around the neck. And he killed him. Then: "Now, from now on, you will be sustenance for mankind."

(87) Then the Antelope spoke thus. "They will not eat my fur," he said.

(88) "No," he said to him. "Even if there is nothing on you," he said to him.[5]

(89) He had killed all of those who did not permit people to live. From now on people existed.

9. The Mescaleros' Prophecy

(1) ⁿdl·?ágòčǫlà·dǫ nà·yé·?nè·syánéń ?ł·è·nàhíńžà·ž złłgàls?ání blⁿdádé. "dí· złł dàsłtǫí màšgàlénè blkéyà·dà·ł." ?ákò· ?ł·è· nà·yé·?nè·s-yánéń nàhíńžà·žná?à. ?áí ?łťàh nà·hę·tǫ. ?áńń

9. The Mescaleros' Prophecy

(1) When the earth had been made, Killer of Enemies put us down right here in the vicinity of White Mountain. "That which lies on this mountain will be the land of the Mescalero." [he said]. Then

yó·sń ⁿdì·ʔáǫ́là·ń: "dá·ⁿdí ʔı̨·è· màšgàlénè bì-kéyà·dà·ł," nàhì·łⁿdínáʔà.

(2) ʔáštı̨ dáⁿdéná ⁿdì·bè·dàhgò·sʔą́náʔà. ʔı̨·-štı̨ hàǹyà·gò šáhànáťáyádó šáʔì·ʔáyádó sǫ̀·sbìnìbì-ǩáhádó ʔáíí ⁿdé bìⁿdì·dèǹí. ʔáíí xàʔyáxè· ʔì-dà·skàgóʔ ǩàdì màšgàlénèí ǫ́ǫ́là·í dábéyàhégò màš-gàlénè náʔìʒì·. ʔákò· ʔìⁿdá·ńnè ⁿdé bìⁿdì·dèǹí dábè·hàdè·sbı̨.

(3) ʔìłǩìdą́ ʔìⁿdà·ʔédà·dı̨dą́. ʔìłǩìdą́ǹⁿdénè ʔáyáⁿdí. ʔı̨·ʒı̨ ʔìⁿdà· dò·ťı̨dàdą́. "ʔìⁿdà·łìgàńnè bìⁿdâ·í dàǩìʒí dáⁿdéná ⁿdì·í bè·dàhgò·sʔą́dà·ł," dà·ⁿdí. ǩàdì ʔáyáʒà·.

(4) ʔákò·: "xá·líǹⁿdénáʔìʒì·í ʔákò· ʔìⁿdà·dà·hı̨là·," čìⁿdínáʔà. dáʔákà·ʔáʒà·. "ʔákò· ⁿdì·-ʔénágòdı̨í ʔáxá·nédà·ł," dà·ⁿdínáʔà màšgàlénèí hàdà·stı̨·ńnè.

(5) ʔáíǹí dò·łìʔhàòʒídà. ʔìťàh ʔìtédàǹʒí·-négò, dáʔáyáǹhⁿdá. ǩàdì dáʔáyáťéǹdàh, dáʔáyáťégò ʔánàhı̨là·náʔà yó·sń. ʔáíí dò·yâ·dà·hìťı̨dàgò ʔá-nàhı̨là·náʔà. ʔáíí ʔìťàh dáʔáyáǹťégò hǫ̀·kà.

(6) dáʔáyáťéǹdàh, dí· ǹⁿdébìⁿdâ·dàǩìʒéńnè bìkéǩèhyágò dàhnà·ʔìʒìš. ǩàdì dí· ⁿdénè ʔáńń ⁿdé bìcì· čǫ́·šé. ʔìⁿdà. bìʔédèí dí·ǩèh ʔìyèʔsìʒé. ǩàdì ⁿdéǹí dò·bégǫ́zı̨dà dáʔìⁿdà·í.

(7) ʔáyáťé ʔìⁿdà· bìkéǩèhyágò ʔǫ̀·kàí ʔìłǩì-dą́ ⁿdénè ʔáⁿdínàʔá. dí·ǩèh dáʔákà·gò ʔáyáʔı̨·ʒı̨ dò·łìʔìⁿdà·hòťı̨dàdą́. ʔìłǩìdą́ ⁿdénè ʔáⁿdínáʔà. dò·łìʔhàòʒídà.

Killer of Enemies put us down right here. We are still here. That god who created the earth: "It is true that right here will be the land of the Mescalero," he said to us.

(2) Then there were only Indians scattered over the country. From here down to the east and south and north was then Indian country. Where have they gone? Now there remains only a handful of Mescalero. And the white men have filled up that which was the land of the Indians.

(3) Long ago there were no white men. The people of long ago spoke thus. At that time they had seen no white men here. "Only white men with blue eyes will live in this country," they said. Now it has become so.

(4) Then: "When there are only a few Indians left, then they will become white men," they said. It has become just like that. "Then the end of the world will be at hand," said the Mescalero old men.

(5) These of the past did not speak incorrectly. Still poverty-stricken, we live just so. But then, God has created us that way. He created us without anything. We still go on in that way.

(6) In spite of that, [Indians now] go the way of these white men. Now the Indian men have cut their hair. They wear only white men's clothing. Now those who were Indians cannot be distinguished [from] white men.

(7) The Indians of long ago said that we would go the way of the white men. None of them at that time had seen any white men in this place. The Indians spoke thus long ago. They did not speak incorrectly.

V. LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

1:1.

(1) cé́ǩè·ščĺhé 'Coyote'. This is one of the many names by which this mythical being is known. It is popularly translated 'he who has defecated on a rock', an etymology which is kept alive by the tale recorded in text 1:14. This etymology, however, is not verifiable by my linguistic evidence. cé- is undoubtedly to be identified with cé 'rock' and -é is very likely the archaic relative, but ǩè·ščĺh- cannot be explained as a form of the verb ǩè-...(si- perf.)-čı̨· 'to defecate on' (act. intr.), the third person perfective of which is yĺǩè·sčı̨· 'he has defecated on it'.

(2) ⁿdásá čéńyá 'he had gone farther on'. ⁿdásá 'farther on' plus the 3rd person perf. of čé-ni-...(ni- perf.)-yá 'one person moves out' (act. intr.). čé- 'out'; ni- completive; -yá 'one person moves'. The stem forms of this theme vary in Mesc. as they do in Chir. See II B, note 1:15, §2.

(3) ʔlⁿdà·ʔlžášè·dàǎlʒí 'Blue Bunting'. A compound of ʔlⁿdà·ʔlžášè· 'bunting'; dàǎlʒ 'it is blue'; and -í relative. ʔlⁿdà·ʔlžášè· is itself a compound of ʔlⁿdà· 'white man' (see II B, note 6:3, §5) and ʔlžášè· 'bird'. Later in the text (see paragraph 15), ʔlⁿdà·ʔlžášè· is used alone to refer to the Blue Bunting.

dàǎlʒ is, as in Chir. (see II B, note 28:1, §1), a third person form of da-ni-...-ǎlʒ 'to be blue' (imp. neut. intr.). Note, however, that the final consonant is -ʒ as compared to Chir. -ž. One of the most striking phonetic distinctions between Mesc. and Chir. is found in their treatment of the Ath. voiced final spirants: Chir. -z, -ž regularly corresponding to Mesc. -ʒ, -ʒ respectively. For a full account of the phonetic distinctions between these two languages, see H. Hoijer, "The Southern Athapaskan Languages" (American Anthropologist, Vol. 40, No. 1, Jan.-March 1938), pp. 75-87.

(4) yà·číńťlná?à 'he had gone to him, it is said'. 3rd person perf. of Oà·-či-ni-...(ni- pf.) -ťé 'one person moves to someone' (act. intr.). à·- 'to' (pp.); či- ?; ni- completive. The theme -ťé 'one person moves' is often used in Mesc. where the theme -l-yè· would be used in Chir. Cf. the following Mesc. verbs based on -ťé with those Chir. verbs based on -l-yè· listed in II B, note 13:7.

Oà·-či-ni-...(ni- perf.)-ťé 'one person goes to someone' (act. intr.).

dàh-či-di-|...(ni- perf.)-ťé 'one person jumps out, away; one person moves quickly' (act. intr.).

či-ni-...(ni- perf.)-ťé 'one person comes' (act. intr.).

ná-či-ni-...(ni- perf.)-d-ťé 'one person comes back, one person goes back' (act. intr.).

yà·-ná-či-|...(ni- perf.)-ťé 'one person jumps' (act. intr.).

Lexical differences such as this one, phonetic distinctions such as those referred to in 3 above, and the few grammatical distinctions that are described in section II A constitute the main lines of diversion of Chir. and Mesc.

1:2.

hǫ́ⁿdá·ł 'you are going'. 2nd person prog. of -yá 'one person moves'. See II B, note 1:15, §2 for an explanation of the stem form. This is an example of one of the paradigmatic distinctions between Chir. and Mesc. For a summary of these, see §§13-18 of section II A.

1:3.

?ô· 'yes, all right, well'. This interjection is generally used to denote assent. It is also heard ?áó. An emphatic ?ô·wó is also often heard.

This is the only occurrence of the sound w in Mesc.

1:4.

(1) dò·yâ·dà ñdàh bégòñslní ná?ô·šłáháťédà 'nothing but that of which I know would I do for you'. dò·-...-dà negative (note that this affix encircles the entire phrase). yâ· 'anything'; ñdàh 'but'; bégòñslní, relative in -í of bégòñsl̨, the 1st person of Oé-go-ni-...-ł-zl̨ 'to know about' (imp. neut.; see II B, note 1:1, §5). ná- 'for you'; ?ô·šłá, 1st person opt. of ?á-...(? perf.)-lá 'to do so' (act. tr.). ?á- 'thus, so' plus the opt. prefix becomes ?ô·-. háťé (should read ?áťé ?) 'it is so'.

(2) šàń?l̨· 'give it to me'. 2nd person imp. of Oà·-ni-...(ni- perf.)-?l̨· 'to give someone an unknown object' (act. tr.). It is to be noted here, however, that the object (tobacco) is not unknown. It is characteristic of Mesc., as compared with Chir., that this theme is often used where in Chir. the theme -?à· 'to handle a round object' would be used. It is not quite accurate, therefore, to give the same meaning to -?l̨· in Mesc. as in Chir.

1:5.

dò·xà?yá náťòh sl?l̨· dlhnò·š?l̨·háťédà 'there is no tobacco here [that] I can give you'. dò·-...-dà negative; xà?yá 'any, some'; náťòh 'tobacco'; sl?l̨· 'an unknown object lies'; dlhnò·š-?l̨·, a combination of dlh- 'tobacco offering', nà·- 'to you', the 1st person opt. prefix, and the opt. stem of the theme -?l̨· 'to handle an unknown object' (act. tr.). Note that háté is oftener used than ?áťé (the characteristic Chir. usage) in constructions of this sort (see note 1:4, §1).

1:6.

(1) są́ń 'wife'. Literally, 'old woman.' są́ 'old age' plus the relative enclitic -ń. See II B, notes 21:1, §§1 and 2.

(2) cl̨blkáyí 'bark'. cl̨ 'tree', blkáyí 'its skin, cover'.

1:7.

ká·slką́ 'here it is'. ká·-'here' (demonst. procl. ?). slką́ 'an object in a container lies' (3rd person si- perf. neut. intr.).

1:10.

(1) nálňžà· 'he picked it up'. 3rd person perf. with 3rd person object of ná-di-|...(ni-perf.)-žá·š 'to pick up a mass' (act. intr.). See II B, note 1:22, §1. Here, where Blue Bunting is taking a mass of bark from the container, the verb of handling changes (before, in the text, the verb referring to the handling of objects in a container was used). See II B, note 2:7, §15.

(2) nílldą́·žl·ž 'he pulverized it'. 3rd person perf. with 3rd person obj. of ní-di-...(hi-perf.)-žlš 'to pound, to pulverize' (act. tr.). The theme occurs only with these prefixes. Note the difference between the Mesc. and Chir. 3rd person hi- perf.; see II A, §14.

(3) yèhyą́·žà·ž 'he put a mass in'. 3rd person perf. with 3rd person obj. of yèh-|...(hi-perf.)-žá·š 'to put a mass in' (act. tr.; yèh-| 'in'). The perfective stem of the theme -žá·š 'to handle a mass' varies between -žà· (see §1 above) and -žà·ž. In Chir., the perfective stem is regularly -žà· (see II B, notes 2:17, §1 and 2:7, §15).

(4) nálňcò·ʒ 'he picked it up' has probably been misheard for nálňłcò·ʒ, the 3rd person perf. with 3rd person obj. of ná-di-|...(ni- perf.)-ł-có·s 'to pick up a fabric-like object' (act. tr.). Cf. §1 above. Note that the perfective stem of this theme has the final consonant -ž corresponding to Chir. -z (see note 1:1, §3).

(5) ?łłčl̨·yl·ⁿdl 'he pressed them together'. ?łł- reciprocal; -čl̨· 'to, toward'. yl·ⁿdl, 3rd person imp. with 3rd person obj. of hi-|...(si perf. ⁿdl 'to press' (act. tr.).

(6) ?ldàłčlšl̨ 'putting his hand in'. 3rd person perf. of ?l-di-...(hi- perf.)-l-čí 'to move one's hand away' (mediopas.). ?i- 'away'; di-'[to move] one's own' (?). -šl̨ functions here as a subordinating enclitic.

(7) nà·łcò·sí 'paper'. Literally, 'that fabric-like object which is carried about'. nà·ł-cò·s, passive cont. imp. of the theme -ł-có·s 'to handle a fabric-like object' with the prefix nà·- 'about, here and there'.

(8) bldâ·yá 'before him'. -dá 'before, in front of' plus the pp. è·- 'at' and -yá.

1:13.

(1) náťòhí yl·dlsgò 'rolling a cigarette'. nátòh 'tobacco', followed by yl·dls 'he rolls it'

means 'cigarette'.

(2) kǫ̀·í bà·číń?ı̨· 'he gave him a light'. kǫ̀· 'fire'. Note again that the theme -?ı̨· is used of a known object (see note 1:4, §2). In Chir., the theme -ł-ťà· 'to handle fire' (act. tr.) would be used.

1:16.

?ìłzénáčì·sⁿdì·ná?à 'they embraced each other, it is said'. 3a person perf. of O-zé-ná-... (si- perf.)-ⁿdì 'to embrace' (act. intr.). The theme of this verb may be related to -l-ⁿdì 'to move one's hand' (mediopas.). ná- 'around'; zé- 'neck' (?).

Note that in the Mesc. texts the narrative enclitic -ná?à is employed much less often than in most of the Chir. texts.

1:19.

Literally, this paragraph reads: "That / you will come to me / that which you said to me / now / I sit here, / Coyote."

1:20.

?ìkáštó·ǯí, another word for 'bark' (see note 1:6, §2). This word cannot be analyzed.

1:21.

(1) ?ìdè· 'dish, cup, container'. Literally 'someone's horn'; cf. bìdè· 'his (e. g., an animal's) horn'. For the etymology of this word, see Edward Sapir, "Internal Linguistic Evidence Suggestive of the Northern Origin of the Navaho" (American Anthropologist, Vol. 38, No. 2, April-June 1936), pp. 225-227.

(2) ?ìkáštó·ǯí béγàhgò ?áı̨là·gò 'having filled it with bark'. ?ìkáštó·ǯí 'bark' (see note 1:20). béγàh > bi 3rd person pronoun plus the postposition -éγàh 'to the measure of'. ?áı̨là·, 3rd person perf. with 3rd person object of ?á-... (? perf.)-lá 'to make so, to do so' (act. tr.).

(3) bìčı̨·yà·yǫ́·kąná?à 'she brought it in to him'. bìčı̨· 'to him' plus the 3rd person perf. with 3rd person object of yà·-|... (hi- perf.)-kà· 'to bring in an object in a container' (act. tr.). yà·-| 'in, inside'.

(4) bìyà·stı̨ń 'her husband'. Is-yà·stı̨ 'husband' related to hà·stı̨· 'old man; he is old'? The latter word is also used in the sense of 'husband'.

1:22.

(1) nî·dňžìšgò 'pounding it'. This is apparently the 3rd person imp. with 3rd person object of nî-di-...(hi- perf.)-žìš 'to pound, pulverize' (act. tr.). See note 1:21, §4. nî·- > nî- plus the 3rd person object yi-. I cannot understand the prefix dň-, however.

(2) nî·dǫ́·žì·ǯnágòň 'just as he had pounded it'. For nî·dǫ́·žì·ǯ, see §1 above and note 1:24, §4. -ná 'just'; -gò subord. encl.; -ň past tense enclitic.

(3) dò·?ìyâ·bìyè?ásì?ı̨·dàná?àhá 'there was absolutely nothing in them, it is said'. dò·-... -dà negative; ?ìyâ· 'anything'; bìyè? 'in them'; -á, a reduced form of the pp. -yá; sì?ı̨· an unknown object lies' (3rd person si- perf. neut. intr.); -ná?à narrative encl.; -há exclamatory enclitic.

1:24.

(1) dábí (dá- 'just, only' plus the 3rd person independent pronoun) is here translated by the English 'himself'.

(2) kà·nálìdè·ⁿdìl 'he poured it out before him'. kà·- 'to him' plus the 3rd person perf. with 3rd person object of ná-di-...(si- perf.)-ⁿdìł 'to pour out' (act. tr.). ná-di- ?; the theme is clearly a continuative form of -ⁿdí·ł 'to handle several objects'. Note that the text form, a 3rd person si- perfective, does not have the regular form of the si- perfective but lacks the prefix s-. Such irregular 3rd person si- perfectives are of quite common occurrence in Mesc.

(3) yè·hàìdé·łbı̨ná?à 'he filled it with it'. yè·- 'with it' plus the 3rd person perf. with 3rd person object of hà-di-...(? perf.)-ł-bı̨ 'to fill' (act. tr.). The perfective of this verb is irregular: Sg. 1 hàdé·łbı̨; Sg 2. hàdéňłbı̨; Sg. 3. hàìdé·łbı̨; Sg. 3a. hàšdé·łbı̨; Du. 1. hàdę́·łbı̨. This paradigm, however, varies with a regular si-perfective paradigm.

1:25.

(1) Note that ťô·ná?čǫ́·łťòhdàgò 'without smoking' and tô·?ìłzénáčì·sⁿdì·dàná?àhá 'they had not even embraced each other' employ the variant negative affix ťô·-...-dà. This form of the neg-negative affix occurs oftener in Mesc. than in Chir.

(2) ké?ìláí 'his imitation of him'. A relative in -í of ké?ìlá, the 3rd person imp. of Oé-

ʔi-...(ʔ perf.)-lá 'to imitate'. é- 'like, similar to' (ʔ); ʔi- indefinite object (ʔ); -lá 'to do, make' (act. tr.) (ʔ).

2:1.

(1) kǫ́·hégò čò·łxlłná?à 'it was becoming a bit dark'. kǫ́·hé "little, a bit' (part.). čò·ł-xlł, prog. of čà·-|...(hi- perf.)-ł-γè·ł 'to become dark' (act. intr.).

(2) yldò·sǫ́ná?à 'he had heard it'. 3rd person perf. with 3rd person obj. of di-|...(si perf.)-ǫ́ 'to hear' (act. tr.). The perfective paradigm is irregular: Sg. 1. dlsíǫ́; Sg. 2. dlsíñǫ́; Sg. 3. yldò·sǫ́ or yldò·ǫ́ (also, rarely, yldl·sǫ́); Sg. 3a- čldò·sǫ́ or čldò·ǫ́ (and čldl·sǫ́); Du. 1. dlsı̨·ǫ́. Since di-|, found in many verbs having to do with sound, generally takes the hi- perfective (e. g., ?ádǫ́·ⁿdl· 'he has said so') it is possible that the above paradigm represents a stage in the shift from the hi- perfective to the si- perfective.

(3) dá?łłkáyè·ʒ̨ı̨ 'at intervals, one after another'. dá- 'just'; ?łł- reciprocal; -káyè·- ?; -ʒ̨ı̨ 'to' (pp.; cf. Chir. -ʒ̨ı̨).

2:2.

(1) hl·łtè·ná?à 'he went'. 3rd person perf. of hi-|...(ʔ perf.)-l-té 'to go, walk, run' (act. intr.). This verb seems to be of more frequent occurrence in Mesc. than in Chir.

(2) nl·šǯà·náí 'only Owl'. nl·šǯà· 'Owl' (no analysis); -ná 'just, only'; -í relative.

2:3.

(1) gòǩénádlgà·łná?à 'he looked down at him'. go- 'him'; ǩé- 'at'; ná- 'back' plus the 3rd person imp. of di-...(si- perf.)-γà·ł 'to look' (act. intr.). ná- 'back' causes the text form to have the -d- classifier (see II A, §7).

(2) blzà·í ñcà·gò 'in a gruff voice'. Literally, 'his voice being big'. When this text was told, the informant pronounced all the -a- vowels of this sentence with an -ω- timbre to imitate the quality of Owl's voice. See VI, note 2:1.

2:4.

(1) nà·ń̓ⁿdá 'come down'. 2nd person imp. of nà·-di-...(hi- perf.)-yá 'one person comes down' (act. intr.). nà·- 'down, off'; di- inceptive (ʔ). See text paragraph 5, line 2 for the 3rd person perfective of this verb.

(2) šlłgǫ́łⁿdl 'tell me stories'. ši- 'me'; ł- 'with, to" (pp.). gǫ́łⁿdı̨, 2nd person imp. of go-...(hi- perf.)-ł-ⁿdl 'to tell, narrate' (act. intr.).

2:6.

(1) ñžónô· 'closely' > ñžóné, a relative form of ñžǫ́ 'it is good, well' (3rd person imp. neut. intr. with adj. ni-) plus the subord. encl. -gò.

(2) dò·dókòhé·dó 'wonderful'. An unanalyzable intensifying particle.

(3) yè?nénłʔǫ́ná?à 'you seem to be wearing'. 2nd person of γè?-ni-...-l-ʔǫ́ 'to wear (a headdress of any sort)' (si- perf. neut.). γè?- 'in, inside'; ni- terminative; -l-ʔǫ́ 'to have one's head in position'. Note that -ná?à, in this verb, gives a dubitative connotation. See VI, note 2:2.

(4) bè·šı̨sı̨ 'show me the power of it'. 2nd person imp. with 1st person obj. of Oè·-|...(hi-perf.)-ł-zı̨ 'to show, give power by means of something' (act. tr.). è·- 'by means of'.

2:8.

(1) dèñšⁿdášíné 'right'. dèñšⁿdá 'right (as opposed to left)' (no analysis). -šíné > -šı̨ 'from' plus the archaic relative -é.

(2) gòčı̨·yô· 'to face him' > go- 'him'; -čı̨· 'toward'; -yá pp.; and -gò subord. encl.

(3) kádàhyl·ǯà·ná?à 'he put it on for him'. ká- 'for him' plus the 3rd person perf. with 3rd person obj. of dàh-|...(si- perf.)-ǯá·š 'to put a mass on' (act. tr.; dàh- 'on'). Note that the text form, a 3rd person si perfective, lacks the s- prefix. See note 1:24, §2.

(4) kálǩè?l·zòná?à 'he marked it for him'. ká- 'for him'; -lǩè- > ylǩè- 'on it'. ?l·zò, 3rd person perf. of ?l-|...(si- perf.)-zò 'to mark' (act. intr.). ?l-| ?. In this form, the -s- of the 3rd person si- perfective merges with the initial stem consonant.

2:9.

yè?áyáná·gǫ́·λà·ná?à 'he did so with it again'. yè·- 'with it'; ?áyá- 'so, thus'; ná·- 'again'; gǫ́·- > go- 'him' plus the 3rd person hi-perf. prefix; -λà·, -d- form of the perfective stem of -lá 'to do to' (act. tr.). The prefix ná·- 'again' requires the -d- form. Cf. dá?áyágǫ́·là·-ná?à 'he did the same thing' in the third line of

the text paragraph.

2:12.

nłłñžǫnáll 'do you like it?'. ni- 'you'; ł- 'with, to'; ñžǫ 'it is good'; -náll interrog. encl. (?).

2:13.

(1) ńnáhábłłñžǫná?à 'he liked it very much'. ńnáhá- 'very, a great deal' (procl.); błłñžǫ 'he likes it; it is good with him'

(2) dò·?lyâ·?łšťídà 'I have nothing'. dò·-...-dà negative; ?lyâ· 'anything, something'. ?łsťí 'I have' (?); cf. ?á-ni-...-ťí 'to be so' and há-...-ťí 'to want, desire', both imp. neut. intr.

(3) The last sentence of this paragraph is literally as follows: "'In spite of that, / anything / that you have told me / at every time / that I will do so it is so,' / he said to him."

2:14.

ḱàdô·?ł·dą·?é 'it is time that we eat'. ḱàdô· > ḱàdé 'now, right now' plus -gò subord. ?ł·-dą·?-, a bound form of ?ł·dą, 1st person dual imp. with indef. obj. of -yą 'to eat' (act. tr.); -é relative.

Note that the verb 'to eat' suffers alternations of the stem initial similar to those of -yá 'one person moves'. See ñ^{n}dą 'you will eat' (2nd person imp.) in this text paragraph and ḱàdéhłšą·?é 'that which I would eat now' (1st person imp.) in text paragraph 15. It is characteristic of both Chir. and Mesc. that stems beginning with y- combine with the prefixed consonants immediately preceding. This is also true of other Athapaskan languages. See F.-K. Li, Mattole, An Athabaskan Language (Chicago, 1930), §11, pp. 14-16.

2:15.

?lyánéłłžìnî 'buffalo'. A compound of ?lyáné 'cattle'; łłžł 'it is black' (3rd person imp. neut. with prefixes łi-ni- adj.); and the relative -î. ?lyáné > ?lyą 'he eats' (3rd person imp. with indef. obj.) plus the archaic relative -é.

It is curious that the Mesc. word for 'buffalo' should have as a base the word for 'cattle' since it is very likely that the Mesc. knew the buffalo long before they encountered cattle. It is probable, however, that ?lyáné originally meant 'buffalo' and was made to include 'cattle' when these animals became important in Mesc. culture. Then, when the necessity for distinguishing the two animals arose, this compound was devised to designate the buffalo, by then the less important animal to the culture.

2:20.

(1) dánà·čłłḱèh 'both of them', also heard dá?nà·čłłḱèh. I cannot explain nà·-; the usual form is dá?čłłḱèh. Cf. also dánàhłłḱèh 'both of us, both of you'; dá?gółḱèh, dá?łḱèh, and dá?gò-błłḱèh 'both of them'; and IIB, note 1:1, §4.

(2) xó·hgò ñḱèh?ò·šγàł 'you have fed me well'. xó·hgò 'good, fine, well' (part.). n-, reduced form of ni- 'you'; -ḱèh 'by reason of, because of' (pp.); ?ò·šγàł, the 1st person perf. with indef. obj. of ...(hi- perf.)-l-γàł 'to eat meat-like substances' (act. tr.).

2:21.

šdè·yáná?à 'he had started to move'. šdè·yá 'he had started to move' (3a person perf. with di- inceptive prefix) is contracted from čłdè·yá.

2:22.

dásłñžǫgò 'exactly'. dásł- 'just, exactly'; ñžǫ 'it is good'; -gò subord encl.

2:25.

(1) šǫ·dé 'wife'. This word means literally 'friend, partner' but is restricted in usage to the coyote stories. See II B, note 10:3, §1.

(2) góbá?égółłłł 'spread [a robe] for them'. góbá- 'for them' > góbi- 3rd person dual pronoun plus á- 'for'. This special form for the 3rd person dual (object and poss.; see II A, §§6 and 11) is more often used in Mesc. than in Chir.

?égółłłł, 2nd person imp. of ?é-go-...(si-perf.)-ł-łłł 'to spread out a fabric-like object' (act. intr.). No further analysis is possible.

(3) ńgòdłbł· 'they will sit down'. 3rd person imp. of nî-di-...(si- perf.-bł· 'several sit down' (act. intr.). nî- is probably ni- terminative, that prefix taking a high tone when it precedes a prefix beginning with -d-. di- inceptive. The deictic prefix go- functions here as a 3rd person dual (or plural) subject.

2:26.

ńčldè·bl̨ná?à 'they sat down'. 3a person perf. of the verb noted in 2:25, §3. Note that the -s- of the si- perf. is lacking. See note 1:24, §2.

2:28.

lóñgò 'you are crazy'. 2nd person of ló-|... -gò 'to be crazy' (imp. neut. intr.). This is a form derived by conjugation from lô·gò 'crazy, he is crazy' > Spanish loco 'crazy'. See II B, note 38:21.

2:29.

hâ·hkà 'you have come for'. 2nd person dual perf. of há-...(hi- perf.)-ká 'several come for' (act. intr.). há- 'for'. I am not certain of this analysis, nor can I explain the -h- before the stem of the text form.

2:32.

The first sentence of this paragraph is literally as follows: "Those / that you are so / being just so / those / people / you will make them so for me." See VI, note 2:5.

2:33.

(1) nàhkè·š 'sit down'. 2nd person dual of ni-...(si- perf.)-kè·š 'two persons sit down' (act. intr.; ni- terminative). Cf. the stem forms of this theme, viz., -kè·š, -ké·ʒ (alternating with -ké), -klš, -kłš, -kè·š, with the corresponding Chir. forms: -kè·, -ké, -kè, -kè, -kè·.

(2) nl·šʒà·ⁿdéńlı̨nè 'those who were Owl people'. nl·šʒà· 'Owl'; ⁿdé 'people'; ńlı̨ 'they are' (3rd person imp. neut. intr. with adj. prefix ni-); -nè relative suffix denoting a group or class of people.

2:34.

(1) nà·šégòdó 'one side also'. nà·šé 'one side' (nà·- ?; -šé 'side'); -gò subord. encl.; -dó 'also'.

(2) náhàkòsíbłǎášı̨dóná?à 'also from the north'. náhàkòsí 'north'; błǎá 'under it'; -šı̨ 'from'; -dó 'also'. The Mesc. and Chir. idiom corresponding to our 'in such and such a direction' is 'under such and such a direction'. In Chir., the postposition -yà· 'under' is usually employed, however (see e. g., II B, note 38:4, §1).

2:35.

ťá 'feather'. In Chir., this noun occurs only in the possessed form -ťà?.

2:36.

nl·šʒà·ńⁿdéń 'Owl man'. Note that, in Mesc., the word for 'man, person, people, etc.' occurs both in the Chir. form ⁿdé and in the form it has in this compound, ńⁿdé.

2:39.

xàǩàdl > xà- interrog. pronoun plus ǩàdl 'now, then'.

2:40.

This paragraph is literally: "Owl man / yes / that he will say, / together / yes / no / they had said, it is said."

dá?łłé·?é 'together' is unanalyzable.

2:42.

?lcl̨ńǎlʒí nó·łcà·í dò·dádà·čó?à·łháťédàí 'hard dry meat that could not be chewed'. -cl̨· 'meat'; ńǎlʒ 'it is hard' (3rd person imp. neut. intr. with adj. prefix ni-); nó·łcà· 'it is dry' (no analysis); dà·čó?à·ł 3a person distrib. opt. of ...(hi- perf.)-?à·ł 'to chew' (act. tr.).

3:1.

šǫ́·dé gòγą sldáè· dábłłgǫ́γená?à 'Coyote was very tired of staying at home'. gòγą 'his home'; sldá 'he is sitting' (3rd person si- perf. neut. intr.); -è· 'at'. dá- 'very'; bi- 'him'; ł- 'to, with'; gǫ́γé 'there is weariness, tiredness; there is danger' (imp. neut. intr. with the place subject and the adj. prefix ni-).

3:5.

dò·ńčàhgòščí·?áťédà 'I cannot tell you'. dò·-...-dà negative; ńčàhgòščí· > ńčàhgòščí 'I tell you' plus the relative -í; ?áťé 'it is so'. Literally: 'it is not so that I tell you'; that is, 'it is not possible that I tell you'. Cf. this with the similar constructions in notes 1:4, §1 and 1:5.

3:7.

(1) tółánéslką́ná?à 'there was a big lake'. tó 'water'; łáné, relative in -é of łą́ 'much, many'; slką́ 'something in a container lies' (3rd

person si- perf. neut. intr.).

(2) ʒłłíbìbą̀·ǯ̨ čéńyáná?à 'he had reached the edge of the mountains'. ʒłł 'mountains'; bì-bą̀· 'their edge'; -ǯ̨ 'to'; čéńyá, the 3rd person perf. of čé-ni-...(ni- perf.)-yá 'one person comes out' (act. intr.).

3:8.

(1) ?łťàhnè·łdą́dàná?àgò 'while it was still early morning'. ?łťàh 'still'; nè·łdą́ 'early morning' (no analysis); -dà 'even'; -ná?à narr. encl.; -gò subord. encl.

(2) dè·s?á 'a hill'. di- inceptive plus the si- perf. neut. of -?á 'a rigid object extends' (?).

(3) hà·yáná?à 'he climbed'. 3rd person perf. of hà-|...(si- perf.)-yá 'one person moves up' (act. intr.).

(4) dìcl̨nádáńkà·ná?à 'there was a big grove of tress'. dìcl̨ 'trees'; -ná 'just, only' (?); dá- 'just' (?); ńkà· 'a clump extends horizontally' (3rd person ni- perf. neut. intr.).

(5) ?łłánákáná?à 'they were moving about'. 3rd person imp. of ?łł-á-ná-...(si- perf.)-ká 'several move about' (act. intr.). ?łł- reciprocal; á- ?; ná- 'around, in a circle' (?).

(6) dò·bìłdà·ǫ́ǫťédàgò 'he was not afraid and'. dò·-...-dà negative; bìł- 'to him'; dà·ǫ́ǫťé, distrib. place subj. plus ni- adj. prefix and the stem -ťé 'to be' (imp. neut. intr.); -gò subordinating enclitic.

(7) dá?łčégò·sdòné 'straight'. dá- 'just' plus the relative in -é of ?łčégò·sdǫ̀ 'it is straight' (si- perf. neut. intr.). I cannot isolate the prefix ?łčé- but see note 3:42, §1.

3:9.

(1) tábą̀·è· 'at the edge of the water'. tá- is a compounded form of tó 'water'; -bą̀· 'edge'; -è· 'at'. See táγè?yá 'in the water' in the text line below.

(2) ?łłáná?łłkǫ̀·ná?à 'they were swimming around'. 3rd person imp. of ?łł-á-ná-?i-...(si- perf.)-ł-kǫ̀· 'several swim around' (act. intr.). For ?łł-á-ná-, see note 3:8, §5. See also note 3:18, §2.

3:10.

(1) dábíšé 'just among themselves'. dá- 'just'; bí independent 3rd person pronoun; -šé 'side, party'.

(2) dà·?î·łdłłklná?à 'they asked questions of one another'. dà·- distrib. and ?łł- reciprocal plus the 3rd person imp. of hí-di-...(hi- perf.)-ł-kl 'to ask, inquire of' (act. tr.). hí-?; di- referring to sound. I cannot explain why dà·- + hí- + ?łł- becomes dà·?î·ł-.

3:13.

ńtà·ń?à 'where is your father?' ńtà· 'your father'; -ń relative; -?à interrog. encl. (?).

3:14.

(1) ťl·s?ìdà·?áí 'those cottonwoods standing there'. ťl·s 'cottonwoods'. ?ìdà·?á 'several stand erect' (3rd person distrib. si-perf. neut.). ?i- indef. subj.; -?á 'a rigid object has extension'. Note the loss of the -s- perf. prefix.

(2) ńdà·gòldìyàłkàł 'they are felling them'. 3rd person distrib. prog. of ní-di-...(si- perf.) -ł-kà· 'to fell (trees)' (act. tr.). -ł-kà·, causative of -kà· 'a long rigid object falls' (act. intr.). ni- terminative (ní- because it precedes di-, see note 2:25, §3): di- ?.

3:18.

(1) tá·hyǫ́·šóí 'he had dragged into the water'. Relative in -í of the 3rd person perf. with 3rd person obj. of tá·h-|...(hi- perf.)-ł-žò· 'to drag into the water' (act. tr.). tá·h-| 'into the water', a combination of tó 'water' and some unknown prefix.

(2) Three verbs based on the theme -ł-kǫ̀· 'to swim' have so far been used. ?łł-á-ná-?i-...(si- perf.)-ł-kǫ̀· 'several swim about' (act. intr.; see note 3:9, §2); 0-ł-?i-di-...(si- perf.) -ł-kǫ̀· 'to begin to swim with something' (act. intr.; see line 2 of this text paragraph); and 0-ł-nì-?i-ni-...(ni- perf.)-ł-kǫ̀· 'to swim to (a place) with something; to stop swimming with something' (act. intr.; see line 3 of this text paragraph). In all of them, it will be noted, occurs the prefix ?i- which cannot be defined.

(3) cl̨?łłťìdą́hè·s^{n}dìlí 'that pile of logs that had already been made'. cl̨ 'logs'; ?łťìdą́ 'long ago'; hè·s^{n}dìl 'several lie' (si- perf. neut. intr. with prefix hi-).

3:19.

yłłnà·dà·?łzł·ńńnè 'those with whom he had

been working'. yłł- 'with them'; nà·dà·ʔlzł·, 3rd person distrib. imp. of nà·-ʔi-...(si- perf.)-zł· 'to work' (act. intr.; see II B, note 6:11, §1); -ñ past tense encl.; -ń relative; -nè 'people of such and such a group'.

3:21.

(1) šǫ́·dó· 'friend'. A vocative of šǫ́·dé (ʔ).

(2) nóščíšį 'come here'. An unanalyzable exclamation.

3:23.

xàʔšįxè·ná 'where did you come from?' xàʔ- 'where'; -šį 'from'; -xè· interrog. encl.; -ná emphatic encl.

3:26.

This paragraph is literally as follows: "Nothing / but / I am coming to you [pl.]. / you / I am coming to you [sg.]."

3:28.

(1) dánàńčłʔ 'quietly' (no analysis).

(2) ńkè·ná·dà·ʔldł·ʒł·náʔà 'they began to work again'. 3rd person distrib. perf. of ńkè·-ná·-ʔi-di-|...(ni- perf.)-d-zí 'to begin to work again' (act. intr.). ńkè·-di-| 'to begin to'; ná·- 'again' (requires the -d- class); ʔi-, see II B, note 6:11, §1.

3:29.

yèʔdéńłʔè·ʒnáhé 'you are wearing'. 2nd person of yèʔ-di-...-l-ʔè·ʒ 'to wear shoes, moccasins' (si-perf. neut.). yèʔ- 'in'; di- ʔ. -l-ʔè·ʒ 'to have one's feet in position' (ʔ). See note 2:6, §3. -náhé exclamatory enclitic.

3:31.

blńⁿdèʔń 'his people'. -ńⁿdèʔ, poss. form of ńⁿdé 'people'.

3:32.

The third sentence of this paragraph is literally as follows: "And / to the bottoms of his feet / the water / backward / he was doing in that way to it with them, it is said."

yè·- 'by means of them'; xàʔyô· > xàʔyá 'in some way' plus -gò subord.; ʔáłłʔį, 3rd person imp. with 3rd person obj. of ʔá-...(hi- perf.)-ł -ʔį 'to do to' (act. tr.).

3:36

(1) kǫ̀ʔídó 'a match also'. kǫ̀ʔ, a variant of kǫ̀· 'fire' (cf. note 1:13, §2); -í relative; -dó 'also'.

(2) The sixth sentence of this paragraph is literally as follows: "The tobacco / holding them against each other / a cross / in the form of to the four directions / he raised his hand with it, it is said."

(3) ʔłłéyó·łtągò 'holding them against each other'. ʔłł- reciprocal; é- 'against'; yó·łtą (also heard yó·tą), 3rd person of hó-ni-...-ł-tą 'to hold, have hold of' (imp. neut. tr.).

(4) cłʔłłnô·złdí 'cross'. cł 'wood' (ʔ); ʔłłnô·złdí, an archaic relative of ʔłłnô·zł '(e. g., two sticks) move across each other' (3rd person prog.; see II B, note 42:1, §3). Cf., also, náťòhí kǫ̀ʔíyłł ʔłłnô·złgò 'the crossed cigarette and match' in line 4 of text paragraph 38.

(5) gòžółèè· 'on his chest'. -zólè 'chest'; -è· 'on'.

(6) yè·ʔłłdéńdáyágò 'a cross with it'. yè·- 'with it'; ʔłłdéńdáyágò 'cross-wise, in the form of a cross' (no analysis).

(7) gòčłł·dàhłhʔłł·náʔà 'he held them up to him'. gòčłł·- 'to him' plus the 3rd person perf. with 3rd person obj. of dàh-di-|...(ni- perf.) -ʔłł· 'to hold up an unknown object' (act. tr.). Note that the 3rd person object pronoun is hi-; possibly dàh- + yi- > dàhł-.

3:37.

(1) hł·dłsí 'cigarette'. Literally; 'that which has been rolled'. hł·dłs, pass. perf. of hi-|...(si- perf.)-dłs 'to roll' (act. tr.).

(2) báčłł·łcò·náʔà 'he took it from him'. bá- 'for him' plus the 3a person perf. of hi-|...(ni- perf.)-ł-có 'to hold, seize' (act. tr.).

3:39.

(1) šńłxànáʔà 'he ignited it'. 3a person perf. of di-|...(ni- perf.)-ł-xá 'to burn, to ignite' (act. tr.). di-| 'fire' (ʔ).

(2) hàčǫ́·łťónáʔà 'he inhaled it'. 3a person perf. of hà-|...(hi- perf.)-ł-ťò· 'to suck, to draw out by sucking' (act. tr.; ha| 'out').

(3) łłdíłągò 'a great deal of smoke'. łłdí, relative of łł 'smoke'; łą 'much'.

(4) bè·šdè·yòlnáʔà 'he blew it'. 3a person perf. of Oè·-di-...(si- perf.)-yó·ł 'to blow'

(act. intr.). Is this, literally, 'to blow by means of something'?

3:42.

(1) ʔlɫčédéńɫʔé·s 'stretch out your legs'. 2nd person imp. of ʔlɫčé-di-ni-...-l-ʔé·s 'to stretch out one's legs, to straighten one's legs' (mediopas.). ʔlɫčé- ?; di-ni- ?; -l-ʔé·s 'to move one's legs, feet'.

(2) The last sentence of this paragraph is literally as follows: "His feet / from his ankles / downward / all / being yellow / pollen / he did so to them with it for him, it is said."

-kéclˌ·, a variant form of -kéclń 'ankles'. Cf. Chir. -kéclń 'ankles' (II B, note 14:5, §3).

3:46.

(1) ńkè·í bè·táńɫʔé·s 'put your feet into the water'. ńkè·í 'your feet'. bè·- 'by means of them' plus the 2nd person imp. of tá-di-...(hi-perf.)-l-ʔé·s 'to step into the water, to move one's feet into the water' (mediopas.). tá- 'in the water' (?); di- ?. Cf. note 3:42, §1.

(2) ńšⁿdášíné 'right' (see note 2:8, §1). Cf. also ná·náńšǩášédó 'the left one also' in line 2 of this text paragraph. ná·ná- 'again, also'; -dó 'also'. ńšǩá 'left' (no analysis); -šé 'side'.

3:47.

blkélátàžl̨ 'to the tips of his toes'. -ké- 'feet, toes'; -látà 'tips'; -žl̨ 'to'.

3:48.

(1) tóná?lɫčą́?áⁿdáyá 'with a splashing of water'. tó 'water'; -ná emphatic encl.; ?lɫčą́?áⁿdá, 3rd person imp. of ?lɫ-čą́-?á-...(? perf.) -ⁿdá 'to open, to spread apart' (act. intr.); -yá postposition.

(2) ?l?nǫ́·zl·ná?à 'he dived in'. 3rd person perf. of ?l-?i-ni-...(hi- perf.)-zí 'to dive in' (act. intr.). ?l- 'away, in'; ?i-ni- ?.

(3) dá?ákò?yá dlɫčl̨ná?à 'he struck out wildly'. dá?ákò?yá 'just anywhere'. dlɫčl̨, 3rd person imp. of di-...(si- perf.)-ɫ-čl̨ 'to begin to move one's arms, to begin to strike out aimlessly' (act. intr.; di- inceptive).

(4) dlyàtàɫná?à 'he was kicking'. 3rd person prog. of di-...(si- perf.)-tà·ɫ 'to start to kick' (act. intr.).

(5) dáxą̀hnáò tóí bè·?lńɫxl̨ná?à 'just as he was drowning'. dá- 'just; xą̀h 'quickly'; -ná emphatic encl.; -gò subord. encl. tóí 'the water'. bè·?lńɫxl̨, perf. of Oè·-?i-ni-|...(ni- perf.)-l -yé 'to be killed' (pass.). The theme is the pass. of -ɫ-yé 'to kill' (act. tr.). I cannot define the prefixes.

(6) The eighth sentence of this paragraph is literally as follows: "Very much / a shout / he had done it in vain, it is said."

gòⁿdéí 'a shout' is a relative in -í of the 3rd person imp. of go-...(si- perf.)-ⁿdé 'to shout' (act. intr.).

(7) bldâ·šdéńɫtè·lná?à 'it spread over him'. bldâ· 'over him' (?) plus the 3rd person perf. of či-di-ni-...(ni- perf.)-ɫ-tè·ɫ '[water, sand] streams, slides' (act. intr.). I am not certain of this analysis.

3:49.

(1) gòčl̨·tágòčlyè·žò·ǯná?à 'they jumped into the water after him'. gòčl̨· 'toward him' plus the 3rd person dual perf. of tá-či-...(si- perf.) -žó·š 'several jump into the water' (act. intr.). -tá- 'into the water' (?). The combination či-... -žó·š 'several move en masse'.

(2) The fourth sentence of this paragraph is literally as follows: "From in the water / he holding his head out / they made him so, it is said."

náštè·yòlná?à 'he began to breathe'. 3a person perf. of ná-di-...(si- perf.)-yòɫ 'to start to breathe' (act. intr.). ná- ?; di- inceptive. -yòɫ is the repetetive imp. of -yò·ɫ 'to blow'.

3:50.

(1) ?áíí yè·?ázà· 'that is why it happened'. ?áíí 'that'; yè·- 'by means of it'; ?ázà· 'it did so' (3rd person perf. with prefix ?á- 'so').

(2) xábéná·gò·ʒl̨· 'will you try it again?' xá- interrog. pronoun (?). I cannot analyze the rest of the form.

3:52.

The second sentence of this paragraph is literally as follows: "'So / it is just so with you / let it go / it is just so,' / Coyote / he said to him, it is said."

3:53.

(1) The fifth sentence of this paragraph is

literally as follows: "Just to my mind / I cannot do it / that it is so."

(2) bà·nà·šá 'I tried'. Literally: 'I went about to it'.

(3) bénáˑgòdà·ʒɭ·ł 'I will try again'. Apparently a 3rd person future form but otherwise unanalyzable. See note 3:50, §2.

3:56.

dà·yó·tą̀gò 'they holding him'. 3rd person distrib. of hó-ni-...-tą 'to hold, have hold of' (imp. neut. tr.). See note 3:36, §3.

4:1.

(1) šádą̀ńlá 'make food for me'. šá- 'for me'; dą-, incorporated form of dáń 'food' (?); ńlá, 2nd person imp. of -lá 'to do, make' (act. tr.). See also dą́ńlà·gò 'when you have made food', the 2nd person perf. of the same verb followed by -gò subord. (in this text paragraph), and bádą̀ɭlà·-ná?à 'she had prepared food for him' (line 2 of text paragraph 2).

(2) čìstè·ł 'Turtle'. No analysis.

4:2.

báyà·nà·ɣáná?à 'she went about preparing it for him'. bá- 'for him'; yà·- 'to it'; nà·yá, 3rd person imp. of nà·-|...(si- perf.)-yá 'one person goes about' (act. intr.). See note 3:53, §2.

4:3.

(1) ?ìnà·dą·? or nà·dą·? 'corn'. For the etymology of this word, see Edward Sapir, "Internal Linguistic Evidence Suggestive of the Northern Origin of the Navaho" (American Anthropologist, Vol. 38, No. 2, April-June 1936), pp. 228-231.

(2) ?ìlô·dl 'roasted corn, kernels of corn' the hispanicized Nahua word helote 'green corn'.

(3) ńnáhádò·blłxą̀hdàná?à 'it was not fast enough for him'. ńnáhá- 'very' (procl.); dò·-...-dà negative; blł- 'with him'; xą̀h 'quickly, rapidly, fast'.

(4) dábìzé·?slǯà·gò 'it being still in his mouth'. dá- 'just, only'; bìzé·? 'his mouth'; slǯà· 'a mass lies' (si- perf. neut. intr.); -gò subord. encl.

(5) yìłdè·skòsná?à 'he coughed with it'. yìł- 'with it' plus the 3rd person perf. of di-...(si- perf.)-ł-kòs 'to cough' (act. intr.). di- ?.

(6) bìdáɣè?yá 'down his throat'. -dáɣè? 'throat' is a compound of -dá 'lip, chin' (used only in compounds) and -yè? 'in, inside'.

(7) dà·dìyè·stàná?à 'it flew'. 3rd person distrib. perf. of di-| ...(si- perf.)-d-tá 'to move suddenly, to start, to jerk' (act. intr.). di-| ?.

(8) dágé bìzé·?è· ?ìłčą?ágò·ťéná?à 'his mouth just hung open'. dágé 'just, only' (part.). bìzé·? 'his mouth'; -è· ?. ?ìłčą 'from one another'; ?ágò·ťé 'it was so' (?). I cannot analyze ?ágò·ťé.

(9) nàńkà·ná?à 'he swayed'. 3rd person imp. of nà·-ni-...(hi- perf.)-kà· 'to fall' (act. intr.). -kà· 'a long, flat object falls'; nà·- 'off, down'; ni- terminative.

(10) bìčɭ·yà·náčɭ·ťìná?à 'she rushed to him'; literally, 'she jumped toward him'.

(11) dàhbìłťè·ná?à 'she shook him'. 3rd person imp. with 3rd person obj. of dàh-|...(si- perf.)-ł-ťè· 'to shake' (act. tr.). dàh-| 'up' (?); the theme appears with no other prefixes.

(12) bíńɣàhyá yì·sx̌òná?à 'she slapped him on the back'. -ńɣàh 'back'. yì·sx̌ò, 3rd person perf. with 3rd person obj. of hi-|...(si- perf.)-ł-x̌ò 'to strike with the hand' (act. tr.).

(13) hàdà·hè·stàná?à 'it flew out'. 3rd person distrib. perf. of hà-hi-...(si- perf.)-d-tá 'to move out suddenly' (act. intr.). Cf. §7 above.

(14) hànǫ́·yòlná?à 'he breathed again'. 3rd person perf. of hà-ná-...(hi- perf.)-yòł 'to breathe' (act. intr.). hà-ná- ?. Cf. note 3:49, §3.

4:4.

(1) bìłgǫ́tǫ̀gò 'angrily'. bìł- 'with him'; gǫ́- > go- place subject plus ni- adj.; -tǫ̀ 'to be bad, evil' (imp. neut. intr.); -gò subord. See ńtǫ̀?é 'you who are no good', a relative in -é of the 2nd person of this verb (line 2 of this text paragraph.

(2) dáné 'food'. This is an older form of this word than dáń 'food' which is also used. See Sapir's article referred to in note 4:3, §1.

(3) nè·?ⁿdáháštɭ̀ń 'I wanted sustenance from you'. nè·- 'by means of you'; ?ⁿdá 'life, there is life'; háštɭ, 1st person of há-...-ťɭ 'to want, desire' (imp. neut. intr.); -ń past tense encl.

(4) dò·?ìłcéšɭłxédàí bíká nè·?hyą́dà 'when one has started to eat you, you are not to kill

him first'. dò·-...-dà negative; ʔíłcé 'first'; šíłxé, 2nd person imp. of si-...(si- perf.)-ł-γé 'to kill' (act. tr.); -í relative. bíká 'because of it'. nè·ʔìyą́, 3rd person perf. of 0è·-ʔi-ni-| ...(ni- perf.)-yą́ 'to begin to eat'; -dà 'even, just'.

4:5.

yè·tà·čò·ⁿdłłná?à 'he was throwing it about'. yè·- 'with it' plus 3a person imp. of tà·-ho·-... (hi- perf.)-ⁿdłł 'to throw several objects about' (act. tr.). tà·-ho·- ?; -ⁿdłł, rep. of -ⁿdí·ł 'to handle several objects'.

4:7.

The second sentence of this paragraph is literally as follows: "There / to after him / they looked, it is said."

4:9.

góllʒèǹłčlné 'beetle'. See II B, note 15:1, §1.

4:11.

dò·šà·ʔlsdánádádà 'you will not get away from me again'. The negative of the 2nd person imp. of 0à·-ʔlsdá-ná-...(hi- perf.)-dá 'one person gets away from, escapes from' (act. intr.). See II B, note 15:8, §2.

4:12.

gòčl̨·dàhdl·łγònáʔà 'he pounced on him'. gòčl̨· 'toward him' plus the 3rd person perf. of dàh-di-|...(ni- perf.)-l-γè· 'one person jumps, one person moves upward' (act. intr.). dàh-di-| 'upward'; -l-γè· 'one person moves'.

4:13.

(1) tółáníńlı̨náʔà 'a big river'. tó 'water'; łání, relative in -í of łą́ 'much'; ńlı̨ 'it flows' (ni- perf. neut. intr.).

(2) tábą̀·yá 'on the bank'. tá-, combining form of tó 'water'; -bą̀· 'edge'.

(3) tósłkąná 'a big lake'. tó 'water'; słką́ 'something in a container lies' (si- perf. neut. intr.); -ná emphatic encl.

(4) blčl̨·nè·łʔą́šı̨ 'facing him'. blcl̨· 'toward him' plus the 3rd person of ni-...-l-ʔą́ 'to have one's head in position' (si- perf. ? neut.).

4:17.

dáhòʔòłí 'that which is floating'. dá- 'just' plus the relative in -í of the 3rd person prog. of -ʔè·ł 'to float' (act. intr.).

4:19.

hànáʔítlǹ 'there is a road across'. Cf. blčl̨·ʔlʔítlǹ 'there is a road to it' (text paragraph 18); ʔíńtlǹyá 'on the road' (text paragraph 9); dáʔtlǹyá '[out of] the door, entrance way' (text paragraph 6). All of these seem to be composed of the theme -ʔítlǹ or ʔíńtlǹ plus prefixes which vary the basic meaning 'road, passage'. Thus: hànáʔ- 'across'; blčl̨· 'toward it'; ʔl- 'away'; dá- ? (in dáʔtlǹ 'doorway').

4:22.

(1) yà·náhl·x̌è·náʔà 'he jumped'. 3rd person imp. of yà·-ná-hi-|...(ni- perf.)-x̌è· 'to jump (as a frog)' (act. intr.). -x̌è· 'to flop; to fall heavily, of one's own weight'. yà·-ná-hi-|; cf. yà·-ná-čl-| with the theme -ťé which means 'to jump' (see note 1:1, §4).

(2) I do not understand the meaning or function of the form hí·yéhénáʔà in sentence 5 of this paragraph. The literal meaning of the rest of the sentence is as follows: "Then / to in the water / a little / he being seen / he was swimming."

4:23.

Note that the four verbs in this paragraph referring to the actions of Frog and Turtle--viz., náʔgàłkǫ́·łnáʔà 'they were swimming back'; gòčl·-nlʔgóńłkǫ́náʔà 'they swam toward him'; hàgǫ́·ʔá·ǯ-náʔà 'they came out'; and gòčl̨·ǹgóńʔá·ǯnáʔà 'they stood before him'--all employ the deictic prefix go- as a 3rd person dual subject pronoun. This usage is very frequent in the Mesc. texts whereas it occurs but seldom in the Chir. texts.

4:25.

The informant translated dàhʔáʒà·náʔà 'he sat up'. It seems, however, to be a combination of the prefix dàh- 'up' and the 3rd person perf. of ʔá-...(ʔ perf.)-ⁿdá (perf. stem -ʒà·) 'to do so' (act. intr.).

4:26.

šłłnô·ťàs 'he brought me back'. šłł- 'with

me' plus the 3rd person prog. of the theme -ʔà·š 'two persons move' (act. intr.) with the prefix ná- 'back' (requires the -d- class).

4:27.

xáⁿdí is apparently a combination of the interrog. pronoun xá- and ⁿdí, the 2nd person independent pronoun.

4:29.

nášdl·ǥlǯnáʔà 'he arose'. 3a person perf. of ná-di-|...(ni- perf.)-d-ǥé·š 'to arise, to jump up' (act. intr.). ná-di-| 'upward'; -d-ǥé·š 'to move'.

4:32.

yá·łⁿdíhí 'that you want'. I cannot analyze this form.

4:34.

Literally, the second sentence of this paragraph is as follows: "The Turtle people / those of all kinds / at no time / anything / they have done so to it in vain."

ʔlǥâ·łʔášénè is composed of ʔlǥâ·łʔá 'kinds, varieties, species' (no analysis); -šé 'side, party'; -nè 'people of such and such a group'.

4:35.

(1) tóʔlłčąʔáʒà·yá ʔédà·čl·sdl̨· 'he disappeared in a splash of water'. tó 'water'; ʔlłčą 'from one another'; ʔáʒà· 'they have been made so'; -yá postposition (cf. note 3:48, §1). ʔédà·-čl·sdl̨· is either the 3a distrib. perf. of ʔé-... (si- perf.)-dl̨· 'to disappear' (act. intr.); or the 3a person perf. with 3rd person distrib. obj. of ʔé-...(si- perf.)-ł-dl̨· 'to cause to disappear' (act. tr.). If the first of these alternatives is correct, why should the distrib. 3a person be employed to designate Turtle; if the second, why should the subject (i. e., tóʔlłčąʔáʒà·yá) have the postposition -yá?

(2) blłhàʔnáčlnǫ·zl 'he came up again with it'. blł- 'with it' plus the 3a person perf. of hà-ʔi-ná-ni-...(hi- perf.)-zí 'to come out of the water again' (act. intr.). hà- 'out'; ná- 'again' (why does this prefix not require a -d- class theme?); ʔi-ni- ? (cf. note 3:48, §2).

4:39.

The third sentence of this paragraph is literally as follows: "And / deer / its ribs / having been roasted / prairie dogs also / four / they lying on them / all / having been roasted / he brought them back out [of the water] to him."

4:41.

blłàhdè 'its remains, remnants; what is left over'.

4:45.

yáhánà·hè·stąnáʔà 'they were sitting about inside'. yáhá 'inside' plus the 3rd person of nà·-hi-...-tą 'several sit about' (si- perf. neut. intr.). Is yáhá related to the prefix yà- of the verb yà-ʔl-|...(hi- perf.)-γè· 'to carry a burden inside' (act. tr.), the 3rd person perf. (with indef. obj.) of which occurs in the next line of this text paragraph?

4:46.

ǹžǫ́ ʔágǫ́ńsl̨ 'keep the place clean'. ǹžǫ́ 'it is good, well' plus the 2nd person with place object of ʔá-ni-...-ł-zl̨ 'to keep so' (imp. neut. tr.). See also dáícéǹžǫ́gò ylbàʔágògǫ́sl̨náʔà 'both of them kept it very clean for him'. dáícé- 'very' (procl.?); ylbàʔ- 'for him'; ʔágògǫ́sl̨, the 3rd person dual with place object of the above mentioned verb.

4:47.

(1) čédátlǹyá 'out of doors'; čé- 'out' (see note 4:19).

(2) ǥóllǯèǹłčlní 'beetles' (see note 4:9).

hàǹščàʔyè 'grasshoppers' (no analysis but cf. the theme -čá 'to hop', cont. imp. and perf. stems -čà).

hàǹštáʔyè 'butterflies' (no analysis but cf. the above and the theme -tá 'to fly').

dàhl·gòhè 'moths' (no analysis).

4:49.

dáblcéʔégò·stè·l 'he spread out [a robe] for them'. dá- 'just'; blcé- 'for them' (?); ʔégò·stè·l, see note 2:25, §2.

4:55.

ʔáí zls ʔlyâ· bèǹčíńłtání 'that bag which Coyote had filled with things'. ʔáí 'that'; zls

'bag'; ʔlyâ· 'something'; bèńčíńłtání, relative in -í of bè·- 'with it' plus the 3a person perf. of nl-ni-...(ni- perf.)-ł-tl̨· 'to put down a sack-like object or a bundle' (act. tr.).

4:57.

dásíbldánèí 'their favorite food'. dásí- 'exceedingly, very much'; bldánè 'their food'.

5:2.

(1) ʔlyâ·dó bíkáhlńⁿdáná 'why are you going to tire yourself out?' ʔlyâ· interrog. pronoun; -dó 'also, again'; bíká 'because of it'; hlńⁿdá, 2nd person imp. of hi-|...(ni- perf.)-yá 'to become tired' (act. intr.). hi-| ?; -yá 'one person moves'.

(2) The third sentence of this paragraph is literally as follows: "To a little / in the house / on the ground / you are sitting down / just as you meet it / you are jumping up again."

The verbs nǫ́·dà·łgò 'you are sitting down' and dàhná·šdlyǫ́·ťl 'you are jumping out again', being in the progressive mode, give the connotation that this behavior is Coyote's customary behavior.

dábldáńⁿdáyá is composed of dá- 'just'; the 2nd person imp. of O-dá-ni-...(ni- perf.)-yá 'one person meets someone' (act. intr.), and the postposition -yá.

(3) kǫ̀·šk̀è· 'an empty or abandoned camp' (no analysis).

(4) ʔlnánàhl̨ⁿdłł 'you are continually leaving us'. 2nd person iter. with 1st person dual obj. of ʔl-|...(hi- perf.)-ⁿdí·ł 'to throw several objects away; to abandon' (act. tr.).

(5) k̀àdéxàʔádà 'other places'. k̀àdé- ?; xàʔ- indefinite pronoun: -á, reduced form of -yá pp.; -dà 'even' (?).

(6) ʔákà·dà nàłnà·nǫ́·kà 'take us with you over there'. ʔákà· 'there'; -dà 'even'. nàł- 'with us' plus nà·ná- 'about, here and there' and the 2nd person prog. of -ká 'several move' (act. intr.).

5:3.

(1) tóí dàhdàńłl̨ k̀èdà·gǫ́tè·l 'there are many broad rivers on [the road]'. tóí 'the waters'. dàh- 'up' (?); dà- from dà·- distrib.; ńłl̨ 'they flow' (ni- perf. neut. intr.). k̀è- 'on'; dà·- distrib.; gǫ́tè·l 'they are broad' (place subj.; imp. neut. intr. with ni- adj.).

(2) dà·gòńłčłł 'there are dense forests'. dà·- distrib.; go- place subj.; ńłčłł 'there is a heavy growth of vegetation' (ni- perf. neut. intr.). Cf. Chir. ńčłl, ńłčłl with the same meaning.

5:4.

dò·tóyédà·gǫ́sldà 'they cannot swim'. dò·-...-dà negative; tó 'water'; yédà·gǫ́sl̨, 3rd person distrib. of Oé-go-ni-...-ł-zl̨ 'to know about' (imp. neut.).

5:5.

(1) ńádà·góńʔą́ 'places'. ná- ?; dà·- distrib.; go- place subject; ńʔą́ 'it lies' (ni- perf. neut. intr.).

(2) dò·ʔákà·škė́·ʔdà·hàhkádà 'do not follow me over there'. dò·-..-dà negative; ʔákà· 'there'; -škė́·ʔ-, bound form of šlké 'after me'; dà·hàhká, 2nd person distrib. imp. of -ká 'several move' (act. intr.).

(3) bínl·- 'let it go' plus dásè·ń 'by myself' (?).

5:7.

The third sentence of this paragraph is literally as follows: "Just / everything / water / wood / and / anything / I'll handle it."

5:8.

(1) dò·xáńbè·ná·ʔl̨λádà 'do not imitate anyone again'. dò·-...-dà negative; xáń 'anyone' plus the 2nd person imp. with indef. obj. of Oè·-ná·-...(? perf.)-d-lá 'to imitate again' (act. tr.). è·- 'by means of'; ná·- 'again' (requires the -d- class); -lá 'to do, make'.

(2) dádò·šídàíná 'though I do not do it'. dá- 'just'; dò·-...-dà negative; ší independent first person pronoun; -í relative; -ná emphatic enclitic.

(3) čédàʔą́ťl̨í 'your failures'. čédà- 'in vain'; ʔą́ťl̨, 2nd person of ʔá-ni-...-ťl̨ 'to be so' (imp. neut. intr.); -í relative.

5:9.

nàhè·łťénè 'our relatives'. nàhè·łťé 'they are like us, similar to us', 3rd person of Oè-...-ł-ťé 'to be like, similar to' (imp. neut. intr.); -nè 'people of such and such a group'.

5:10.

ťą́yá nánè·łⁿdlná?à 'he looked back'. ťą́yá 'backward' plus the 3rd person perf. of ná-ni-... (ni- perf.?)-l-ⁿdl· 'to turn one's head back' (mediopas.). Cf. note 5:16.

5:14.

dá?ákàⁿdásǫ́·ⁿdá·ł 'go right on in that direction'. dá- 'just'; ?ákà· 'there'; ⁿdásá 'on, further'; hǫ́ⁿdá·ł 'you are going' (2nd person prog.).

5:16.

dáhànàłⁿdlná?à 'he raised his head'. dá- 'just' plus the 3rd person perf. of hà-ni-...(hi- perf.)-l-ⁿdl· 'to raise one's head' (mediopas.). hà- 'up'; ni- ?; -l-ⁿdl· 'to move one's head'. Cf. note 5:10.

5:19.

cą̨blgòdé ?ǫ́·?áí blkéclǹyá 'at the foot of a stump standing there'. cą̨ 'tree'; blgòdé 'its knee'. ?ǫ́·?áí, relative in -í of ?i-...-?á 'a rigid object extends' (hi- perf. neut. intr.). blkéclǹ 'its ankle' (see note 3:42, §2).

5:23.

The first sentence of this paragraph is literally as follows: "I / Rump people / those of us who are called."

ǩà·yáńnè 'Rump people'. ǩà·- 'buttocks, rump'; -yá postposition (?); -ń relative; -nè 'people of such and such a group'.

5:25.

(1) nà·náǩą́ 'a ridge' (no analysis).

(2) cébà·nà·náńťlí 'cliffs'. cé 'rock'; bà·- 'from it'; nà·-ná- 'around about, circling around' plus the ni- perf. of -ťé 'to be strung' and the relative enclitic -í.

5:26.

gòlą́ 'there are many' (imp. neut. intr. with place subject); -ǹ 'times'; ?lxéhè 'thank you'; -łàhà emphatic enclitic.

5:27.

(1) nàǹdàsltą́ 'a ridge'; a synonym of nà·náǩą́ (see note 5:25, §1). nàǹ- 'on one's side'; dàh- 'on, upon'; sltą́ 'a long slender object lies' (si- perf. neut. intr.). See also nàǹdàhná·nástą́ 'there was another ridge' later in this text paragraph. This is the above form with the added prefix ná·- ná- 'again'.

(2) łàhdè ?édè·ná·nátàná?à 'sometimes he ran'. łàhdè 'sometimes'. ?édè·ná·nátà, the 3rd person perf. of ?éd-è·-ná·ná-...(? perf.)-d-tá 'to run' (act. intr.). ?éd- reflexive; è·- 'by means of'; ná·ná- 'again' (?). -d-tá 'to move suddenly, (see note 4:3, §§7 and 13).

5:30.

?ídóí 'mountain lion'. Cf. Chir. ńdóí (II B, note 17:25, §1).

5:33.

dá?á·déǯą̨ ⁿdásé 'from that moment on'. dá- 'just, exactly'; -?á·dé ?; -ǯą̨ 'to'. ⁿdásé 'on, further'.

5:35.

dágòⁿdéhé 'a voice'. dá- 'just' plus a relative in -é of gòⁿdé, 3rd person imp. of go-...(si- perf.)-ⁿdé 'to shout' (act. intr.).

5:39.

tó?łłgǫ́ląą́í 'streams came together'. tó 'waters'; ?łł- 'together'(?); gǫ́ląą́ 'they were' (imp. neut. intr. with place subj. and ni- adj.); -í relative.

5:40.

(1) dá?áⁿdí·dé 'truly, exactly, real, ordinary'. No analysis.

(2) dákògòhí 'right at that moment, then'. No analysis.

(3) dò·xà?yô·blčą̨·yáčłłtłǹžǫ́dà 'he was unable to talk to him at all'. dò·-...-dà negative; xà?yágò 'in any way'; blčą̨· 'to him'; yáčłłtl, 3a person imp. of yá-...(hi- perf.)-ł-tl 'to talk' (act. intr.); ǹžǫ́ 'it is good' (?). The last mentioned form is often used as an intensifier but its position at the end of the combination is unusual.

5:41.

?lⁿdá?lgâ·ł?à·šé 'all living creatures'. ?l- ⁿdá 'life, there is life' (sometimes heard ?l·- ⁿdá); ?lgâ·ł?à· 'varieties, species' (cf. note 4:34); -šé 'side, party'.

5:42.

Following is an analysis of the plant names mentioned in this paragraph. Those terms not listed cannot be analyzed. For a more precise definition of the botanical terms given in this text, see the publication by Castetter and Opler cited in III, note 39:9.

tè·łċóʒí 'spike rush'. tè·ł 'tule'; -ċóʒ, cf. hlċó·ʒ 'it is tapered, pointed' (imp. neut. intr.); -í relative.

tè·łdlšką́í 'sedge'. dlšką́ 'it is blackish, clump-like, clod-like'.

tè·ł?áłċǫ́·sí 'slender tule'. ?áłċǫ́·s 'it is slender' (imp. neut. intr.; prefixes ?á-ni-).

táyè?ȺȺh?l·tò·í 'water cress'. tá- 'water'; -yè? 'in'; ȺȺh 'grass, plant'; ?l·tò·, perf. of ?i-|...(ni-perf.)-tó 'to become red' (act. intr.).

ȺȺh?l·gà·í 'white violet'. ?l·gà·, perf. of ?i-|...(ni- perf.)-gá 'to become white' (act. intr.).

ȺȺh?l·cò·í 'asphodel'. ?l·cò·, perf. of ?i-|...(ni- perf.)-có 'to become yellow' (act. intr.).

ȺȺh?l·číí 'side oats grama [var.]'. ?l·čí, perf. of ?i-|...(ni- perf.)-čí 'to become red' (act. intr.).

ȺȺhdl·ȺȺlší 'blue-eyed grass'. dl·ȺȺlš, cust. of di-|...(ni- perf.)-ȺȺí·š 'to become blue' (act. intr.).

5:43.

(1) ⁿdl·blkáȺȺh?lgâ·ł?à·šé 'all the varieties of grass on the earth's surface'. ⁿdl· 'earth'; blká 'its surface'; ȺȺh 'grass'.

(2) Following are the plant names in this paragraph that can be analyzed:

ȺȺhkéstàsí 'grama grass'. ȺȺh 'grass'. késtàs- ?; -í relative.

ȺȺłdèlí 'false flax'. ȺȺ-, compounded form of ȺȺh 'grass'; -łdèl ?.

ȺȺłčídí 'big blue-stem grass'. -łčíd-, compounded form of the 3rd person of łi-ni-...čí 'to be red' (imp. neut. intr.).

ȺȺłȺlʒí 'wild violet'. -łȺlʒ may be related to ni-...-ȺlʒȺ 'to be hard' or it may have been misheard for -łȺlǯ which is possibly related to da-ni-...-ȺlǯȺ 'to be blue'.

ⁿdéblȺȺhí 'salt grass'. ⁿdé 'people, indians'; blȺȺh 'their grass'.

ʒlłáȺȺhkéstàsí 'black grama grass'. ʒlł 'mountain'; -á from -yá 'on'; ȺȺhkéstàsí 'grama grass' (see above).

ȺȺhblⁿdâ·ńcà·í 'red columbine'. blⁿdâ· 'its eyes'; ńcà· 'they are big' (imp. neut. intr.). blⁿdâ·, literally 'its eyes', is understood to refer to the seeds of the plant.

ȺȺhblⁿdâ·ńȺlʒí 'wild barley'. ńȺlʒ 'they are hard'.

ȺȺhblⁿdâ·?áłċǫ́·sí 'side oats grama [var.]'. ?áłċǫ́·s 'they are slender'.

ȺȺhblⁿdâ·?łłà·dà·slǯà·í 'rye grass'. ?łł- reciprocal; à·- 'to' plus dà·slǯà· 'several masses lie' (si- perf. neut. intr. with the distrib.).

ȺȺhblⁿdâ·?łłké?dàslǯà·í 'candy grass'. Literally ' the grass on which masses of seeds lie on top of one another'. ?łłké?- 'after one another'; dàh- 'on, upon'.

ȺȺhblⁿdâ·?łłké?ńťlí 'side oats grama [var.]' Literally 'the grass on which the seeds are strung out after one another'. ńťl 'they have been strung out' (3rd person ni- perf.).

ȺȺhdábllátàblⁿdâ·dàslǯà·í 'big blue-stem grass'. Literally 'the grass the seeds of which lie massed just on its tip'. dábllátà 'just its tip'.

ȺȺhblċílládéídè·sʒáí 'blue grass'. blċílládéí 'its tassels'; dè·sʒá 'it extends upward, it sticks out' (?).

5:44.

nàȺstáné 'mesquite'. A relative in -é of nàȺ- 'on one's side' plus sltą́ 'a long slender object lies' (si- perf. neut. intr.). A variant form of this word, nà·stáné, is also heard. This is a relative in -é of nà·- 'here and there' plus sltą́.

The next two terms are unanalyzable. césdlsí 'screw bean' may be a compound of cé 'rock' and -sdls-, a compounded form of hl·sdls 'it has been twisted' (si- perf. pass.).

góńťlšé 'all other varieties'. góńťl, the ni- perf. with place subj. of -ťé 'to be strung out'; -šé 'side, kind'.

5:45.

xòšdlclnídó 'the thorny plants also'. xòš 'thorn, cactus'; dlclní, relative of dlcl 'tree'; -dó 'also'.

The next two terms cannot be analyzed.

xòšgǫ́cl·sí 'nipple cactus' is a compound of xòš 'cactus'; gǫ́cl·s 'it is small (i. e., small-

bodied)' (imp. neut. intr. with place subj. and ni adj.).

xǒšbéí 'hedge-hog cactus'. -béí ?.

gǒłčídí 'prickly pear cactus'. Place subj. plus -łčíd-, a bound form of łłčí 'it is red'.

xǒšblzą́·yéíłłcǒí 'strawberry cactus'. blzą́·yé 'little, small'; łłcǒ 'it is yellow'.

5:46.

gǒšǩàń 'yucca' (no analysis). The three terms following are compounds of gǒšǩàń and łłgàł 'it is white', ńⁿdè·ʒ 'it is long, tall', and dłʒǒ·l 'it is ball-shaped', respectively.

5:47.

dlcłńťłšé 'all varieties of trees'. dlcł 'trees' plus ńťłšé (see note 5:44, last paragraph).

?łčíčłłèdódǒ·ná?gǒńgądí 'live oak'. ?łčíčłłè 'oak'; dó- ?; dǒ·- negative. ná?gǒńgądí may be in some way related to ná-hi-...-l-gą 'to be dried up, to be dead (of a tree or plant)' (si- perf. neut. intr.).

?łyè?éłcǒł 'acorn oak'. ?łyè?é 'seed' (an archaic relative in -é of ?łyè? 'in something'?); -łcǒł, a relative form of łłcǒ 'it is yellow'.

tógǫ́líní 'willow'. tó 'water' plus the relative of gǫ́łí 'it is'.

The next three terms are compounds of tógǫ́líní 'willow', the ni- perfective of the prefix complex ná-dà·-?i-| (ná- 'around'; dà·- distrib.; ?i-| ?) and the perfective stems of -gá 'to become white', -tó 'to become red', -čí 'to become red', and -có 'to become yellow', respectively.

tógǫ́líní 'willow'; ťą·- 'leaves'; ?łłdá?- 'above one another'; dàsłłá 'several lie upon' (si- perf. neut. intr. with dàh- 'on, upon').

In the last term, łłbá means 'it is gray' (imp. neut. intr.).

5:49.

(1) The fourth sentence of this paragraph is literally as follows: "Beautiful hills / being green / with all sorts of plants / they were extending out / they came into existence, it is said."

(2) ǩǒhí?łł?ánô·?áťéíbè· 'with all sorts of plants'. ǩǒhí 'plants'; ?łł?áné 'different, varied'; -gǒ subord.; ?áťé 'it is so'; -í relative; -bè· 'with them'.

(3) hàdà·yè·sťą 'they were extending out' seems to be a distrib. 3rd person of hà-hi-...-ťą 'to be extending up, out' (si- perf. neut. intr.). hà-hi- 'out'; -ťą 'to be'.

(4) ʒłłídà·hǩą́ 'mountain ranges'. ʒłłí 'mountains'; dà·hǩą́ 'ridges, ranges' (cf. note 5:25, §1). Cf. also blzą́·yô·hǩą́ 'small ridges' in the next line of text. blzą́·yé 'small'; -gǒ subord.; -hǩą́ 'ridges'.

(5) The last sentence of this paragraph is literally as follows: "Some / to a distance / there being ridges / some / to the vicinity / there being ridges, / only mountains / with them to out of sight / they could be seen all around, it is said."

(6) ?łnádà·yè·sťą 'they could be seen all around' seems to be a -d- form of the theme -?ą 'to see' with the prefixes ?ł- 'off, away'; ná- 'around' (?); dà·- distrib. The prefix complex is in the si- perfective but I do not understand the combination yè·- preceding the si- prefix.

5:50.

(1) nà·dà·gǒ·stè·l 'there were many plains everywhere'. nà·- 'here and there'; dà·- distrib.; go- place subject; and the si- perfective prefix. -tè·l 'to be broad, flat'. Cf. nádà·góńtè·l 'there were clearings'; ná- 'around' (?); dà·-go- distributive place subject; ń- 3rd person ni- perf.

(2) łłgǒcà·gǒ 'broad'. This is apparently a verb łi-ni-...-cà· 'to be broad' with the place subject prefix. Cf. ni-...-cà· 'to be big'.

(3) dágǒⁿdéhé 'just like' (no analysis).

5:51.

tóídà hàdà·slą 'there were many springs also'. tóí 'the waters'; -dà 'even'. hàdà·slą, distributive si- perf. neut. of -lą 'to flow' with the prefix hà- 'out, up'.

5:52.

?ldłžó·šé 'bullsnake' (no analysis).

góblcè·γálègǫ́líní 'rattlesnake'. gó 'snake'; blcè· 'his tail'; -γálè 'rattles'; gǫ́łą 'there are'.

gónà·ćístè·lí 'black water-snake'. -nà·ćís-?, cf. -ćís 'body'; -tè·ł, cf. ni-...-tè·l 'to be broad, flat'.

góblčǒhèí 'copperhead snake'. -blčǒhè-, cf. blčǒ 'his penis'.

gónà·ťàí 'whip snake'. nà·ťà 'he flys about'

3rd person cont. imp.; nà·- 'about').

góɁdlʒáí 'blue racer'. dlʒá 'he runs fast' (imp. neut. intr.).

góhàɁłłcá·sí 'the snake that is whipped'. hàɁłłcá·s, an unanalyzable form of the verb -ł-cls 'to whip'.

góbłtélègołtóí 'the red-bodied snake'. błtélè 'the front of his body'; gołtó 'it is red'.

5:53.

màɁłšǫí 'lizard' (see II B, note 5:4).

màɁłšǫícł·càí 'big-headed lizard'. -cł· 'head'; -cà, a compounded form of ni-...-cà· 'to be big' (imp. neut. intr.).

màɁłšǫíłłklʒí 'spotted lizard'. łłklʒ 'he is spotted, speckled, vari-colored'.

màɁłšǫídłčłʒí 'rough lizard'. dłčłʒ 'he is rough-surfaced'.

màɁłšǫícè·Ɂáłdǫ·dí 'lizard [var.]'. -cè· 'tail'; Ɂáłdǫ·dí 'it is short' (?).

màɁłšǫíhà·skéí 'fierce lizard'. hà·ské 'he is fierce, pugnacious' (si- perf. neut. with prefix hà-).

màɁłšǫínàńłní 'hiding lizard'. nàńłą, 3rd person imp. of nà·-ni-...(si- perf.)-d-Ɂą 'to hide' (mediopas.).

màɁłšǫícè·Ɂłčągołglʒí 'forked-tail lizard'. cè·- 'tail'; Ɂłčą 'from each other'; gołglʒ 'there is a gap'.

màɁłšǫícłyà·dàsłtí 'lizard that lies on trees'. cł 'trees'; yà·- 'to it'; dàh- 'on, upon'; słtí 'he lies'.

5:54.

łô·scǫ·sé is, literally 'mouse'. Cf. Chir. łó·Ɂscǫ·sé in II B, note 38:34, §2.

łô·scǫ·sébłʒàńtè·łí 'big-eared mouse'. błʒà· 'his ear'; ńtè·l 'it is wide, broad'.

łô·scǫ·sébłtélègołgàí 'harvest mouse'. błtélè 'the front of his body'; gołgà 'it is white'.

łô·scǫ·sébłcè·ńⁿdè·ʒí 'jumping mouse'. błcè· 'his tail'; ńⁿdè·ʒ 'it is long'.

łô·scǫ·sédò·dè·sǫdàí 'shrew'. dò·dè·sǫdà 'he cannot see'.

łô·scǫ·séłłcòí 'white-footed mouse'. łłcò 'it is yellow'.

łô·scǫ·séłǫyèɁnà·Ɂłⁿdłłéǩèháťéí 'short-tailed meadow mouse'. łǫyèɁnà·Ɂłⁿdłłé 'gopher' (see II B, note 3:5, §2); ǩèháté 'he is like, similar to'.

łô·scò 'rat'. Cf. łô·scǫ·sé 'mouse'. -cò 'big' (?).

łô·scǫ·sébłⁿdâ·hàhłtàí 'big eyed rat'. błⁿdâ· 'his eyes'; hàhłtà, probably a form of the theme -tá 'to start, jerk, move quickly' with the prefixes hà-hi- 'out'. In this and the following term, łô·scǫ·sé has the meaning 'rat'.

łô·scǫ·sé błⁿda·hǧ·Ɂáí 'bulging-eyed rat'. hǧ·Ɂá 'it extends out' [hà- 'out' plus the hi-perf. neut. intr. of -Ɂá 'to extend (of a rigid object)'].

łô·scǫ·sélô·scòǩèháťéí 'long-tailed rat'. łô·scò 'rat'; ǩèháťé 'it is like, similar to'.

łô·scǫ·sédłǩò·yé 'hairy field mouse'. dłǩò·-yé 'it is fuzzy, hairy' (?).

λǫ·Ɂyèídó 'prairie dog'. Literally 'the prairie dog also'. The three terms following also have the enclitic -dó 'also'.

λǫíńcòyèídó 'big prairie dog'. λǫí, another form of the word λǫ·Ɂyè 'prairie dog'. ńcò 'it is big'; -yè Ɂǫ; -í relative.

łó·Ɂsáné 'squirrel' (no analysis).

5:55.

cè·nà·gà·í 'white-tailed deer'. cè·- 'tail'; nà·gà· 'whiteness moves about'.

cè·dàłłʒí 'Virginia deer'. Literally 'the blue-tailed one'.

błńcàí 'elk'. bł· 'deer'; ńcà· 'it is big'.

ʒłłdłbéhé 'mountain sheep'. ʒłł 'mountain'; dłbéhé 'sheep'.

5:56.

dłłxłłè·í 'black bear'. dłłxłł 'it is black'.

yà·còłí 'brown bear' (no analysis).

šàšłłgàł 'white bear'. łłgà 'it is white'.

šàšńcàí 'California bear', ńcà· 'it is big'.

šàšká·Ɂgò·ščí·łí 'silver tip bear' (no analysis).

5:57.

Ɂídóí 'mountain lion'.

Ɂídóícè·Ɂáłdǫ·yè 'short-tailed mountain lion'. cè·- 'tail'; Ɂáłdǫ·yè 'it is short' (cf. note 5:58, paragraph 5).

Ɂídóíbłcè·ńⁿdè·ʒí 'long-tailed mountain lion'. ńⁿdè·ʒ 'it is long'.

nášgòʒé 'wild cat' (no analysis).

Ɂídóíłklʒí 'jaguar'. łłklʒ 'it is spotted'.

5:58.

nà·góščldè· 'badger' (no analysis).

nà·góščldè·blyà·?áłdǫ·dí 'coarse-haired badger'. blyà· 'his hair'; ?áłdǫ·dí 'it is short' (see note 5:57).

ḱè·lí·šé 'skunk'. Cf. Chir. góllžé (II B, note 15:1, §1).

5:59.

(1) blťà?gǫ́lį́góńťlšé 'all the varieties of those with feathers'. blťà? 'their feathers'; gǫ́lį́ 'there are'; góńťlšé 'varieties'.

(2) ?lyą́í ?lcáńťlšé 'the varieties of hawk that kill'. ?lyą́, 3rd person imp. with indef. object of ...(hi- perf.)-yą́ 'to kill several' (act. tr.). ?lcá 'hawk, eagle'; ńťlšé 'varieties'.

(3) ?lcácòí 'eagle'. ?lcá 'eagle'; -cò 'big'.

?lłčą́łgàlí 'bald eagle'. ?lłčą́ 'from one another'; łlgà 'it is white'.

?lcè·łklǯè·í 'female golden eagle'. -cè· 'tail'; łlklǯ 'it is spotted'.

?éłčlnéyl·łčà?í 'black hawk. The informant translated this 'he who cries like a baby'. ?éłčlné 'baby, child'. yl·łčà?- cannot be identified as a form of -čà 'to cry'.

?lcè·łcòlí 'red-tailed hawk'. Literally 'the yellow-tailed one'.

gòłgàyá?lcè·łklǯè·í 'Winston's hawk'. Literally 'the spotted-tailed one of the prairies'. gòłgà 'plain, prairie, clearing'.

góńtè·lnà·žà·í 'marsh hawk'. Literally 'he who hunts about the flats'. nà·žà· 'he goes about hunting'.

The last two terms cannot be analyzed.

5:60.

?lžášè·nàńťáítè·łgòłgàí 'waxwing'. ?lžášè· 'bird'; nàńťáí 'chief'; tè·ł 'tule'; gòłgà 'plain'. Literally 'the chief bird of the plains' (?).

?lžášè·nàńťáíłlbáyé 'titmouse'. łlbá 'it is gray'.

čé·ńᵐdíyéłcòyé 'goldfinch'. Literally 'yellow pine siskin'.

?lžášè·cl·ťáłltóí 'red-crowned kinglet'. cl·ťá 'top of the head'; łltó 'it is red'.

The next two terms are not analyzable.

?lžášè·łlbáyécl·yà·hàńdà?nà·hlłǯl·í 'white-breasted creeper'. cl·- 'head'; yà·- 'under'; hàńdà? 'rising sheer'; nà·hlłǯl· 'blackness moves about'. Literally 'the bird which is gray under the head [and] black from there up'.

ǯéǯłłgàlí 'white-breasted nuthatch'. ǯéǯl- 'breast'; łlgà 'it is white'.

cl·łkà·łí 'woodpecker'. cl 'wood'; ylłkà·ł 'he pecks it'.

cl·łkà·łí?éńťłí 'Lewis woodpecker'. ?éńťłí 'he is a witch'.

cl·łkà·łíńcàí 'California woodpecker'. ńcà· 'it is big'.

The next term cannot be analyzed.

ťáłtódí 'flicker'. ťá- 'wing, feather'; -łtód-, a bound form łltó 'it is red'.

5:61.

(1) The literal translation of the first sentence of this paragraph is as follows: "Those who eat bad things / all varieties of them / those who are of those that fly about / ravens / all kinds of them / first / that which he has come to."

(2) ńtǫ́ílylyą́šé 'carrion-eaters'. ńtǫ́ 'it is bad, evil'; ylyą́ 'they eat it'; -šé 'those of such and such a group'.

(3) gà·?yè?lcą·ščòšylyáné 'the ravens'. gà·?yè 'raven'; ?lcą·ščòš- 'carrion' (?); ylyą́ 'they eat it'.

(4) gà·?yèńcà·í 'raven'. ńcà· 'it is big'.

gòłgàyágà·?yè 'white-necked raven'. Literally 'plains raven'.

gà·?yèzą́·yéí 'crow'. -zą́·yé 'little'.

cè·šǫ́·?yè 'buzzard'. cè·- 'tail'-šǫ́·?-yè ?.

5:62.

(1) blkè·?łłčą́gòłglǯè· 'those who have cloven hoofs'. blkè· 'their feet'; ?łłčą́ 'from one another'; gòłglǯ 'there is a gap'.

blkè·?łłà·dà·slǯà·í 'those whose feet are bunched'. ?łł- reciprocal; à·- 'to'; dà·- distributive; slǯà· 'a mass lies'.

(2) šlǯà·yèh dǫ́·kà 'you will tell me'. šlǯà· 'my ear'; -yèh 'in'; dǫ́·kà ?.

(3) dò·bèńcé?lkè·sdàí 'which have not stopped by means of him'. dò·-...-dà negative; bè·- 'by means of him' plus ńcé?lkè·s 'thoughts are to stop' (?). I cannot analyze this form; cf. II B, note 39:12, §4.

(4) ǯłłágô·čłí 'mountain pig'. ǯłł 'mountain'; -á, reduced form of -yá pp.; gô·čl, from the Spanish cochi 'pig'.

γò·nł·cèí 'peccary'. The informant translated this 'the big-toothed one'. γò·- is probably 'tooth' but nł·cè- is not identifiable with ni-...-cà· 'to be big'.

ⁿdí·ʔgò· ǩłʒí 'common pig'. 'The hard-nosed one' (?). ⁿdí·ʔ-, cf. -ⁿdí 'nose, nostril'; gò·-ǩłʒ-, cf. ni-...-ǩłʒ 'to be hard'.

màʔcòí 'the wolves'. màʔ-, cf. màł, màʔyè 'coyote'; -cò 'big'.

kéʔłdénágòγèʔdè·sʔè·sń 'those with their feet turned inside out'. ké- 'foot'; ʔłdénágò 'past one another, between one another' (cf. II B, note 2:13, §6); γèʔ- 'inside'; dè·sʔè·s, the 3rd person perf. of the verb -ʔé·s 'to move one's feet' with the prefix di- ʔ.

čó·né 'dogs'; ńťłí 'all varieties'.

5:63.

nà·gòšⁿdégò hłšclłgò 'I shall howl and bark'. nà·gòšⁿdé, 1st person imp. of nà·-go-...(si-perf.) -ⁿdé 'to shout around, to go about shouting' (act. intr.). hłšclł seems also to be a 1st person imp. but I have no further information about it.

5:66.

(1) dà·ʔldł·hⁿdí 'there was a roar of thunder'. 3rd person distrib. imp. of ʔi-di-|...(hi-perf.)-d-ⁿdí 'a noise is made' (act. intr.).

(2) ʔlcáłǩó·łí 'rainbow'. ʔlcáł- ʔ; -ǩó·l, poss. form of ǩó·ł 'rope'.

(3) blʔáló·łí gǫłńń 'he was its power'. -ʔáló·l 'spiritual power'.

5:67.

dàʔhžò·lnáʔà 'it moved upward'. Should read dàhʔhžò·l, the 3rd person perf. of dàh-di-|... (ni- perf.)-žò·ł 'a ball-like mass moves upward' (act. intr.) with indefinite subject (?).

5:68.

dò·dódàhⁿdéhtǫ·yébłłčłⁿdłłèʔáťédàń 'he of whom one could certainly not say that he was an evil man'. dò·-...-dà negative; dódà- 'certainly' (?); hⁿdé 'man'; htǫ·yé 'he is bad, evil'; błłčłⁿdł 'one said to him'; -lè optative encl.; ʔáťé 'it is so'.

5:69.

nłʔł·céí 'your troubles'. -ʔł·cé 'troubles, misfortunes' (no analysis).

5:73.

ǩà·ćòsíʔáťéí 'arrows'. ǩà· 'arrows'; ćòs 'feathers'; ʔáťé 'it is so'. Perhaps 'feathered arrows' would have been a better translation.

dágóbíʔłbàhʔáťéí 'tanned skins'. Literally, 'those which are indeed their tanned skins'.

5:74.

(1) The literal translation of the first sentence is as follows: "Human beings / people like me / being in my trail."

(2) ǩèhgǫžónébè·nà·šáí 'I am one who lives by what is beautiful'. ǩèh- 'by reason of'; gǫ-žóné 'that which is beautiful'; bè·- 'by means of it'; nà·šá 'I go about, I live'.

(3) dò·šéʔédè·gòdłłⁿdídàgò 'they are not to speak evil of me even to themselves'. This form is not clear: dò·-...-dà negative; šé- 'of me, about me'; ʔédè·- 'by means of oneself'. gòdłłⁿdí seems to be a form of the verb 'to say' but that theme has the zero rather than the -ł- classifier. Where, too, does the connotation 'to speak evil' come from?

5:76.

(1) ǩòhnà·nè·sdłʒídà 'vines'. ǩòh 'plant'; nà·nè·sdłʒ, 3rd person perf. of nà·-ni-...(si-perf.)-dłs 'to twist about here and there' (act. intr.).

ⁿdł·blká·ʔnà·nè·sdłʒídà 'trailing vines' is the above word preceded by ⁿdł· 'ground, earth' and blká·ʔ- 'on its surface'.

(2) béńčłyé 'pines'. Probably an archaic relative in -é of bé- 'against it' plus ńčł 'wind blows' (ni- perf. neut. intr.).

5:82.

hⁿdł·í gòtàhńdà·gò 'since disease will be among them'. hⁿdł· 'disease, sickness', the 3rd person of ni-...-ⁿdł· 'to be hurt, sick; to have a pain' (imp. neut. intr.). gòtàh 'among them' plus the 3rd person imp. of ni-...(si- perf.)-dà· 'one person sits down' (act. intr.).

5:83.

(1) dí·ǩèhí blčłhžǫgò 'all of which will cure [diseases]'. dí·ǩèhí 'all, every one'. blčł· 'to it'; hžǫ 'they are good'. Literally "all [the herbs] being good to [or, for] it [disease]".

(2) ʔéyà·nádà·ʔšdłłǩǫgò 'some they will cus-

tomarily burn for their smoke'. 3a person distrib. iter. of ʔé-yà·-ʔi-di-hi-...(si- perf.)-ł-ǩą· 'to bathe oneself in smoke, to purify oneself in smoke'. ʔé- reflexive (?); yà·- 'below, under (?); ʔi- ?; di-hi- 'fire' (?). The theme alone means 'to burn'.

(3) The last sentence of this paragraph is literally as follows: "These / medicines / these / herbs / these / medicines which are holy / they will be called."

5:84.

(1) ǩðšéʔlzè·ń 'herb medicine'. ǩðh 'herb, plant'; šé- ?; ʔlzè· 'medicine'. Note that the terms designating medicines all have the relative -ń which is generally used only with nouns denoting persons.

(2) nlgò·žlšdè·dà 'if they breathe you'. 3rd person dual imp. with 2nd person obj. of hi-|... (si- perf.)-žlš 'to sip' (act. tr.). -dè·dà 'if, whether' (encl.).

(3) ⁿdénágòdàlè·ł 'they will be cured'. 3rd person dual fut. of the -d- form of -là· 'to become' (act. intr.) with the prefixes ⁿdé-ná-. ⁿdé is possibly the word for 'man, human being' and ná- the prefix 'again'. Literally 'they will become men again' (?).

5:86.

(1) ʔlzè·náʔl·łⁿdáń 'medicine that moves for you'. ʔlzè· 'medicine'; ná- 'for you' (?); ʔl·ł-ⁿdá, a causative 3rd person imp. of -d-ⁿdá 'to move' (?).

(2) bèǹká·ʔnà·gòdàzò 'they will mark you with it'. bè·- 'by means of it'; ǹká·ʔ- 'your surface'; the 3rd person dual fut. of nà·-|...(si-perf.)-zò 'to make marks here and there' (act. intr.).

(3) ⁿdénáʔyǫ·łčl·łdà·ł 'you will cure them'. This is obviously a 2nd person prog. with prefixes ⁿdé-ná-ʔi- (cf. note 5:84, §3). I cannot, however, identify the theme of which -ł-čl·ł is the progressive stem. -dà·ł future tense enclitic.

5:87.

ʔlzè·hò·cò́ń 'yellow medicine'. hò·cò 'it is yellow' (?).

5:88.

(1) ʔlzèłłgóńlǫ́ń 'you who are with medicine'. ʔlzè· 'medicine'; -łł- from ylł- 'with it'; góń-lǫ́, 2nd person of go-ni-...-lǫ́ 'to be'.

(2) ʔílóxàłí 'hail club'. ʔíló 'hail'; xàł 'club'. See VI, note 5:18.

(3) yèǹgòclda·ł 'they will pound you with it'. yè·- 'by means of it' plus the 3rd person dual imp. with 2nd person obj. of ...(hi- perf.) -cl 'to pound, strike' (act. tr.). This is the rep. of -cé 'to chop, strike'.

(4) dáxáíblčǫ́ńžǫ́dà·ł 'you will cure anything'. dá- 'just'; xáí, relative of xá- 'any'; blčǫ· 'to it'; ńžǫ́, 2nd person of ni-...-žǫ́ 'to be good' (imp. neut. intr.).

(5) ʔlzè·dò·nánè·łʔǫ́dàń 'medicine without end'. nánè·łʔǫ́ seems to be a combination of ná- ? and the unanalyzable form nè·łʔǫ́ 'there are a certain number'.

(6) ǩðhblⁿdâ·ń 'red columbine'. ǩðh 'plant, herb, grass'; blⁿdâ· 'its eyes, seeds'.

5:90.

ʔlzè·hò·tòń 'red medicine'. hò·tò 'it is red' (?). Cf. note 5:87.

5:93.

ʔlzèłłhànágàčíń 'that redness which customarily emerges with medicine'. hànágàčí, iter. of hà-go-...(hi- perf.)-čí 'redness emerges, comes out' (act. intr.). hà- 'out'; go- place subject (?). I do not know why go- becomes gà- in the text form; perhaps by vocalic infection from the preceding prefixes?

5:94.

(1) ʔldłšǩłš, a synonym for dàǩłžè· 'turquoise'. No analysis.

(2) dò·nà·góńłťédàgò 'if you do not cause trouble'. nà·gó-łťe, 2nd person of nà·-gó-di-... -ł-ťé 'to be evil, bad' (imp. neut. intr.).

(3) céγánáǹségò 'a group moving through rock'. cé 'rock'; γá- 'through'; ná-...-ł-zé 'a group moves' (act. intr.). ǹ- ?.

5:97.

cébé·šdłłxłłí 'iron'. 'stone'; bé·š 'metal'; dłłxłł 'it is black'.

ǩè·šččí 'galena' (no analysis).

łè·cò́í 'yellow ochre'. łè·- 'dust'; -cò, compounded form of łi-ni-...-cò 'to be yellow'.

gò·šččí 'ashes' (no analysis).

5:99.

(1) It will be noted that dáń 'food' has three possessive forms; -dą·?, -dánè, and -dáń.

(2) ?ɪťą·ńǩòǯíń 'lamb's quarters'. ?ɪťą· 'leaves'; ńǩòǯ-, related to ńǩǫ́·ǯ 'it is sour'?

5:101.

The last sentence in this paragraph is literally as follows: "Just mankind / just curing / for that reason / medicines / I have made you so."

?ałčííná 'just curing' cannot be analyzed. See note 5:86, §3.

5:102.

?ɪzè·hòⁿdá·ł 'living medicine'. hòⁿdá·ł, 3rd person prog. of -yá 'one person moves' (?).

hà?ɪčɪ·dé 'osha'. An archaic relative in -é of the 3rd person imp. with indef. obj. of·hà-| ...(hi- perf.)-čɪ· 'to dig out, up' (act. tr.).

čògòšǩínè· 'dock' (no analysis).

cɪ̨blɪ̨nádà·?čɪ̨łťòhí 'sumac'. cɪ̨ 'wood'; blɪ̨- 'with it'; plus the 3a distrib. imp. with indef. obj. of ná-...(hi- perf.)-ł-ťòh 'to smoke' (act. tr.). Literally 'that wood with which they smoke'. Sumac is mixed with tobacco and smoked.

sáí?ɪzè·í 'sage'. sáí 'sand'.

cɪ̨yànágòłčɪ̨ní 'solanium tripolium'. cɪ̨ 'wood' (?); yàná- ?; gòłčɪ̨ní, relative of gòłčɪ̨ 'it smells, has an odor' (?).

céγánè·sáhè· 'primrose' (no analysis but cf. note 5:94, §3).

?ɪzè·bédǫ̀·sí 'bitterroot'. -bédǫ̀·sí ?.

?ɪzè·kéγàšłɪžɪ̨ní 'eriogonium'. kéγàš 'root'; łɪžɪ̨ 'it is black'.

łɪ̨blzè·í 'eriogonium jamesii'. łɪ̨ 'horse'.

?ɪzè·dɪłtą·í 'cinquefoil'. dɪłtą·- ?.

?ɪyánéblɪdą·?í 'Mormon tea'. Literally 'cattle food'.

ǩòhblčàhègǫ́líní 'coneflower'. ǩòh 'plant'; blčàhè 'its hat'; gǫ́lɪ̨ 'there is'.

?ɪzè·blɪťą·dàłγàʒí 'perezia nana'. blɪťą· 'its leaves'; dàłγàʒ 'they are jagged'.

céží 'sage' (no analysis).

céžícòí 'cudwood'. -cò 'big'.

čɪⁿdè·zè· 'wormwood'. No analysis.

čégòłčɪ̨ 'wild pumpkin'. čé- ?; gòłčɪ̨ 'it smells, has an odor'.

ʒécòí 'wild plum'. ʒé 'chokecherry'; -cò 'big'.

cɪ̨łcòlí 'algerita'. Literally 'yellow wood'.

5:108.

(1) ?ɪłè·nàhdɪ·šⁿdí·ł 'I shall put you all together'. ?ɪłè·- 'by means of one another' (?); nàh- dual object; dɪ·šⁿdí·ł, no analysis.

(2) nàhà·gòdɪnɪ?ą 'I have given you a chance'. 1st person perf. with place obj. of Oà·-di-ni-... (ni- perf.)-?à· 'to give someone a round object' (act. tr.).

5:109.

nàhtàhádɪšxá 'I shall be with you'. nàh- dual pronoun; -tàh 'among'; hádɪšxá, no analysis.

5:110.

?áši̧s̨ńnè 'you who are related to me'. 2nd person with 1st person obj. of ?á-...-ł-zɪ̨ 'to be related to' (imp. neut. tr.). -ń relative; -nè 'people of such and such a group'. I am not certain of this analysis; see note 2:6, §4.

6:2.

(1) nà·łλò·šéí 'Coyote'. Another of the many nicknames for Coyote (cf. note 1:1, §1). nà·łλò·šé is a relative in -é of the 3rd person imp. of nà·-| ...(si- perf.)-λò·š 'to trot about here and there' (act. intr.).

(2) The literal translation of the second sentence of this paragraph is as follows: "'In what way / your children / being so well / being strung along after one another / after you / they going about here and there / you keep it so,' / Coyote / he said to her, it is said."

6:3.

The literal translation of the first sentence of this paragraph is as follows: "'This / rope / that which is strung between them / it being well by means of it / after me / they are going about here and there,' / Quail / she said to him, it is said."

6:5.

(1) γádà·?ɪ·scɪ̨gò 'pushing it through them'. γá- 'through'; dà·-?i- distrib. indef. obj.; plus the 3rd person perf. of -cé 'to do with a long pointed object' (act. tr.). The distrib. dà·- causes the si- perf. If γá- alone is combined with this theme, the ni- completive prefix appears in the imp. and the perf. is of the ni- conjugation.

(2) ?ɪtàhńťɪgò ?áɪ̨là·ná?à 'he strung it be-

tween them'. ʔltàh 'among them, between them' (indefinite object); ńtł, 3rd person ni- perf. of -ťé 'to be strung'. ʔáłlà·, 3rd person perf. with 3rd person obj. of -lá 'to do to' (act. tr.).

(3) ʔlłkéldà·sʔé·ǯná?à 'he strung them one after another'. ʔlł- reciprocal; -ké (also -ké·ʔ) 'after, following'; dà·- distrib. obj.; plus the 3rd person si- perf. of -ʔè·š 'to string (e. g., beads)' (act. tr.).

(4) nè·sⁿdágò 'dead'. 3rd person perf. of ni-...(si- perf.)-ⁿdé 'several die' (act. intr.).

7:1.

dámàʔyè 'there were just animals'. dá- 'just'; màʔyè 'animals'. This word is ordinarily applied to Coyote but, in this instance as well as in numerous compounds, it has the wider meaning.

7:2.

dò·ʔè·ʔáłlà·dànáʔà 'he did wrong'. The negative of the 3rd person perf. with 3rd person object of ʔá-...(ʔ perf.)-lá 'to do so to' (act. tr.) preceded by the prefix ʔè·-. I cannot give an exacter definition for ʔè·-.

7:3.

(1) dáʔíłcé nàhdáńyáń 'the first person that you meet'. Literally 'the first one that meets you [pl.]'.

(2) ʔlťédèhè·cà·yè 'the oldest girl'. ʔlťédè 'girl'; -hè·cà·yè 'oldest', cf. ni-...-cà· 'to be big'.

7:6.

dò·ʔádàšłgò 'in a roundabout way'. dò·-... -dà negative; ʔá- 'there'; -šł 'from'; -gò subordinating enclitic.

7:9.

yà·nązá 'he married her'. Literally 'he had gone back to her'.

7:10.

błnà·člʔà·šń 'his wife'. Literally 'she with whom he went about'.

7:15.

(1) bè·ʔlcè·ł 'axe'. Literally 'one chops by means of it'.

(2) błčł·błłʔédè·šnè·stànáʔà 'she ran toward him with it'. błčł· 'toward him'; błł- 'with it'; plus the 3a person perf. of ʔéd-è·-ni-...(si- perf.)-d-tá 'to run' (act. intr.). ʔéd- reflexive; è·- 'by means of'; ni- terminative; -d-tá 'to start, jerk, move quickly'. See note 5:27, §2.

8:1.

dò·ǹⁿdéńgólà·dànáʔà 'people were not permitted to live'. ǹⁿdé 'people'; ńgólà· 'they were permitted to live' (?). See II B, note 1:5, §4.

8:2.

dàhè·stǫ̀náʔà 'it moved down'. 3rd person perf. of dàh-hi-...(si- perf.)-ł-tǫ̀ 'to move down' (act. intr.). dàh-hi- 'upon'; -ł-tǫ̀ 'to fall, drop'.

8:3.

γí·ʔyí 'Giant'. Cf. Chir. γé·ʔyè 'Giant' (II B, note 1:5, §1).

8:14.

błčł·gòdlšłé 'I am going after them'. błčł· 'toward them'; gòdlšłé 'I am going' (?), no analysis.

8:15.

ǹγé ⁿdéí ʔáłłⁿdí 'people say that they are dangerous'. ǹγé, 3rd person of ni-...-γé 'to be dangerous, fearsome' (imp. neut. intr.). ʔáłłⁿdí 'they say of them' (?). Ordinarily this would be translated 'they say to them' (see II B, note 1:15, §3). Perhaps the phrase should be translated 'they [the monsters] tell people [that] they are dangerous.'

8:16.

šídó ǹγégò ʔádlšⁿdí 'I say that I am dangerous also'. Note that ǹγégò is the 3rd person (see note 8:15) rather than the 1st person the translation would seem to require. Perhaps a better translation would be 'I too say that they [the monsters] are dangerous.'

8:24.

(1) yíńyòlnáʔà 'he blew at it'. 3rd person perf. with 3rd person object of ni-...(ni- perf.) -yò·ł 'to blow at' (act. tr.). Cf. bà·ná·číńyòlnáʔà 'he blew at it again' (text paragraph 26). Here the 3a person perf. of the above verb is pre-

ceded by bà·- 'to it, at it' and the prefix ná·- 'again'. Finally, in text paragraph 28, is found ná·yíńyòlná?à 'he blew at it again'.

(2) nà·?lⁿdl·ná?à 'it was shattered'. 3rd person imp. of nà·-?i-...(si- perf.)-ⁿdl· 'several fly about' (act. intr.). I am not certain of this analysis.

8:25.

blγàhnà·čǫ·łtè·lná?à 'it slid off of him'. See II B, note 2:29, §3.

8:34.

šídó ńγé 'I too am dangerous'. Here, again, the verb seems to have the wrong person for the translation given. See note 8:16.

8:37.

?lyâ·bąǹčà 'why are you weeping?' ?lyâ·bą· 'for what reason' plus the 2nd person imp. of -čà 'to weep' (act. intr.).

8:41.

šà·dà·sλí 'they are cold'. šà·- ? plus the 3rd person distrib. of -d-λí 'to be cold' (si- perf. neut.). Does šà·- mean 'because of me' and the whole phrase 'they are cold because of me' or, more freely, 'I have let them become cold'?

8:44.

The second sentence is literally as follows: "His heart / right in the open / it moving / he had made it so for him, it is said / Gopher."

dáčlťlgò 'it moving'. dá- 'just' plus the 3rd person cont. imp. of či-...(? perf.)-ťé 'to move' (?). See note 1:1, §4.

8:45.

kè·nàhéńγàłgò 'as he had reached him with them'. I cannot analyze this verb.

8:50.

(1) céťágòłčíyá 'on a red mountain peak'. cé 'rock'; -ťá 'top'; gòłčí 'place is red'.

(2) gòǯlšná?à 'he seized him'. No analysis.

8:52.

?ékè·ná·?čàťà·ná?à 'he took them off'. ?é- reflexive; kè·- 'off' (?); ná·- 'again'; ?lčàťà·, no analysis.

8:68.

cédàsltąyá 'in a high rock'. cé 'rock'; dàh- 'on, upon'; sltą ' a long slender object lies'.

8:70.

blzé·dí 'his life' (?).

8:73.

yà·kéhl·?áí 'ladder' (no analysis). Cf. yà·- kédàhl·?áí 'ladder' in line 1 of text paragraph 74.

8:75.

yáťášlgò 'from the sky'. yá 'sky'; -ťá 'top, above'; -šl 'from'.

8:76.

?lkàłánéí 'a large slice of fatty meat'. ?l- kà 'fat, fatty meat'. łáné, -é relative of łą 'much'. The connotation 'slice of fatty meat' is given by the following verb which refers to the handling of fabric-like objects.

8:77.

yè·blłàlčl·scàsná?à 'he whipped it'; literally ' he whipped them with it'. yè·- 'with it' plus the 3a person perf. of O-tà·-či-...(si- perf.)-ł-cls 'to whip' (act. intr.). For this prefix complex, see II B, note 4:9, §3.

Note also bè·blłàlčl·ʒò 'he beat them with it', the 3a person perf. of Oè·-O-tà·-či-...(si- perf.)-ʒó 'to beat' (act. intr.).

8:81.

kà·í 'arrow'; łl- 'one'; hlťè·š 'it is black' 3rd person imp. neut. intr.

8:82.

(1) hànǫ·sąná?à 'it arose'. 3rd person perf. of hà-ná-...(hi- perf.)-ł-zé 'a mass goes up, a group move upward' (act. intr.).

(2) ?ǫ·tà·ʒná?à 'he ran over there'. 3rd person perf. of ?l-|...(hi- perf.)-tá·s 'to run away' (act. intr.). ?l-| 'away'.

8:84.

dò·dè·yádàgò, nánàłtl·łná?à 'he was not running, he was loping [wearily]'. dò·dè·yádàgò, the negative of dè·yá 'he has started to move' (?). I cannot analyze the second word.

8:85.

The third sentence is literally as follows: "Very much / far / his tongue / it extending out / he went to him."

dè·čàgò 'far' (no analysis).

9:1.

(1) nàhíńžà·ž 'he put us down'. This was probably misheard for ñnàhíńžà·ž, the 3rd person perf. of nł-ni-...(ni- perf.)-žá·š 'to put down a mass' (act. tr.).

(2) ʒłłgàłs?ánî 'White Mountain'. ʒłł 'mountain'; łłgàł 'that which is white'; sł?ánî 'that which lies'.

(3) bł^{n}dádé 'its vicinity, neighborhood'.

9:2.

(1) ^{n}dł·bè·dàhgò·s?ąná?à 'they were scattered over the country'. ^{n}dł· 'land country'; bè·- 'with it'; dàh- 'on, upon'; gò·s?ą 'a place lies'. Literally 'the country lay with them upon it'.

(2) sǫ·sbłnłbłǎhádó 'the north also'. sǫ·sbłnł or sǫ·sbł 'Big Dipper'; błǎhá, błǎh 'under it' plus -yá pp.; -dó 'also'.

(3) bł^{n}dł·dèñî 'that which was then their country'. -^{n}dł·dè, poss. form of ^{n}dł· 'country'; -n past tense enclitic.

(4) The fourth sentence is literally as follows: "Now / Mescalero people / that which is their hand / being just to its measure / Mescalero people / there remains."

(5) dábè·hàdè·sbł 'they have filled it up'. dá- emphatic; bè·- 'with it'; plus the 3rd person perf. of hà-di-...(si- perf.)-bł 'to become full' (act. intr.). Literally 'it has become absolutely full with [or, of] them.'

9:4.

(1) xá·łíñ^{n}déná?łʒł·í 'when there are only a few Indians left'. xá·łí 'only a few' (?); ñ^{n}dé 'Indians'; ná?łʒł· 'there remains' (no analysis); -í relative.

(2) ^{n}dł·?énágòdłí ?áxá·nédà·ł 'the end of the world will be at hand'. ^{n}dł· 'world, earth'; ?énágòdł 'it is destroyed' (place subj. of ?é-ná-...-dł 'to be gone, destroyed'. ?é- thematic; ná- ?). ?áxá·né 'it is near'; -dà·ł fut. encl.

9:5.

(1) ?áíñí 'those of the past'. ?áí 'those'; -ñ past tense enclitic; -í relative.

(2) dò·łł?hàòʒídà 'they did not speak incorrectly'. Negative of the 3rd person perf. of hà-|...(hi- perf.)-ʒł· 'to speak' (act. intr.). łł?- 'incorrectly' (?).

9:6.

(1) błcł· čǫ·šé 'they have cut their hair'. błcł· 'their heads'. čǫ·šé, 3a person perf. of ...(hi- perf.)-ł-žé 'to cut, shear, mow' (act. tr.).

(2) ?łγè?słžé 'they wear'. ?łγè? 'inside it'; słžé 'they lie' (3rd person si-perf. neut. intr.).

(3) The last sentence is literally as follows: "Now / those who were Indians / it is not known of them / those who are just white men."

VI. ETHNOLOGICAL NOTES

1:1.

The Mescalero coyote cycle is a connected series of episodes describing the travels and adventures of a trickster with attributes and characteristics, now those of a human being, now those of an animal. At the beginning of the cycle, Coyote speaks as humans do, and exhibits, except for bodily form, all the traits of humankind. Throughout the narrative it is impossible to determine whether Coyote, to the Apache mind, appears in the guise of an animal or of a man. In the concluding episode the point is plainly marked where Coyote loses his power of speech and assumes the bodily shape and mental qualities of the beast.

Again, it is difficult to decide whether the pranks and experiences we follow in the story are those of one and the same coyote. Frequently, at the close of one episode, Coyote will pay with his life for some escapade. Yet the next episode will resume in the usual way, "Coyote was going along ..." When the informant is questioned concerning this apparent resurrection and the number of coyotes involved in his tale, he most often answers without too much interest or anxiety over the point, "I guess it must have been some other coyote."

The truth of the matter is that these are academic questions. To the Mescalero Apache, Coyote is a type, a character. Whether he is human in form at the beginning of the cycle is an unimportant problem. What is certain, and far more important, is that Coyote as a character reveals a remarkable self-portrait of the Apache, and a shrewd and powerful satire of his culture and of human foibles. To this we shall turn in a moment.

I have said something concerning the continuity of the cycle and the definite order of the episodes. This is an aspect of the coyote stories not fully appreciated, a circumstance which has resulted in violence to the rich esthetic and ethnological content of the cycle. An investigator who asks for coyote stories without first determining their nature and their significance in the culture, obtains little more than outlines of widely separated episodes selected for their plot value. Since, in the full body of the myth, such plots often run through more than one episode and there is much interweaving of the whole cycle by reference to what has gone before, the procedure of isolating separate coyote stories ends in truncating and mutilating them. For instance, in one of the last episodes of the cycle, Coyote meets Beetle, and, after making some caustic references to a previous encounter of the two, eats him. The allusion is not clear unless one is familiar with the details of an earlier episode in which Beetle outwitted Coyote and escaped from him.

It must not be supposed that all Mescalero Apache tell the coyote cycle in exactly the same way or even relate the episodes in the same order. There is considerable individual variation, and I have listened to animated arguments between various Apache concerning the proper manner in which the cycle should be told. In aboriginal times, the Mescalero lived in camp clusters of related families, and ordinarily each of these harbored some very old person whose age and interests led him to take the initiative in communicating the folk-lore to the youngsters. The children of that group were likely to become most familiar with his version of the tales and to recount them in that form when they grew up. When I was recording the cycle, my informant might interrupt his discourse to say, "Now I learned my story from Old Man T. Others told it differently. One man put in a different story at this place." Then would follow a variant or an additional episode with the name of the old storyteller whose narrative included it.

A great deal of the interest in folk-lore in

general, and very certainly it is true of these trickster tales, has centered around the determination of the geographical distribution of the elements or motifs found in the stories. Without gainsaying the value of such labors, I believe that there is still another approach to native tales and legends which offers tempting opportunities to study the psychology and culture of preliterate groups. This approach may best be thrown into relief, perhaps, by a brief discussion of the place and function of the coyote cycle in Mescalero culture.

In the first place, the cycle is appreciated as a good story. It can be told in winter only, when the snakes are not around, and at night. The coyote story therefore helps to pass many a long winter evening. To tell this cycle is a test of dramatic ability and virtuosity; it requires the sucessful imitation of the many animals and birds which are mentioned in the course of the episodes, and can be made more lively and persuasive by apt pantomine. Those who do not feel able to tell the tale with proper effect nevertheless thoroughly enjoy the performance of others.

Quite as important as its entertaining qualities is the didactic value of the coyote cycle. Coyote, as represented in these episodes, is given to every reprehensible vice and excess. He indulges in falsehood, theft, gluttony, impiety, adultery, and incest. Almost always these acts end in embarrassment and hardship for him. As the account of these misdeeds unfolds, the raconteur, especially if there are many children present, does not fail to expand on the difference between Coyote's lapse and Apache standards, and to point the inevitable moral. At least once each winter the children of a camp cluster were brought together, and they listened for an entire night to legends. The coyote cycle, with all possible moralistic flourishes, was always told at this time. A child whose interest lagged or who fell asleep during this recital was reminded of his duties by a sharp tap on the head.

Psychologically there is no more interesting phase of this coyote cycle than the extent to which it operates as a cultural safety valve. In a culture where practically all the customs, even those concerned with the daily round of life, are validated by the blessing and approval of some supernatural, any deviation from, freedom with, or levity regarding the mores, smacks of profanity. Yet these Apache are not without a sense of humor and proportion concerning their folk-ways, as I have had many occasions to learn. The Apache cannot laugh at his fellow man or even openly at himself for honoring tradition at all times in place of common sense. But he can and does set up a straw man, Coyote, at whom he has reserved the right to jibe, and with Coyote as buffer, many of the Apache usages and beliefs are treated slyly and not without kindly lampooning.

Likewise there are certain tabooed subjects which seldom get an airing except through the good offices of Coyote. To talk ill of another is to open oneself to the charge of having a "witch mouth." The Apache lays a great emphasis upon never talking of evil lest it occur. An Apache may not even look at his mother-in-law; to talk of intimacy between a man and his wife's mother would be an unpardonable scandal. Yet we find an episode in the coyote cycle where Coyote tricks his mother-in-law and has intercourse with her, and tales of incest and sexual perversion in which Coyote is involved. These are called "funny stories" and elicit laughter and appreciation in proportion to the amount of repression exercised over the subject matter in daily life.

Coyote functions in still another role among the Mescalero. Despite the kindly interest of the supernaturals, the beneficial influence of ceremony and tradition, and the virtuous professions of most individuals, the Apache is faced with a world in which sorcery, deceit, ingratitude, and misconduct are not uncommon occurences. How shall he account for this?

The particular scapegoat he has selected is his mythical counterpart, Coyote; the misadventures of Coyote are the Apache original sin. "Coyote did it first. We follow in Coyote's footsteps." These are the typical explanations of the defects and imperfections in human nature. Coyote blazed a trail which men were bound to follow, and with mellow resignation the frailties of the flesh are dismissed as a consequence of Coyote's initial errors.

One more important function distinguishes the Mescalero coyote cycle. A number of other Southern Athabaskan speaking tribes tell an emergence legend in the course of which reference is made to the creation and to the origins of the major ceremonies. The Mescalero have no such story. Instead they have utilized the coyote cycle to introduce these ele-

ments. When Coyote has run the gamut of his adventures, the culture hero takes possession of him, and, speaking through him, begins the creation of the living things of the earth. Later the culture hero himself appears, transforms Coyote into the brute he is to be henceforth, and continues the task of creation. Finally White Painted Woman, mother of the culture hero, makes her appearance, aids in the creation, and gives rules and advice for the ordering of human life. Then these supernaturals disappear, and the world stage is set for the human occupation to follow.

That portion of the coyote cycle which Dr. Hoijer has recorded in text is a continuous section beginning with the sixty eighth episode and carrying the story to the end. I was engaged in ethnological research upon the Mescalero Indian Reservation when Dr. Hoijer came to gather linguistic material. I was just then recording the coyote cycle from a very competent English-speaking Mescalero man whom we thought would prove an excellent informant for linguistic purposes. So it was decided that Dr. Hoijer should carry on the account from where I stopped, in part because we thought it would be interesting to learn whether the episodes which I had been taking in English were faithful to the diction and spirit of the original, in part because it offered an opportunity to obtain an uninterrupted body of useful texts.

The time at which the incidents pictured in this cycle are supposed to have occurred is placed back "at the beginning," when animals and birds spoke and acted as men do now. First there was total darkness upon the earth, and the birds, who wanted light, opposed the four-footed creatures and monsters in a moccasin game to determine whether there should be day. In this game Coyote displays his characteristics of slyness and vacillation; he finds reason to change to the side which has a decided advantage in score. The birds finally vanquish and pursue their larger foes, the four-footed creatures and monsters scatter over the earth. Coyote leaves the scene of the game, and the tale of his wanderings, the coyote cycle, begins.

1:2.

Few things occur in Mescalero myth or ceremony which are not connected somehow with the number four.

1:3.

Oak leaves are probably meant.

1:4.

In many episodes of the cycle Coyote makes himself ridiculous by imitating others without having the requisite power to accomplish what they have done.

1:5.

The embrace took the place in Apache culture that the handclasp or kiss does in ours.

2:1.

In telling the stories different tones of voice are used in keeping with the characters of the birds or animals who are speaking. Owl, who is a fearsome bird to the Mescalero, and who was a man-eating monster in the mythological days, is always represented as having a deep, gruff voice.

2:2.

Coyote refers to Owl's ears as a hat. This device of speaking of one thing in terms of something else which it may remotely resemble, is a common one in these tales, and causes great merriment when it is used.

2:3.

The ceremonial procedure and motions described here are an accurate account of elements found in many curing ceremonies.

2:4.

The conspicuous part which food and feeding play in these tales is a faithful reflection of the seriousness of the food-quest for these roving, hunting and gathering Apache.

2:5.

This passage is somewhat obscure. The meaning to be conveyed is that Owl is asking Coyote to make hats (or ears) for his people similar to those possessed by Coyote's people.

2:6.

That is, he put one feather into each ear of both the Owl people.

2:7.

That is, with the feathers in their ears.

3:1.

It is understood by the audience that Coyote does not possess any tobacco and is just making an excuse.

3:2.

This is a description of the way in which a Mescalero shaman is asked to perform his ceremony for the sick.

3:3.

Paragraphs 37-40 describe the ceremonial procedure a shaman follows to indicate his willingness to perform his ceremony for another.

3:4.

A common mannerism of Coyote is to call himself names and revile himself after an episode which ends unfortunately for him.

4:1.

To throw food about or to handle it carelessly is thought very dangerous and unlucky. Even bones are not thrown around but are placed in a neat pile and disposed of at once. To do otherwise is to invite the loss of hunting skill and shortage of food.

4:2.

This refers to a previous episode wherein Beetle made believe he was receiving a message concerning Coyote from people beneath the earth and thus out-witted and escaped from Coyote. See I:15.

4:3.

Frog is not referring to an actual road over to the island. As Coyote's answer shows, he is suggesting that Coyote swim across.

4:4.

This is one of the rare instances where Coyote comes off with honor in a food exchange story.

5:1.

There are a number of circumlocutory phrases to indicate that one is speaking of a bear, for bear is an animal from which the Apache believes a painful disease may be contracted. To utter the regular word for bear is to run the risk of seeing the bear shortly afterwards and of catching the sickness. The informant from whom these texts were taken is generally reputed to have some supernatural power from bear. At least he is one of the few Apache on the reservation who will hunt or touch bear. It is for this reason, perhaps, that he actually used the word for bear in the next line.

5:2.

At this point the culture hero, Child of the Water, takes possession of the body and mind of Coyote and talks and works through him. The substance of these lines is that the things of the earth are to change. When Coyote approaches and speaks to the animals (who have to this point spoken one universal language and displayed human qualities) they will assume the form and habits which they retain to this day.

5:3.

The voice turns out to be that of Child of the Water.

5:4.

The voice of Child of the Water is telling Coyote that he has reached the south side of the farther lake.

5:5.

In this phase of creation Coyote is merely the instrument. The power which is working through him is that of Child of the Water. The voice or power, by repeating these names to Coyote, causes him to think about them and, in that way, to create them.

5:6.

These varieties are not named in English. The terms given are literal translations of the Mescalero Apache words.

5:7.

These are literal translations of the Mescalero Apache terms.

5:8.

The voice is addressing the plants just created through the medium of Coyote as explained in note 5 above.

5:9.

Again the voice is addressing the beings just created through the medium of Coyote. See notes 5 and 8 above.

5:10.

The last four names are literal translations of the Mescalero Apache terms.

5:11.

All of these names except "lizard [var.]" are literal translations of the Mescalero Apache terms. When such a translation is not possible. "lizard [var.]" has been used.

5:12.

The significance of this passage is not clear.

5:13.

Here Coyote is forced to change his own appearance and condition just as he has transformed other plants and animals.

5:14.

This reference to a heavenly father is probably the result of Christian influence. The older Apache refer to the source of their personal supernatural power by a word that can be roughly translated Giver of Life. Now this word and another of Spanish derivation sometimes are used in a vague way to allude to a creator. It is probably to this creator that Child of the Water addresses the sentence. I am satisfied that the conception is a recent one. Child of the Water is here asserting that the task of creation has been delegated to him by one in the sky. In the story of his birth, Child of Water's mother is given as White Painted Woman, and, as his name indicates, his father is the water. See text I:1.

5:15.

The lines which follow give an inventory of many of the ways in which herbs are used by the Mescalero to cure and the ceremonial gestures and practises which accompany such use.

5:16.

White Painted Woman is addressing the medicines.

5:17.

The "hail club" was a type of war club in which a rock with many protruberances was used as the head. Great importance is laid on the proper handling of plants to be used as medicine, even to the detail of the type of rock for crushing them.

5:18.

When the roots of a plant only are to be used for medicine or ceremony, the top parts are supposed to be replaced in the ground. "Face medicine" is one of the plants which are supposed to be so handled. White Painted Woman is here asking the plant not to take revenge on those who disobey this injunction from carelessness or ignorance.

5:19.

This may be the tiger water lily. It will be noted that the Mescalero terms for which no English word is correspondent have been translated literally. See note 6 above.

5:20.

The informant explained that this phrase means: "When they have drunk you four times mixed with pollen."

5:21.

This is a fairly complete summary of the rocks and mineral substances sacred to the Mescalero.

5:22.

Meaning a chance to live together peaceably?

5:23.

The informant later told me that at this point he should have inserted an account of the giving of the Girl's Puberty rite to the Mescalero by White Painted Woman. According to him the rite was granted to counteract partially the disease and misfortune that were in store for mankind.

5:24.

Apparently somewhere in the preceding lines, White Painted Woman completed her remarks and Child of the Water began to talk. There is, however, no indication in the text of where this took place.

5:25.

It is said by the Mescalero that Child of the

Water will return to them some day. Since Child of the Water has been freely equated with Christ in recent years, it is quite possible that this is due to Christian influence and is the Apache version of the second coming of Christ.

5:26.

The informant later told me that he should have followed this last line with an account of the dispersion of human beings over the earth and their division into peoples and tribes. This additional information was given to me in English.

6:1.

Texts 6 and 7 do not belong to the part of the Coyote cycle related in texts 1 to 5. They are isolated tales from a preceding portion of the cycle.

7:1.

This is another and considerably abbreviated version of the tale recorded in text I:18.

8:1.

This is a Mescalero version of the incidents related in texts I:1 to I:5. Contrary to the usual Mescalero custom, however, this informant makes Killer of Enemies the hero of the tale instead of Child of the Water. This may be explained by the fact that the informant is of part Lipan extraction and spends a great deal of his time with the old Lipan people. Furthermore, he is an ardent convert to a recently developed religious movement (the "Silas John Cult") which originated on the San Carlos Reservation and therefore designates Killer of Enemies as the chief culture hero to whom songs and prayers are to be addressed. See III, note 1:3.

8:2.

This is somewhat ambiguous. It is clear, however, that the informant meant to indicate that Killer of Enemies also took blood from the body of the dead Buffalo.

8:3.

Literally: "he who kills with his eyes."

8:4.

That is, the ladder which led to the doorway of Owl's house.

8:5.

The sense of this interchange is somewhat obscure.

(223)

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